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TRANSNATIONAL SUBJECTS

LINGUISTIC ENCOUNTERS

Selected papers from XXVII AIA Conference

edited by

Liliana Landolfi, Eleonora Federici, Flavia Cavaliere

VOLUME II

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INTRODUCTION

TRANSNATIONAL SUBJECTS AND LINGUISTIC ENCOUNTERS

Liliana Landolfi[1]

University of Naples "L'Orientale"

Framing the Conference

The international scientific XXVII AIA Conference on *Transnational Subjects: Linguistic, Literary and Cultural Encounters* took place at the University of Naples "Federico II" (UNINA) and at the University of Naples "L'Orientale" (UNIOR) on 10–12 September 2015. The event lasted three full days and was hosted in two prestigious buildings. The workshops devoted to literary and cultural investigations were held at the Centro Congressi in Via Partenope 26, Naples and the Linguistic workshops, on which the present volume focuses, were delivered at Palazzo du Mesnil, the historic building of UNIOR, in Via Chiatamone 60–62, Naples. The conference was supported by several grants received by the Department of Human Studies and the Department of Economics at UNINA, the Department of Literary, Linguistic and Comparative Studies at UNIOR, and the Associazione Italiana di Anglistica (AIA).

Language Workshops

Contemporary national/transnational language–related realities are reflected in the use of English as a subject of investigation for, from and through linguistic, social, pragmatic and methodological perspectives. They deserve deep examination and sound analyses

[1] The present volume has been jointly structured by the three editors who, however, have specifically edited different sections. In particular, Liliana Landolfi is the author of the initial chapter and has edited the sections *English and Intercultural Communication* (Part One) and *English in the Digital Age* (Part Five). Eleonora Federici has edited the section dedicated to *English and Translation* (Part Four) and Flavia Cavaliere has edited the section *English and Social Change* (Part Two). The three editors have jointly co-edited (Part Three): Liliana Landolfi (pp. 165-179), Eleonora Federici (pp.145-164) and Flavia Cavaliere (pp. 180-192).

particularly today, when fast transformations in a variety of areas (e.g., technology, science, politics) affect language use and its interpretation. The present volume clusters and presents some such inquiries. The focus is specifically given to five major areas of investigation, each of which will be dealt with in a topic–specific section (*Part One–Five*).

Globalisation and present forms of migration across national boundaries, as it is well known, have changed our perception of self, identity, mother tongue and intercultural communication. Encounters with other languages and cultures have become the norm and have irrevocably altered previously stable and unified notions of identity, language and culture. Multifaceted intercultural and socio–cultural phenomena (see *Part One*) have given birth to new discourses both on the significance of belonging to a linguistic community and on the nature of English as the contemporary medium of global communication (see *Part Two*). Cross–cultural movements, through travel, tourism, and global communication have further facilitated the interaction between one's own and others' language and culture (see *Part Three*) and have generated new needs and engendered innovative considerations in translation (see *Part Four*). Web–wired transnational audiences and socially–dedicated technologies have further contributed to shaping unprecedented scenarios and shown new forms of linguistic and socio–cultural entanglements as well as interpersonal uses of meaning (see *Part Five*).

Within these embedding national and transnational language–related realities in constant transformation and evolution, scholars and researchers are required to: a) re–discuss the notions of globalisation and transculturality in English, so that concepts such as language use, identity, ethnicity, translingualism and transculturalism may acquire contemporary, functional and efficient definitions; b) examine the impact that the present global scenario has on English and on English–related phenomena in real or mediated contexts; c) redefine aspects of translation and translation practices in today's contemporary world, and 4) identify features of English use, abuse and/or misuse through the digital tools that have been offered by contemporary technological advancements and have been facilitated by easily collectable online materials.

The possibility of shedding some light on these aspects is among the aims that this volume intends to pursue via offering a photograph of today's English through the investigations of the eighteen authors who have contributed to structure the five thematic sections of the volume.

Volume Structure

After a careful peer review process, eighteen papers were selected for inclusion in these proceedings. Though they represent just a selection of the conference topics (i.e., nearly 60 presentations in the Language Workshop) during which analyses were shared and discussions were favoured and sustained, they offer a clear view of the richness of content and perspectives that the XXVII AIA Conference in Naples clustered. The present selection will allow the community of language experts, researchers and students to reconsider prior visions, update language–related notions and revise working methodologies.

The volume opens with Prof. Susan Bassnett's chapter. She was the conference keynote speaker for the Language Workshops and her contribution, entitled *Shake-*

speare and Translation, dealt with the role of Transnational Translations. She stressed that, rather than translations *tout court*, transnational translations have to be considered as 'originals' given their internal essence that stands out independently from the source. The volume, then, continues with five theme–specific sections in which the eighteen papers have been grouped: *English and Intercultural Communication*; *English and Social Change*; *English through Intertextual Investigations*; *English and Translation*; and *English in the Digital Age*. Authors' contributions are gathered in groups of three or four chapters per section that encapsulate the most representative aspects of the conference. The authors are presented in alphabetical order within each of the thematic sections (i.e., *One–Five*) as well as in *Parts Six* (i.e., *Abstracts*). As a way to briefly introduce the authors' studies, a synthesis of their research and some short quotes, taken either from their chapters or from their abstracts, are included in this introductory presentation of the volume.

Part One considers *English and Intercultural Communication* through the analyses proposed by three authors. **Lucia Abbamonte** explores news coverage of the protests following the killings of unarmed African–American men by police officers. She comparatively analyses newspaper articles and Black Voices bloggers' posts from the *Huffington Post* website. Her method of analysis, which involved both qualitative and quantitative approaches, adheres to the Appraisal Framework categories, with a special focus on Attribution. She observes that some prevalence of unmarked attribution occurs across the three sub–corpora she created. She also identifies the degree of im/personalisation as the main difference between the journalists' and bloggers' voices. She couches the significance of her study on the «fluidity of the cross–mediatic space» created by the Internet, which «blurs the boundaries between the expert, professional journalist and the mass of communicators/creators of contents».

Laura Pinnavaia's contribution explores the type of English cultural information imparted as usage notes in the Italian–English bilingual dictionaries: *Garzanti Hazon* (2009), *Oxford–Paravia* (2010), and *Ragazzini2011* (2010), where *Garzanti Hazon* (2009) and *Ragazzini2011* (2010) are unidirectional, whereas *Oxford–Paravia* (2010) is bidirectional. The author finds that the dictionaries contribute differently: «each dictionary decides arbitrarily what lemmas and aspects of the social and cultural life described are worthy of attention». Dictionaries also vary in the level of attention placed on cultural information. She concludes suggesting that bilingual dictionaries address a specific linguistic community and as such they are «better candidates [than monolingual dictionaries] for dealing with cultural specificities». Her suggestion is that «Italian–English bilingual dictionaries should thus persevere with and boost their presentation of the finer and more intricate aspects of American and British life and culture» given that they are «arduous to acquire in a non–Anglophone environment».

Maria Grazia Sindoni focuses on the writing of Malala Yousafzai, a female Pakistani education activist and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. She specifically analyses two texts: a blog ("Diary of a Pakistani Schoolgirl", 2009), and a memoir (*I am Malala*, 2013) co–authored with Christina Lamb. The writing is analysed with reference to generic characteristics, including 1) spontaneity, interactivity, low self–monitoring in the blog and 2) planning, high control and self–monitoring in the memoir. The quantitative comparison between the blog and the memoir reveals that

the two texts do not differ to a significant extent, with the exception of lexical density. The qualitative analysis confirms the quantitative findings: it illustrates that the two texts were composed as spontaneous and colloquial conversations with readers, even though some symptomatic linguistic choices reveal that the book is more firmly placed in the written tradition.

Valeria Franceschi explores creative writing in English as a lingua franca. She carries out a quantitative and qualitative corpus-based analysis by looking at written uses of ELF in fanfiction in «a 248,464-word corpus written by 26 authors, representing 11 different L1s». She analyses the ways in which multi-word texts organize elements with varying degrees of semantic opacity, relating to time reference. The findings of her study suggest that non-native writers frame the chronological structure of their texts through a use of prefabricated temporal sequences that differ from English as a Native Language in frequency, form and meaning. Her findings support the notion that the use of English as a common language of communication may entail processes of simplification and regularization.

Part Two focuses on *English and Social Change* and ensembles four chapters. **Steve Buckledee** provides an overview of the main phonological, syntactic and lexical characteristics of Multicultural London English (MLE), a variety still limited to youth that is replacing Cockney as the dialect of London. He describes that MLE has borrowed lexicon from the Indian subcontinent, the Caribbean, and African American slang and then discusses the connection between MLE and Grime, a musical genre that shares characteristics with American hip hop. Buckledee suggests that the adolescents under observation are «diglossic, switching between MLE with friends and a more standard variety in the classroom or when circumstances require convergence with standard norms». He concludes wondering «whether MLE will go on to emulate Cockney and become the dialect Londoners use in all contexts, or whether it will continue to be an option in their repertoire of varieties».

Cristiano Furiassi investigates presence and influence of borrowings – and particularly false borrowings – in present–day English from French. He focuses on 16 false Gallicisms and, after providing a clear definition of each, reports how frequently they appear in the BNC (Brit) and COCA (Am) corpora. The results of his qualitative and quantitative analyses reveal that roughly one third of the false Gallicisms analysed are prototypically American. The remaining two thirds are almost equally distributed between British English and American English. He concludes suggesting that «cross–cultural movements […] have contributed to the fluidity of the world's languages». The phenomenon «has had an impact on the evolution of English lexis, enriched by both real and false borrowings from other languages».

The focus on English lexicon continues in **Liis Kollamagi**'s contribution. The author examines the use of Caribbean–English lexicon Creoles in two British novels: Zadie Smith's *White Teeth* (2000) and Andrea Levy's *Small Island* (2004). The article quantitatively analyses Creole orthography and spelling choices to demonstrate how Creole use in fiction expresses and constructs the character's identity. «[B]oth authors» Kollamagi states «relate to a traditional belief of Creoles to be 'variants' of English and they do not venture into a more phonemic representation of Creole». Indeed, by using code–switching between Creole, vernacular English and standard, the characters' identi-

ties are not imposed by the author's or the omniscient narrator's voice. She concludes suggesting that «British Creole usage in fiction […] has plentiful potentialities to produce intense and rich characters shifting between cultures and languages».

Raffaele Zago's study concludes this second section. He explores colloquialisation – or the trend towards an increasing degree of colloquialism over time – in film dialogues. He analyses and compares American films from the 1950s and the 1960s to their 1990s and 2000s remakes, respectively. The findings from a Multi–Dimensional Analysis provide evidence of «a certain strengthening of colloquiality as one moves from the originals to the remakes». He concludes advocating further scholarly attention to the complexity of colloquialisation.

Part Three concentrates on *English through Intertextual Investigations*. It articulates into three chapters, the first of which is proposed by **Maristella Gatto**. In her contribution, the author explores the creation of quick *ad hoc* corpora, defined as 'renewable corpora' or 'sustainable corpora.' Using either BootCaT or WebBootCaT, she created two corpora. She presents the case studies related to the use of these corpora for classroom linguistic–oriented research. The first corpus gathers texts on the Immigration Bill 2014 and the other collects texts from the official website of the World Tourism Organisation (WTO). She uses both corpora to provide functional areas of investigation for linguistic analyses and classroom activities to postgraduate students in Modern Languages for International Cooperation. She concludes emphasising that the simplicity of corpora creation «more than anything else, makes compiling and investigating corpora […] a definitely 'sustainable' approach».

Sara Gesuato's contribution focuses on apologies and apology responses. Drawing on role–play data elicited from 6 pairs of American native speakers through written prompts (about 5000 words), she investigates apology exchanges between interactants in different role–relationships in terms of social distance and degree of power. She classifies the apology responses identified in terms of their strategies, content and structural organisation, and compares them with those described in previous studies. She concludes that «apology responses are highly conventionalised, but not fully routinised speech acts, with both prototypical and original instantiations». Her study «argues for the importance of adopting explicit, both pragmatic and semantic, criteria for the identification and definition of components of speech act exchanges, and suggests that role plays are a reliable source of data for the analysis of conventionalised speech behaviour which is probably produced below the level of consciousness».

The last contribution in this section is by **Giusy Piatto**. She presents a study on a multifaceted approach of a corpus (total: 8512 words) comprising Barack Obama's political stump speeches, an audio–medial corpus of two texts written for a campaign tour, in 3 phases of his first presidential campaign. She examines the multicultural intertextual references in a hybrid speech with the intent to show a range of discursive plans in a political discourse. Her tools of analysis include: Aristotle's theory of rhetoric and Critical Discourse Analysis. She reveals that Obama employed substantial multiplicity persuasive plans in his speeches to achieve a joint American identity and defines Obama's discourse strategy as a summary of the new millennium rhetoric, which seems to combine tradition (leitmotifs like 'hope', 'chance' and 'dream') and innovation through commercial devices and noble recollections.

Part Four deals with *English and Translation* and looks at translation–connected issues from four different perspectives. **Mirella Agorni**'s contribution opens the section. She explores the translation of tourism discourse by means of a discussion of the specific knowledge tourists are supposed to have and the concept of cultural memory as developed in the field of Cultural Memory Studies. She maintains that the language of tourism can be considered as a specialised type of cross–cultural communication and suggests that: «[o]ne of the most important challenges in the translation of this text type is that of assessing the tourists' degree of (cultural) knowledge, so as to lay the foundations for the transfer of specific information (especially the so–called cultural specific references) from ST to TT recipients». Her paper provides examples of translations from students of a *Magistrale* translation course at an Italian University that demonstrate how translators' decisions at linguistic level and in terms of explanatory interventions deeply affect the way in which 'tourist memory' is constructed and disseminated across and beyond linguistic and cultural boundaries. Agorni stresses that «the connection between tourist knowledge and cultural memory becomes instrumental as a heuristic tool, generating a series of parallels developed at methodological level».

Antonio Fruttaldo's study is one of the two contributions on the Series entitled *Gomorrah* that are included in this section. He presents a corpus–based analysis of The Series (Season 1) by focusing on 1) how the producers of the series created their target audience in the Italian and English versions of the DVD blurbs, and 2) how the main characters linguistically construct themselves in the context of the Italian and English subtitles of the TV series. The aim of the first focus is to display how a specific type of advertising discourse construes its target audience, and the second focus aims to show how the «individual linguistic thumbprint» […] of each character in the source text is construed in the target text. The author looks at the data from both quantitative (using corpus linguistic methodologies) and qualitative (using the appraisal framework) perspectives. He concludes by saying that the keyword analysis methodology employed in his contribution can «be regarded as a useful tool in translation studies as to better define the idiolect of specific characters and, more importantly, go behind the scene of the translation process to underline given peculiarities».

Elisa A. Pantaleo explores heterolingualism in literary texts, and specifically in F. Scott Fitzgerald's *Tender is the Night* and its Italian translations. Through a comparative analysis, the author reveals that, while the source text highlights the link between language diversity and transculturality with multiple thematic and stylistic strategies, some parts of the Italian translations of the novel exhibit destruction of linguistic patterning that decrease the inventive power of the book. The author concludes stating that her case study accentuates that «heterolingualism in literary texts has an important communicative function, and for this reason, it should be studied both on stylistic and linguistic levels in order to grasp the underlying cultural messages it conceals».

Francesca Raffi's contribution concludes this section. Her study, like Fruttaldo's, focuses on the English subtitling of the successful TV series *Gomorrah*, in which characters are mainly represented through extensive use of Neapolitan (culture–bound elements within the language), and the presence of extralinguistic cultural references contributes to building the context of the story (culture–bound elements outside the language). Her text addresses the question: «what happens when the challenge of attempting to

export the authentic foreignness of *Gomorrah*'s world meets with subtitling as audio-visual translation modality?». To answer this question, she isolates the Extralinguistic culture–bound references (ECRs) that exist in the original dialogue, groups them into categories, discovers a general tendency to preserve the original Neapolitan flavour of *Gomorrah*'s world, and detects some interesting differences especially in the way female leaders are represented.

Part Five concludes the thematic sections of the volume. It looks at *English in the Digital Age* and clusters four chapters. **Maria Cristina Aiezza**'s discussion opens the section. She looks at online deals–of–the–day, represented as an evolution of traditional print ads and viewed as a new promotional genre that exploits the advantages of the Internet medium. She looks at a corpus of ads that appeared on the popular multinational platform *Groupon* in the United States, the United Kingdom and Italy. Her aim is to highlight differences in the advertising styles adopted in the 3 countries, in an attempt to identify both transnational dimensions and localised elements. The author successfully pinpoints convergences and divergences across the three languages and concludes stating that: «[a]dvertisements are influenced and can reflect differences between cultures and markets». Despite this, they «help to create a new global culture which ignores national boundaries».

From a cross–cultural lens on online commerce, the focus moves on to consider the psycholinguistic relevance of blogs. **Roxanne B. Doerr** investigates how social networking showcases two fundamental social dynamics: identity (the presentation of the self that is constructed and negotiated through a set of resources), and community (the building and maintenance of networked relationships). She analyses the linguistic and discursive strategies that may be gleaned from the posts and comments of a popularising psycholinguistics blog between January 2014 and August 2015 from an empirical and CDA standpoint. She concludes that: «[b]logs contribute to transnationalism by promoting the movement and communication of information, including that on little known topics» and adds that «psycholinguistics may use blogs to convey specific knowledge and input on theories and methods within such a transnational online community».

The section ends with two contributions that focus on the triangulation of interactions that teachers, students and computer–mediated communication may generate. **Sabrina Fusari** and **Antonella Luporini** work on a corpus of computer–mediated interactions in English (i.e., e–mail) between undergraduate EFL students of 15 nationalities and their teachers at the University of Bologna. Among other aspects, their study aims to identify features of interpersonal meaning in academic computer–mediated communication and to find medium–specific (i.e.: e–mail v. Moodle) differences in the content and purpose of communication. The authors detect some marginal intercultural variation in greetings but the overall findings leads them to conclude that «a 'European classroom' with largely common requests, problems and language behaviour across nationalities and status of resident vs. exchange student» exists.

Enrico Grazzi concludes this last thematic section. He presents the European project *Intercultural Telecollaboration: Italy–Finland,* carried out in the 2014–15 academic year, which aimed at using Web–mediated communication to improve participants' (22 high school students in Rome) intercultural communicative competence. Participants used English as a lingua franca (ELF) to discuss topics related to their lifestyle and sociocultural backgrounds.

Their opinions on the project, which were collected via online post–program surveys, display that positive attitudes and intercultural awareness were experienced by a significant number of participants. The author states that the incorporation of telecollaboration and network–based language teaching into the English syllabus may give teachers and learners the opportunity to heighten their awareness of ELF and be prepared to cope with the changing scenario of contemporary English on a global scale.

Conclusions

The present volume has clustered contributions from national and international exponents in the fields of linguistics, corpus linguistics, psycholinguistics, text analysis, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, and more. They have observed phenomena of English from authentic perspectives, touched upon theories and practices, used diversified procedures, investigated and compared text genres of different nature, and produced quantitative and qualitative analyses of spoken/written data in support of innovative approaches with the aim to understand aspects of English in its intercultural, intertextual and multidimensional domains.

This volume's authors have shown that cultural globalisation is increasingly moving beyond disciplinary and geographic boundaries. They have addressed, at the same time, the need for new approaches to investigating the field of Anglophone studies. Their analyses and interpretations will be of interest to scholars, researchers, doctoral students, teachers, and language students who will gain insight into the multifaceted reality of contemporary English that the volume addresses through its intended perspectives and diverse applications.

Naples, 20 April 2017

Liliana Landolfi, Ph.D.
Professore Associato di Lingua Inglese
Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"
Dipartimento di Studi Letterari, Linguistici e Comparati
Palazzo Santa Maria Porta Coeli
Via Duomo 219 – 80138 Napoli – ITALIA
llandolfi@unior.it – lilando2@tin.it

SHAKESPEARE AND TRANSLATION[1]

Susan Bassnett

University of Glasgow – University of Warwick

We have all read at some time a truly terrible theatre review, the sort of review that makes actors and directors almost afraid to leave the house. Performances of Shakespeare plays seem too have attracted no small number of these. A few years ago, researching for a book on 19th century actresses, I came across William Archer's review of the performance of the Italian actress, Eleonora Duse as Cleopatra in 1893. *Anthony and Cleopatra* was not well–known in Italy, but a new translation had been made specifically for Duse, and as we know, there was a vogue for all things Egyptian at the end of the century so success seemed assured. But the premiere in Milan was so badly received that Duse's confidence was severely dented, all the more so after the subsequent opening in Naples was savaged by the critics. Nevertheless, she insisted on taking the role with her on tour, including to London, where she received yet more scathing comments. Her version of the play, wrote Archer, is a «badly constructed domestic drama in outlandish costumes» while Duse as Cleopatra was a disaster: «There is nothing in the least voluptuous, sensuous, languorous about her performance, her very embraces are chilly and she kisses like a canary–bird» (Stokes, Booth, Bassnett 1988:148). Duse continued on what today we would call a hiding to nothing, because she badly wanted to make a success of the version translated by her then lover, Arrigo Boito, best known as the man who produced the libretti for Verdi's *Otello* and *Falstaff*. Boito wrote urging her not to give up: «the battle for Shakespeare must be won. It is NECESSARY» he wrote just before the unfortunate Naples opening. (Sheehy, 2003:91). It was a battle that she, unfortunately, never did win.

Duse wanted new parts and, as has so often happened in theatre history, this meant translations. Once the theatres reopened after the Restoration in England, for example, there was a huge demand for translations, and the same was true in 19th century Italy. Duse also wanted to show a new way of acting roles from the classical tradition, so as to distance herself from the mattatore actors of the 19th century such as the histrionic Ernesto Rossi, or Adelaide Ristori, considered the greatest Italian actress of her day.

[1] This essay is derived from a lecture given at the British Shakespeare Association conference commemorating the 400th anniversary of Shakespeare's death at the University of Hull in September 2016.

Ristori had played Lady Macbeth to great acclaim, in a version that reduced the play to some scenes in which she could feature prominently and which ended shortly after her tour de force, the sleepwalking scene. Ristori performed the sleepwalking scene all over the world, not only as part of a performance of Macbeth, but as one of her set piece bravura scenes. She would often include the scene in some other play, as a kind of coda, a practice that the mattatore actors continued until well into the 20th century. The late Robert Rietti told me he had seen this as late as the 1950s, when during a performance of a Pirandello play, members of the audience shouted at the principal actor to give a speech from another play for which he was better known, and he simply broke off, walked to the front of the stage, delivered the speech, bowed to thunderous applause and then stepped back into the role he was supposed to be performing. For what counted was the actor's ability to play a scene, hence the restructuring of plays, including Shakespeare, for popular Italian actors so that they could not only eclipse everyone else on stage, but perform certain set–pieces more or less like operatic arias. Duse was trying to produce what she termed a more 'realistic' kind of acting, though the effect, as some of the crueller critics suggested, was to reduce classical theatre to a bourgeois theatre.

Some of Shakespeare's plays, most notably *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* and *Othello* were popularised in nineteenth century Italy by mattatore actors. Tommaso Salvini's *Othello*, which premiered in Vicenza in 1856, provided him with a role that he would take around the world. He certainly impressed Stanislawsky who had this to say about Salvini's killing of Desdemona:

> He crept forward furtively towards the sleeping Desdemona, frightened by the rustling of his robe that trailed behind him, terrified and ready to run from his prey. There were moments when the audience leaped to their feet as one, so rapt was their attention. When Salvini pressed down on the throat of his beloved wife, when he threw himself at Iago and killed him with a single blow of his scimitar, I could feel the Bengal tiger beneath his speed, agility and energy. But when Othello discovered his fatal error, he suddenly turned into an abandoned child who sees death approaching for the first time. And after the speech just before his suicide, it was the soldier in him who spoke and acted, the soldier who had learned throughout his life to face death and who did noir fear it in those last moments: «What Salvini did and showed us was simple, clear, marvellous, awe–inspiring». (Gatti 1968:127–28)

Shakespeare arrived in Italy slowly, and, as with many European countries, he arrived via French. The first full Italian version of a Shakespeare play was Giulio Cesare (a play that never really caught on in Italy) and was done by one Domenico Valentini, a Professor of Ecclesiastical History from the University of Siena. Valentini was honest enough to admit that he did not know English, and so had to be helped by some local English friends. Valentini also defended Shakespeare in his preface, against attacks for his lack of respect for the classical unities that prevailed at the time on both the French and Italian stages. Needless to say, the translation was never performed.

Italian audiences first encountered Shakespeare through the translations of Antoine de la Place and Jean–Francois Ducis. La Place had published his *Le theatre anglais* in 1745, containing translations of 10 Shakespeare plays, or rather, translations of what he

deemed to be key passages from 10 plays, linked together by plot summaries. Since his versions were not meant for performance, he was able to include some of the more sensational elements (ghosts, murders) that would never have been permitted to be shown on stage. Ducis, however, wanted his versions to be performed, and so successful was he that his translations provided the basis for subsequent French translations and for Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Swedish and Russian translators. Ducis' translation of Hamlet premiered in 1769, but so great were the changes he had made to the play, that he wrote an apologetic letter to David Garrick, explaining – and perhaps even apologising for what he had done:

> I imagine, sir, that you must have found me extremely rash to put a play such as *Hamlet* on the French stage. Without even mentioning the wild irregularities which abound throughout, the ghost, which I admit plays a large part, the rustic actors and the swordplay seemed to me to be devices which are absolutely inadmissible on our stage. However, I deeply regretted not being able to introduce the public to the fearsome spectre that exposes the crime and demands vengeance. So I was forced, in a way, to create a new play. I just tried to make an interesting character of the parricidal queen and above all to depict the pure and melancholic Hamlet as a model of filial tenderness. (Heylen 1993:29)

One of Ducis' solutions was to introduce a scene that became very popular, involving Hamlet addressing a funeral urn containing the dead king's ashes. Romy Heylen in her book that examines 6 French *Hamlets*, from the 18th century to the 20th century, notes that the famous address to the Urn speech, «'Dread and holy urn, I tearfully invoke you…'» carries vestiges of the "To be or not to be" soliloquy, «but from a French point of view this showed Shakespeare in a much more glorious light than could otherwise have been expected» (Heylen 1993:35). The Urn speech shows Hamlet agonising over what to do and trying to build up the courage to avenge his dead father. Ducis' version of the play was so successful that it ran through 10 editions during his own lifetime, was performed 12 times in 1769–70 and then another 151 times between 1787 and 1851, all at the Comedie Francaise. His Hamlet, of course, spoke to a generation that so appreciated vacillating Romantic heroes such as Ugo Foscolo's Jacopo Ortis and Goethe's Young Werther.

You may be wondering whether the examples I have given can be called 'translations' at all, since they depart so radically from what we familiarly term 'the original'. And here I should acknowledge that I am not a Shakespeare expert by any means, I am someone who has spent her academic life developing a field of study known as Translation Studies and seeking to connect my interest in translation to comparative literature and today, also to World Literature. What interests me is how texts move, what are the aesthetic, socio–political, economic and at times psychological factors involved in the transfer of texts across time and space. Translation Studies has argued for the need to create maps of translation activity in different cultures, to understand what happens in the translation process and, perhaps above all, to seek to go beyond the discourse of negativity that has so bedevilled discussion about translation. One of the first steps in establishing the field was to dismiss the idea that there could ever be perfect equivalence in translation, which involved also dismissing notions of 'faithfulness' to an original.

James Holmes, the American translator and translation theorist who coined the term 'Translation Studies' for the emerging field pointed out that if you give 5 translators a text, you will get five different versions; then if you give those five versions to another set of translators whose task is to translate back into the original language, you will have yet more variation, and as he points out, 'to call this equivalence is perverse'. Equivalence understood as sameness is not only perverse, it is absurd. Languages are different structurally and syntactically, stylistic norms between languages vary, so that what might be deemed good writing in one context may be dismissed as poor in another.

It is also the case that translators are readers first and writers second, so here the individuality of the translator comes into play and the result is a text mediated through the interpretation of that translating individual. I was recently sent a manuscript of a forthcoming book by Tim Smith and Marco Sonzogni, entitled *To Hell and Back. Dante's Inferno in English Translation 1782–2013*. In their Introduction, the writers point out that at the last count they had discovered 129 different English translators of some or all of the Inferno, and they also point out the absence of any consensus, since translators are first of all interpreters of a text, then as writers they have to take into account the dominant literary norms of their age and decide whether to go with or against those norms. Another founding scholar of TS, Andre Léfèvere argued that a better term than translation, which carried with it so much negative baggage, was 'rewriting', and the idea of rewriting positions translation rather differently. Rewriting is the means through which we are able to access a huge range of texts produced in other languages, and it should not be forgotten that when we say that we have read Tolstoy or Homer or Primo Levi, what most of us mean most of the time is that we have read a version of their works rewritten for us in our own language by a translator.

In 1962, a prescient short story by the Argentinian writer, Jorge Luis Borges appeared in English translation (it had originally been published in the 1940s). That story was "Pierre Menard, author of Don Quixote" and is a spoof account, of someone who set out to do the following: «He did not want to compose another Don Quixote which would be easy – but the Don Quixote. It is unnecessary to add that his aim was never to produce a mechanical transcription of the original: he did not propose to copy it. His admirable ambition was to produce pages that would coincide – word for word and line for line – with those of Miguel de Cervantes» (Borges in Weissbort and Eysteinsson 2006:326).

The narrator then goes on to tell us just how this is to be achieved: «The initial method he conceived was relatively simple: to know Spanish well, to re–embrace the Catholic faith, to fight against Moors and Turks, to forget European history between 1602 and 1918, and to be Miguel de Cervantes» (ibid.).

By the end of the story Pierre Menard has done exactly what he set out to do: he has produced a version of Don Quixote that is word for word identical to that of Cervantes. The rewriting is exactly the same as the original, not a comma has been altered, but the narrator compares the two versions, and informs us that Menard version is infinitely superior to Cervantes's work:

> Cervantes for instance wrote…
> truth, whose mother is history, who is the rival of time, depository of deeds, witness of the past, example and lesson to the present, and warning to the future.

> Written in the 17th century by the 'ingenious layman', Cervantes, this enumeration is a mere rhetorical eulogy of history. Menard, on the other hand, writes:
> … truth, whose mother is history, who is the rival of time, depository of deeds, witness of the past, example and lesson to the present and warning to the future.
> History, mother of truth, the idea is astounding. Menard, a contemporary of William James, does not define history as an investigation of reality, but as its origin. Historical truth is, for him, not what took place; it is what we think took place. The final clauses – example and lesson to the present, and warning to the future – are shamelessly pragmatic. (Borges in Weissbort and Eysteinsson 2006:328)

This is a wonderful text to use with students, because it both satirises the vanity of overblown so–called scholarship and also challenges the idea of the 'sacred original'. For so much of what I am calling the negative discourse around translation comes from the idea that translation is necessarily inferior to an 'original', that a translation is somehow a substitute, a second–class citizen as it were. Central to TS thinking has been to challenge that, and the development of Translation Studies since its origins in the 1970s has been paralleled by a growing interest in translation more generally. We could debate the causes, but what is clear is that millions more people are in movement around the world since the end of the Cold War, the end of apartheid and China opening up to the West, which means that millions of people are engaging every day in some form of translation. We can also add as a factor the dismantling of the traditional nationalist literary canons, through the interventions of feminist and postcolonial criticism, which has led to greater internationalisation in literary studies more broadly. What this means, simplifying grossly, is that questions are now asked about the sacrosanct status once enjoyed by certain authors and their works, and this is particularly notable in classical studies and, I am reliably informed, in medieval studies also.

As knowledge of Greek and Latin has declined and the classics no longer enjoy the status they once had, translations of classical texts have increased, translations not only for academic audiences but for general readers. Lorna Hardwick, a Classicist well–known for her work on ancient theatre, has argued – I think justifiably – that over the last three decades we have seen what she calls a blurring of «the distinction between different kinds of translations, versions, adaptations and more distant relatives». This, she points out is «especially evident in the often dynamic use of classical images, texts and myths by poets and dramatists such as Tony Harrison, Seamus Heaney, Ted Hughes, Liz Lochhead, Christopher Logue, Michael Longley, Derek Walcott and Timberlake Wertenberger» (Hardwick 2000:12).

One of those poets is Josephine Balmer, who has written extensively about her practice as poet and translator. Balmer makes two very important points about the task facing a translator who is working with texts from the past: firstly, we do not know what those texts sounded like. We can take an informed guess based on research in historical phonetics, but we cannot be sure. I recall as a student being told that Shakespeare probably spoke in the kind of accent you can hear today in Cheshire, with Northern vowels and a bit of a Celtic lilt. Others such as John Barton have speculated differently, and we have probably all encountered Ben Crystal and his professorial Dad, David Crystal on YouTube giving us their versions of what Shakespeare sounded like. Interestingly, they both refer to the 'original' pronunciation, and this brings me to Jo Balmer's second point, which is: what does the word 'original' mean?

If you are translating a published novel you might take that text as the 'original'. If you are working with the author you might be able to read drafts and discuss the author's choices. But if you are working with an older text, particularly one that has been endlessly edited, the question arises as to what constitutes an original. Moreover, if the writer of that text has been the subject of centuries of commentary as well as editing, the picture becomes even fuzzier. The text has become a kind of palimpsest, to which different editorial and critical decisions have all contributed. Balmer suggests – as have Octavio Paz, and Borges and many others – that the original is a chimera. What we have is a notion of an original, determined by the context in which we are encountering it.

In the preface to his translation of *The Misanthrope*, Tony Harrison wrestles with the problem of the immutable original. He argues that even in our own language, we are obliged to translate:

> It is in theatrical production and translation that we of a late literate culture can in some measure reassert our lost instincts for 'structural amnesia'. The original is fluid, the translation is a static moment in that fluidity. Translations are not built to survive though their original survives through translation's many flowerings and decays. The illusion of pedantry is that a text is fixed. It cannot be fixed once and for all. The translation is fixed but reinvigorates its original by its decay. (Harrison 1991:147)

Translations, then, become originals, and translations are made for a particular time and in a particular context. So far, so good, but there is still a long way to go in tackling the 'sacred original' myth. Let me give you an example. Earlier this year I was phoned by BBC Scotland and asked to talk about translating Shakespeare. The person calling had read a piece I wrote for *The Independent* a few years ago, in which I said that I thought the time had come to start translating Shakespeare into modern English for modern audiences. It was a piece of deliberately provocative journalism and started like this:

> The other day I took my family to see one of my favourite Shakespeare plays. You'll love it, I told them. Nearly 3 hours later we tottered out into the night. Desperate to find something kind to say (there were friends involved) we praised one actor's Jim Carrey imitations. And the flashing TV screens all over the postmodern set. And a costume made out of CDS that flashed like disco lights. And one character's use of a mobile phone. The rest was silence.

The article went on to argue that the problem with Shakespeare is linguistic. Much of the language has become obsolete, the jokes have become meaningless. Richard Eyre said exactly the same thing earlier this year, telling the story of how his tutor, Kingsley Amis, complained that Shakespeare's jokes simply were not funny. And so to compensate, directors and actors have to resort to all kinds of silly stage business, to gimmicks and trick lighting effects so as to get a laugh from the audience. I called for good contemporary writers to take some of Shakespeare, starting with the comedies and to produce performance versions in English that would be understandable to audiences today and might even succeed in arousing interest in Shakespeare in the social media generation. I also said that I had seen terrific productions of Shakespeare in various other languages, where audiences responded wholeheartedly because they could understand everything that was being said.

I had never imagined that one article would cause such a fuss. I was deluged with emails – roughly 50% agreeing that they couldn't understand a lot of Shakespeare, the other 50% attacking me as a philistine. I received quite a lot of modern versions, some in comic book form, I was invited to debate with a very nice man called Tom Deveson and our exchange of emails was published in *Around the Globe* (Issue 20, Winter 2001). I was then invited to take part in a bigger debate at the Roundhouse, which involved teachers, pupils and two gentlemen from the schools curriculum agency, which was where I discovered that although Shakespeare is compulsory in secondary schools, pupils only read a few scenes of a play, the surest way to crush interest in the Bard that I could imagine. Finally I ended up in the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, where Carol Rutter and I took on Stanley Wells and David Crystal and, of course, lost, though as Carol pointed out, we did get some 25% of the public willing to go along with our position. Then, in the spring of this year, the debate opened up again. Now what interests me, and the reason for recounting this today is that there is still a very powerful feeling that somehow Shakespeare's plays are immutable, that they cannot and should not be rewritten. In short, that the public should be brought to Shakespeare, not that Shakespeare should be brought to the public – except of course, via 'experimental stagings', but with the language left intact.

Experimental stagings can, of course, be superb, and I am grateful for having been able to see quite a few over the years. But when Peter Brooke brought his *Hamlet* to the Warwick Arts Centre in 2003, performed in French in a version by Jean–Claude Carriere, I was amazed by the number of colleagues who complained that it 'wasn't really Shakespeare'. The surtitles seemed to bother some people, since they offered an English translation of the Carriere script. And his translation was 'not really the original Shakespeare' as one colleague put it. The status of Shakespeare for the English–speaking world seems to be still considered so high that attempts to meddle with his language are seen as form of sacrilege at worst, lese–majeste at best.

In contrast, when Martin Hillsky addressed an audience in Prague during a conference some 10 years ago, he began his speech with the sentence: «Shakespeare was Czech» and received a standing ovation. Similarly, Georg Brandes, the Danish critic, declared that it was as if Shakespeare had been born in Germany «at the side of Goethe and Schiller», while Leon Tolstoy declared in his essay of 1906 that Shakespeare's fame had originated in Germany and was only then transferred back to the English. The point to note here is that the deification of Shakespeare as the greatest English writer took a long time to develop, assisted by nationalist sentiment along the way, particularly in the late 19th century and early 20th century. Czech and German audiences, of course, received Shakespeare through the mediation of translators, but such was the impact of those translations that they served not only to invigorate the receiving literature but, in the Czech case, to make a major contribution to the Czech Revival Movement. The Schlegel–Tieck translations acquired such a canonical status in Germany, that there was a Nazi edict in 1936 which banned any other translations from being performed. In Russia, Pushkin became fascinated by Shakespeare, through the medium of a French translation. Jill Warren, in her splendid PhD entitled "Acculturating Shakespeare", where she looks at translation strategies for bringing Othello to Russian audiences under Stalin, shows how a Russian tradition of Othello versions developed through the 19th and into the

20th century. Pushkin, whose maternal great–grandfather was African, was particularly drawn to Othello, a character he felt was not jealous but rather overly–trusting in the honesty of others. This, interestingly, was also Stalin's take on the character; he saw himself as an Othello figure, according to Jill Warren, a man surrounded by lesser human beings all out to destroy him.

Edwin Gentzler, one of the leading Translation scholars in the USA today, discussing *Hamlet* in China takes up Baudrillard's suggestion that in today's global world, texts circulate rather than originate and reflects on the fact that the nature of translation is palimpsestic, as new layers are continually laid down over existing versions of a text. He shows how the first Chinese engagement with Shakespeare came, as it did in several other Asian countries, via Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*. The first Chinese *Hamlet* in 1904 was based on a summary of the Lambs' summary and was entitled *A Ghost's Summons*, which I rather like. As with the earlier Italian versions, additional material was added, plots were changed, but the result was successful. Reflecting on the ways in which Chinese translators and directors have rewritten *Hamlet* in their own contexts, Gentzler looks for ways of interpreting the complexities of such transformations (Gentzler 2017).

Genette's focus upon the relations between texts and multiple ways they reread and rewrite one another is perhaps a more fitful approach to better understanding Hamlet translations and rewritings in China. So too, does Linda Hutcheon's thinking about the original as an already adapted text help with unpacking the layers.

Gentzler proposes a new term 'tradaptation', reminding us that Shakespeare was himself an actor so was well–aware of the layering, borrowing, rewriting and adapting processes any text undergoes. For translation is never a straightforward process of ferrying a text across a linguistic border, it always involves complex systems of decoding and re–encoding in the target language context. This is all the more apparent in the case of a theatre text, where the verbal is just one of the many different sign systems that combine to create a performance event. Lorna Hardwick reminds us of the importance for a translator of a work from an earlier time period to take on board both the history of its textual editing and changing performance conventions and audience expectations: «Different constituencies of readers and spectators stand in different relationships to what has gone before textually, theatrically, culturally and in terms of the unexpected that strikes as they watch, listen and read» (Hardwick 2013:338).

Hardwick sees the task of the translator as being to create a text for the present, though taking into account the history of that work. This, inevitably, means that a translation for a performance will be as transitory as the performance event. «Performance translation», she writes, «may be just for a season because the cusp between past and present is constantly under review» (ibid.).

Giuseppe Verdi instinctively understood that. Struggling to create an opera version of *King Lear*, he wrote in 1852 to his translator, the Udinese poet, Antonio Somma, complaining about the difficulties of working with a play created in an age when a completely different set of theatre conventions prevailed:

> … there are too many scene changes. The one thing that has always held me back from dealing more often with Shakespeare's works has been precisely that need of his to keep on changing scenes. When I used to go to the theatre, this was something that irritated me immensely, I seemed to be sitting through a magic lantern show.

> The French have the right idea: they set their plays in such a way that they only need one scene per act: that way the action moves along splendidly without any hiccups and without distracting the attention of the audience. I do understand that with Lear it would be impossible to have just one scene per act, but if you could find a way to get rid of a few, that would be a great thing. Think about it. (Gatti 1968:21)

Verdi was well aware that a great gulf of cultural and theatrical conventions separated his theatre from that of Shakespeare's time. Similarly, a great gulf separates the theatre we enjoy today from that of 19th century Italy, and were they to appear on our stages today, Salvini, Ristori, even Duse would appear absurdly over–melodramatic. Theatre, as a more ephemeral art than either prose or poetry, is subject to continuous change, and this may well be why translations for the theatre date far more quickly that do other types of translation, a question that continues to bedevil some translation theorists. Indeed, within TS, although there are whole libraries of works on poetry translation, there is relatively little on the problems of translating for the theatre.

One of the most interesting translation scholars writing about theatre (he is also an award–winning translator, whose work has been commissioned by the RSC and the Royal Court, among others) is David Johnston, from Queen's University, Belfast. In an essay on his own translation practice, *Professing Translation: the Acts in–Between*, Johnston develops his idea of translation as 'writing forward' which he defines as follows:

> The act of translation as interpretation revivifies the earlier text, relocating it within a new stage language designed specifically to reactivate the semantic charge and hermeneutic potential of the original text. … The prime issue for the translator is one of the use of his or her own historical knowledge, of how they develop a relationship with a past text that allows that pastness both to be protected and brought to new life. (Johnston 2013:373)

We can see the influence of Walter Benjamin here, whose notion of the translation as ensuring the survival, or after–life a text has proved so enabling for translators and so important for raising the status of translations more generally. And it is interesting to think of this idea of revivifying the earlier text in relation to Shakespeare and translation, for it seems to me that we have a conundrum today in the English–speaking world. The high status that Shakespeare has come to enjoy means that his work is still canonised in terms of its language, even in this anti–canonical age. Directors are at liberty to use a variety of other sign systems to bring the plays to audiences, but still there is hesitation as to the validity of translating some of the more obscure parts of Shakespeare – such as the jokes – into modern English. When one thinks about what Tony Harrison has been able to do with Racine, or Liz Lochhead with Moliere, I muse on what Simon Armitage, for example, might do with Shakespeare.

There is an apocryphal story, generally attributed to Martin Esslin (my External Examiner) who is supposed to have remarked that we should pity the poor English, because they have to read Shakespeare in the original, rather than enjoying the benefits of good contemporary translations. This, of course, is a complete reversal of the Anglocentric view that Shakespeare's language is so close to the divine as to be untouchable – though Star Trek fans may recall the moment in *Star Trek VI: The Undiscovered Country*

when the Klingon Chancellor comments that «You have not experienced Shakespeare until you have read him in the original Klingon».

Carla Dente, in her "Introduction" to a collection of essays on Shakespeare translations in contemporary Europe, published in 2008, has gone even further, suggesting that: «Shakespeare has become a foreigner in England herself owing to the absolute taboo against any modification whatsoever of his language» whilst the opposite process has been taking place in Italy, where constant retranslations have «favoured the concept of the impermanence of the translated text» (Dente 2008:12).

And that is the nub of the problem: the works of a playwright have come to be treated not as plays, as ephemeral texts that are continually remade for new audiences in each generation by the actors who perform them, but as monumental works that demand obeisance. I shall conclude with Borges again, who provocatively maintained that some translations are better than their originals, and who declared in his famous essay on translation, *The Homeric Versions*, that «translation is a long experimental game of chance played with omissions and emphasis» (Kristal 2002:18). What a pity that so few people want to play!

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PART ONE

ENGLISH AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

FATAL RACIAL ENCOUNTERS IN THE US IN THE MEDIA REPRESENTATION

Lucia Abbamonte

The University of Campania "Luigi Vanvitelli"

Introduction and Aims

Discussions of such interrelated notions as identity, citizenship, ethnicity, and race are usually formulated in reference to the present trends of immigration and/or globalisation. However, when dealing with cultural dis–encounters in the US, such issues dramatically emerge at the intra–national level and do not refer to migration flows, but to the historically problematic relationship between Black and White populations. In the contemporary US scenario, we witness violent nationwide racial confrontations, as well as thought–provoking debates on such issues.

Notable examples of violent racially–biased interactions can be found in the *frequent killings of unarmed African–American men by white police officers* in the US. Among recent front–page cases are the deaths of Eric Garner in New York City (July 17, 2014) and Mike Brown (August 9, 2014) in Ferguson (MO), which can be seen as two instances of the same tragedy, on both the personal and social levels. Those killings were followed by months of nationwide protests and rioting, calls for justice and voluminous news–media coverage, all of which constitute the focus of this study. A key issue at stake in these stories is racial profiling: these deaths are a stern reminder that *race still plays a critical role in how the law is enforced in the US.* Apparently, a persistent identity and empathy gap is still generating conflictual mixed socio–cultural interactions. The fact that no police officers in these cases have been brought to trial has had a disruptive impact on societal values and belief systems, which in our web–wired arena is still resonating beyond socio–geographical boundaries.

The role of the media in this chain of events cannot easily be overvalued, owing to their ever–growing potential to intersect the plurality of the existing communication channels, and to rapidly engage with (news media) audiences. In particular, through the fluid and virtually global semiosphere of the Worldwide Web, many (old and new) newspapers increasingly disseminate and amplify their news by utilising both real–time, cross–media communication and hyper–textual links to additional sources (which, in turn, lead to other sources, and so on). Moreover, on many newspaper websites different genres share contiguous spaces, such as more traditional articles alongside freer 'voices',

blogs, forums, tweets, social media, as in the case of *The Huffington Post* (the liberal–oriented American online news aggregator), featuring Black Voices, Gay Voices, etc.

The aim of this study is to analyse both qualitative and quantitative data from the news coverage of the protests following these killings. Samples extracted from the HuffPost website, both from the articles and from the Black Voices bloggers' posts will be comparatively analysed along the evaluative dimension, by utilising some of the Appraisal Framework categories, with a special focus on «Attribution» (White 2012), with its evaluative implications. The main difference between the journalists' and bloggers' voices can be found in their degree of personalisation/impersonalisation, as will be shown and discussed in this study.

Background

Fatal Encounters, under the media lens

A recent outbreak of high–profile incidents (2014–2015) where unarmed African–American (mostly male) people were killed by white police officers sparked nationwide protests and violent conflicts as well as debates about the use of excessive force and racial profiling by officers[1].

When Michael Brown, an unarmed African–American teenager and model student with no criminal background, was fatally shot by a white police officer (August 9, 2014) in Ferguson, his death had a nationwide resonance[2]. It aroused a movement that had begun with the killing of another unarmed African–American teenager, Trayvon Martin, shot in 2012 by a neighbourhood watch volunteer, for no credible reason. Only a month before, Eric Garner had died after being placed in a chokehold by NYPD officers[3].

These nearly contemporaneous killings show many similarities and have had analogous resonance in the media, which contributed to sparking unrelenting protests across the country.

In brief, peaceful protests gave way to protracted violence in Ferguson after the grand jury (on Nov. 25, 2014) decided not to charge the white police officer Darren Wilson for the fatal shooting of Brown. The phrase *'Hands up, don't shoot'* became the rallying cry for the protest. The day after (Nov. 26, 2014), Garner's family joined the families of Brown and Akai Gurley (another victim) in Harlem, as Reverend Al Sharpton (a frequent talk–show guest) spoke about the aftermath of the Ferguson grand jury decision. Then, on Nov. 29, 2014, demonstrators took to the streets of Harlem to both protest against the denied justice in Ferguson and voice their concerns about the pending grand jury decision in the death of Eric Garner. They asked for the indictment of the officer Daniel Pantaleo, expecting things to be different in New York.

[1] http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2015/08/09/timeline-dozens-unarmed-african-americans-killed-since-ferguson/31375795/. See also http://mappingpoliceviolence.org/

[2] Timeline: *Michael Brown shooting in Ferguson*, Mo. By Emily Brown, «Usa Today» 3:47 p.m. EDT August 10, 2015.

[3] Pictures/Timeline_%20Eric%20Garner%20Death%20_%20NBC%20New%20York.html (abridged)

In our visual–verbal web–wired arena, "I can't breathe", Garner's last words, quickly became a loud rallying cry for the protest. At Garner's funeral, on Wednesday, July 23, hundreds gathered in Brooklyn, and Rev. Sharpton spoke as follows:

> Let's not play games with this. You don't need no training to stop choking a man saying 'I can't breathe'. You don't need no cultural orientation to stop choking a man saying 'I can't breathe.' You need to be prosecuted and you need to be put away.[4]

Interestingly, the Reverend repeatedly used the non–standard (African American Vernacular English) double negative. On August 23, about 2,500 people marched through Staten Island, many carrying signs, reading "Police the NYPD" or "RIP Eric Garner", and, among the most popular, "I can't breathe", and "Hands up, don't shoot", thus echoing the protests in Ferguson over the police shooting of Michael Brown. When in the following December (2014), the Staten Island grand jury declined to indict Pantaleo in Garner's death, hundreds of demonstrations against general police brutality found in Garner's death their fulcrum, and the effectiveness of grand juries was seriously questioned. Finally, on July 13, 2015, an out–of–court settlement was reached in which the City of New York would pay the Garner family $5.9 million.

The clamour of the protests cast light on similar cases from the past years, some leading to charges against the police officers involved, many others not. Such a long list of shocking deaths (e.g., Tamir Rice, 12, fatally shot by Cleveland police after officers mistook his toy gun for a real weapon), and the ensuing controversial decisions, showed the need for a serious national debate about race, privilege and policing in the US, which developed an interesting topic–related vocabulary.

Unarmed people killed by police: Numbers from official sources and the media countering

How many police shootings a year? No one knows – reads the title of a Washington Post Article (September 8, 2014)[5]. The lack of reliable national data on how many people are killed by police officers each year is a crucial omission. Apparently, while the Justice Department possesses no comprehensive database of police shootings, the nation's 17,000 law enforcement agencies are allowed to self–report officer–involved shootings. The available number – including only self–reported information from only 750 law enforcement agencies – hovers around 400 'justifiable homicides' by police officers each year. Complete aggregate data in this research domain are difficult to obtain: how many people die at the hands of police, and/or (white or African–American) criminals, for arms–related casualties, (etc.)? The exact numbers are not (made) known.

Again, the role of the media in ascertaining the facts is essential. Reporters as well as motivated people using the contemporary social media have been making a collec-

[4] Pictures/Timeline_%20Eric%20Garner%20Death%20_%20NBC%20New%20York.html

[5] https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2014/09/08/how-many-police-shootings-a-year-no-one-knows/

tive effort to gather more reliable data. To give some examples, an analysis of public records, local news and reports coordinated by «The Guardian» found that agencies are killing people at twice the rate calculated by the US government, and African–Americans (amounting to 13.2% of the population) are twice as likely to be shot and killed by the police as white people (amounting to 62.6% of the population) are[6].

The semantics of the percentages is very expressive, indicating a racial imbalance that Steven Hawkins described as startling. On its website, «The Guardian» has promoted an initiative that is a relevant example of the ability of the media to 'engage' their audiences[7]. Other interesting initiatives have been taken through the 2012 project *Fatal Encounter,*[8], and the powerful platform Change.org.

'White Surprise' at African–American Deaths – a case of contrasting cultural frames

Interestingly enough, when Colin Powell was interviewed about Ferguson, he simply said «I was shocked, but not that surprised»[9]. An effective explanation of this comment can be found in excerpts from this very argumentative text blogged by Chauncey De Vega (Sep 29, 2014)[10]:

> *Dear White Folks, Please, Stop Being So 'Surprised' When White Cops Shoot Unarmed Black People.*
>
> However well–intentioned and sincere the concern and surprise by the (white) American public towards the events in Ferguson, the shooting of Levar Jones by Sean Groubert [white state trooper], or the panoply of unarmed black men by the police every 28 hours in America may be, their response is still colored by white privilege. Black and brown Americans have been complaining about police brutality against their communities for several hundred years. *Those concerns have largely been ignored by the white public.* In the United States, the black body is so imperiled and used to being the object of white racial terrorism and violence that Levar Jones, an innocent man, apologised to Sean Groubert after being shot. If there was not a dashboard camera, Groubert would have *concocted one of the typical lies told by police officers* – the 'criminal' was reaching for a gun.
>
> The white racial frame *deems that those life experiences must be invalidated* as somehow exaggerations, lies, or a function of the 'natural' irrationality of those who are not white – as compared to the natural 'reason' and capacity for 'critical thinking', 'objectivity' and 'rigor' which supposedly comes with being white and male. When white

[6] http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jun/01/black-americans-killed-by-police-analysis;

[7] http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/ng-interactive/2015/jun/01/us-police-killings-tips

[8] http://www.fatalencounters.org/. This database of US officer-involved homicides now holds over 8,000 cases.

[9] http://thinkprogress.org/justice/2015/03/08/3631204/colin-powell-shocked-not-surprised-ferguson-report/ (MAR 8, 2015 10:44AM)

[10] Abridged from: http://www.dailykos.com/story/2014/09/29/1333114/-Dear-White-Folks-Please-Stop-Being-So-Surprised-When-White-Cops-Shoot-Unarmed-Black-People

> folks are surprised or shocked by anti–black and brown racism, I then respond, "did you previously think that black people were crazy?" [my emphasis].

This text effectively contributes to illustrating a typical example of different socio–cognitive frames (van Dijk 2008; Wodak and Reisigl 2015) coexisting within the same national territory, namely, the divide between what are now known as the *White privilege perspective* vs. the *African–American perspective* on many aspects of the present scenario in the US. Apparently, the same events – these senseless killings of African–Americans at the hands of white police – are viewed very differently. There is no reaction of surprise for such brutality in African–American audiences, whose shared perception is, apparently, an awareness of the psychophysical efforts and costs of navigating a colour line in a 'white supremacist' society. To African–Americans 'white surprise' is not well accepted. Considering the history of the US, such surprise is liable to be interpreted as the result of an attitude of elective ingenuousness towards old and new racial issues. Such naiveté has seemingly led to a dismissive attitude towards the life experiences of others, as can typically happen to members of a privileged social group. From an African–American perspective, 'white coloured surprise' appears as the result of a biased re–coding of hard–to–ignore realities over the decades – not to mention the centuries. Traditionally, the mostly white media coverage of such deaths has been situated within the discursive practices used by journalists (and other professionals) to shape events according to socially organised ways of seeing and understanding events, usually conducive to a kind of socio–cultural amnesia. What has now dramatically limited the scope for such 'white' invalidation of these dismal happenings? Widespread real time, cross–media, multimodal communication. Anyone with a mobile phone can make a video and share it immediately. It is then impossible to censure, or simply ignore, videos that frequently go 'viral', thus making indictment for the responsible persons unavoidable in many cases, and at the same time seriously questioning acquired racially biased frames of mind.

Methodology

Methodological background

One significant contribution that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has to offer for an understanding of the present relevance of such longstanding issues is the unveiling of the intrinsic inter–connectedness of discourse, power and ideology. Such interconnectedness has variously been highlighted by Fairclough (2006, 2001; Fairclough, Mulderrig, Wodak 2011), who was deeply influenced by the thought of the French historian and philosopher Michel Foucault. A useful overview of CDA focal approaches is provided by Jahedi, Sathi and Mukundan (2014).

Critical discourse analysis is a method that analyses language as discourse, which means that «language is conceived as one element of the social process dialectically interconnected with others» (Fairclough and Graham 2002:188). CDA analyses real instances of social interaction, which take a complete or partial linguistic form as it aims to make visible «the ideological loading of particular ways of using language and the relations of power» which underlie them (Fairclough and Wodak 1997:258). Critical discourse analysis

examines social practices based on their discourse moments (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999). It emphasises «the substantively linguistic and discursive nature of social relations of power» and the way they are used and discussed in discourse (Fairclough and Wodak 1997:272). CDA is used to analyse texts in order to discover what «structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events play a role» in production or reproduction of unequal power relations (Van Dijk 1993a:250).

Furthermore, the tools of Wodak's (2015), and Wodak's and Reisigl's (2015) discourse historical approach (DHA), which extensively combines historical, socio–political and linguistic perspectives, can also be utilised to frame some aspects of the fatal racial encounters under analysis, being an integrative, multi–layered methodological approach (Abbamonte 2012). However, this lies beyond the scope (and space limits) of this study, whose major focus is on more specific issues of attribution in the media representation of such encounters.

In brief, and more relevantly for the purposes of the present analysis, through its variety of tools, CDA 'de–naturalises' ideologies expressed in discourse, and reveals how power structures are constructed/negotiated in and through discourse. *CDA unravels* why/what is included or excluded, and what is made explicit or left implicit, *what is foregrounded* and *what is backgrounded*, what is *thematised* or *unthematised*, what process types and categories are drawn upon to represent events, and so on (Fairclough, Mulderrig, Wodak 2011). Furthermore, in discourse, people can be personalised or impersonalised, represented as specific individuals or as generic types. Certain *naming strategies* therefore foreground aspects of a person's identity while backgrounding others (van Leeuwen 2014).

A central point is that *the race and policing issue had not been thematised–foregrounded in media coverage until recently*. Now, increasingly, the focus has narrowed down to racial confrontation, racial profiling and police brutality, also thanks to the Black Lives Matter movement, which has captured the media's full attention. In 2015, BLM blossomed from an unplanned, passionate and (mostly) local protest into a structured political movement. The protesters are bringing burning issues of social inequality to the fore, denouncing discrimination (e.g. on college campuses) and acquired privileges, as well as cases of police brutality, thus successfully undermining certainties by prosecuting police chiefs and other responsible persons. The movement has contributed to heightening the scrutiny and criticism of police, and this, according to FBI chief Jim Comey, is causing an over–cautious attitude among police officers and a consequent crime wave in the United States – the so–called Ferguson effect. However, many, including Barack Obama and former attorney general Eric Holder, have disputed this theory. Apart from the results or conclusions of such debates, to have such an illustrious interlocutor as the president of the US (and his supporters), coupled with his prolonged attention to such questions, has definitely made the difference as regards the thematisation–foregrounding of such longstanding issues. This new discourse/power relationship is granting African–Americans the right to voice their systemic uneasiness, «by connecting the dots for people and weaving a broader story about systemic injustice so the masses could understand life as a black person in America. In 2015, we know we can both tell the story and change the story»[11].

[11] A. Altman 2015. *Black-Lives-Matter*: http://time.com/time-person-of-the-year-2015-runner-up-black-lives-matter/

CDA notions foregrounded in this analysis – attribution, im/personalisation

The U.S. scenario, with its renewed sensitivity to the condition of African–Americans and Hispanic Americans in a white–privileged society would pre–empt quality media from (explicitly) voicing politically incorrect opinions and stances. Furthermore, in quality news media, articles may be read as detached and impartial, while at the same time they may advance a particular value position**.** In his recent investigations in the axiological/value positions of 'reporter's voice' in news stories, White defined 'attribution' as

> a mechanism whereby the journalistic author, through directly – quoted or indirectly –reported speech, [by employing a relatively impersonal style] *presents the viewpoints* and versions of event on offer in an article *as derived from some external source* [especially as far as] evaluative, interpretive [and potentially contentious meanings are concerned], thus achieving a kind of *strategic impersonalisation*, by which the journalist's evaluative role is backgrounded and that of the quoted source foregrounded. This particular stylistic regime has been given the label 'reporter voice'. (2012 b: 57-58, my italics)

Mostly, the 'reporter voice' literature, with its evaluative implications, focuses on the diversity of epistemic verbs, reporting verbs (by which materials from an external source can be included in texts) and evidentials (e.g. apparently, reportedly, etc.). One primary focus here will be on the communicative arrangements by which, mainly through reporting verbs and evidentials, the journalistic authors engage dialogistically with the diversity of voices and viewpoints, thus providing, in Bakhtinian terms, a 'heteroglossic' backdrop to news reports (as schematised in Figure 1).

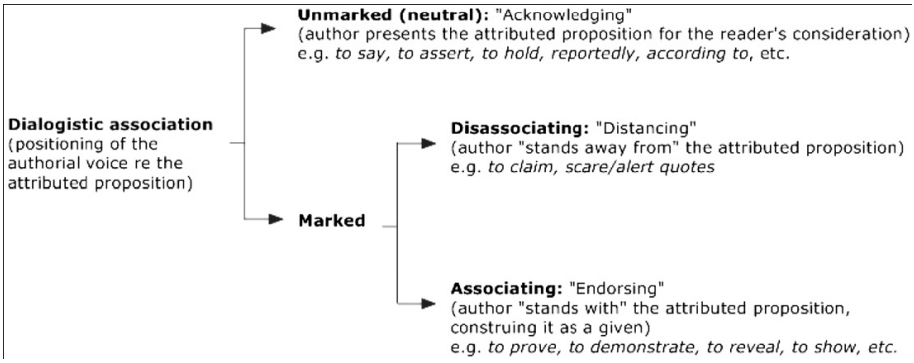

Figure 1. Journalistic voice – Dialogistic association (White 2012: 64)

However, entailed notions (in attribution) such as 'representing/generating/lowering un/certainty' or 'textual disfavouring' do not simply, or necessarily, rely on the choice of the verb or on explicitly attitudinal lexis, owing to the 'neutralism' (Greatbatch 1998) of many journalistic texts. Such effects can be generated from an interaction between one particular dialogistic position and other evaluative elements in the text; hence, they

are purely dialogistic, rather than lexis–based. Following White's explorations of the axiological workings of the 'reporter voice' (2012) – the confined/constrained attitudinal positioning of journalistic voices can be schematised as follows:

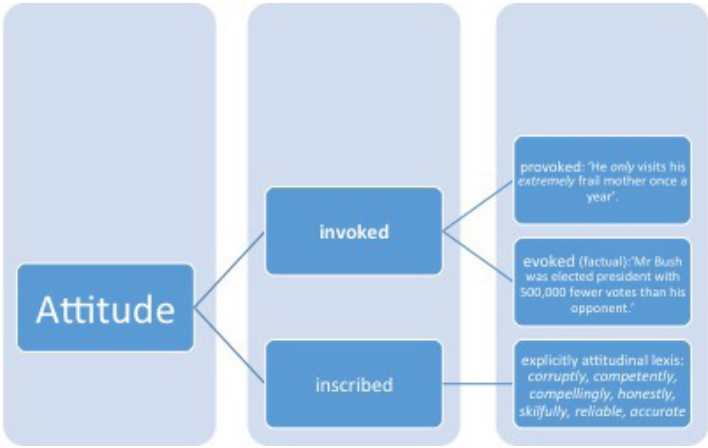

Figure 2. Attitude in the reporter's voice

Is a quantitative analysis possible in this domain of investigation? In brief, because of journalistic 'neutralism', quantitative analysis can only be used to some extent and side by side with qualitative analysis, especially when notions such as strategic Im–/Personalisation and Thematisation are entailed. Indeed, given the limited scope for explicit expression of the journalistic attitudinal positioning, the mechanisms of attribution need to be strategically impersonal.

Corpus

A small specialised corpus (33.277 running words) was extracted from the HuffPost coverage of both Eric Garner's and Michael Brown's deaths and ensuing protests (time span: July 2014 to August 2015).

The HuffPost was chosen since it offers both more traditional articles, and the sections: Black Voices, Latino Voices, etc., as well as featured blogs, and ample space for tweets, trends, etc. Furthermore, it utilises an innovative real–time relevancy testing system[12] for its articles. Also, the HuffPost's very fluid layout, (relying on Hyper–Textuality, Cross–Mediality, Embedding, etc.) makes it particularly attractive to contemporary readers.

The corpus consists both in 24 more traditional articles, sorted by relevance, (12 articles from the *Politics and Crime Section,* of 8.289 words; 12 articles from the *Black*

[12] By 2012 HuffPost was ranked 1st on the 15 Most Popular Political Sites: www.niemanlab.org/2009/10/how-the-huffington-post-uses-real-time-testing-to-write-better-headlines.

Voices section, of 10,716 words) and in 12 articles posted on the featured blog *Black Voices* (14,272 words).

The framing of the data from the perspectives of 'attribution'

Reporting verbs, evidentials and pronouns

The following Table 1 shows the frequency of the reporting verbs and evidentials across the three sub–corpora, ranging from unmarked to *dissociating* or associating (as shown in Figure 1).

A general prevalence of unmarked attribution can be observed across the three sub–corpora, apart from the high frequency of 'scare/alert quotes', which suggest a careful professional attitude or distancing, and would be worthy of a case by case qualitative study. The main reason for the unmarked attribution is to be found in the strict policy of the HuffPost, which forbids any kind of political 'impoliteness'. Furthermore, as anticipated, though attitudinal and ideological work is present, it does not necessarily depend on specific words and phrases or reporting verbs, but relies mainly on macro–textual constructions, such as foregrounding, thematising and impersonalisation, as is more apparent in the use of personal pronouns.

Garner's + Brown's deaths	Tot. words	Say -s -ed	Tell-- s-d	Report-s ed-ly; According to	State - s -ed	*Claim -s*	*Allegedly*	*"…"*	**Show -s -ed**	**Prove, demonstrate, reveal**
12 Relevant Articles from the Crime +Politics Sections ['white']	8.289	14+ 6+70	2+2 +20	0+3+5 +5; 7	1+2 +2	1+0	*0*	*98*	**1+4+4**	**1; 1; 0**
12 Relevant Articles from the Black Voices' Section	10.716	8+6 +129	1+0 +16	0+0 +3 +2; 7	0+0 +1	*2+0+1*	*1+0*	*176*	**3+2+4**	**0; 2; 0** [demonstrates the need]
12 Relevant Articles from the Black Voices' BLOG	14.272	12+4 +73	6+1 +26	1+2 +3+2; 11	1[ed]	*1+1+0*	*0*	*143*	**8+4+0**	**0+0+1**
	33.277									

Table 1. Reporting verbs and evidentials

A general prevalence of unmarked attribution can be observed across the three sub–corpora, apart from the high frequency of 'scare/alert quotes', which suggest a careful professional attitude or distancing, and would be worthy of a case by case qualitative study. The main reason for the unmarked attribution is to be found in the strict policy of the HuffPost, which forbids any kind of political 'impoliteness'. Furthermore, as anticipated, though attitudinal and ideological work is present, it does not necessarily depend on specific words and phrases or reporting verbs, but relies mainly on macro–textual constructions, such as foregrounding, thematising and impersonalisation, as is more apparent in the use of personal pronouns.

Garner's + Brown's deaths	Tot. words	I	We	You	He	She	It	They
12 Relevant Articles from the Crime +Politics Sections ['white']	8.289	32 [17 times in '*I can't breathe*']	26	19	68	5	31	25
12 Relevant Articles from the Black Voices' Section	10.716	36 [11 times in '*I can't breathe*']	36	22	79	16	43	52
12 Relevant Articles from the Black Voices' BLOG	14.272	201 [zero times in '*I can't breathe*']	78	55	84	34	94	46
	33.277							

Table 2. Pronouns

The main difference between the journalistic authors' and the bloggers' voices is to be found in the dimension of personalisation/impersonalisation. Personal involvement is (predictably) higher, with a greater use of first person pronouns, in the Black voices Blog, which is a featured blog with thought–provoking and much longer articles than those in the other sections.

Qualitative data

Here follows a qualitative analysis of four abridged excerpts from a post by an African–American blogger on the HuffPost's Black Voices featured blog, along the lines of attitudinal positioning in reporting, as related to attribution, following White's definitions of such mechanisms, with some inevitable overlapping.

How African–American reporters report on African–American death[13]

Legend/key

[emotionally] *provoked attitude* [see Figure 2]
[logically] evoked attitude
Self–attribution^{S}, Personalisation^{P}
Thematisation^{Thmt}

1. [Mainly thematisation] Every black Ferguson resident **I interviewed^{S}** last year had his own story about an *unfair encounter with local cops.*^{Thmt} And, *unsurprisingly*, nearly all black journalists I've talked to mentioned a similar story.^{Thmt} Charles Blow of the New York Times wrote earlier this year about how his son, a Yale student, had a gun pulled on him by campus police who thought he didn't belong at the school's library. *And so on*.^{Thmt} **I have my own stories^{S}** along these lines. These stories, these moments, pushed many of us into journalism in the first place.^{Thmt} Today, a lot of us occupy desks in national newsrooms at a time when questions about policing and race have become arguably the biggest story in the country.^{Thmt} At the same time, **many of us^{SP}** are *puzzling out* what it means **to be black reporters reporting on black death^{SP}** in an industry that's traditionally operated like this: Some people tell the tough stories (*white, upper middle class, mostly male*), and other people have *tough stories* happen to them.^{Thmt}

2. [Mainly about the thematisation of journalistic black voice] "**We're^{SP}** in a position as journalists, but also as black journalists, where *we're constantly aware of and wrestling with these things*," he said.^{Thmt} As calls for newsroom diversity get louder and louder — *and rightly so* — **we might do well to consider^{SP}** what it means that there's an emerging class of black reporters at boldface publications reporting on the short–changing of black life in this country.^{Thmt} They're investigating police killings and segregated schools and racist housing policies and ballooning petty fines while their loved ones, or people who look like their loved ones, are out there living those stories.^{Thmt} What it means — for the reporting **we** do, for the brands **we** represent, and for *our own mental health* — that **we** don't stop being black people when **we're working^{SP}** as black reporters. That **we** *quite literally have skin in the game*.^{SP} **We** can't live in any bubble. *We're trying to pop the bubbles*. As part of **our** jobs, **we** have to confront this stuff in a way that other people don't."^{Thmt} But in the case of someone like Trymaine covering the death of someone like Freddie Gray or Walter Scott — men who might resemble an uncle, a cousin, a brother — it's easy to see him requiring an additional set of cognitive gymnastics to get through.$^{Thmt+SP}$

3. [Mainly personalisation+self–attribution] "At some point, *it feels^{P} like pornography*," Trymaine Lee, **a friend^{P}** and a reporter at MSNBC, **told me^{S}** a couple of weeks ago, when I asked him *if he ever struggled^{P} to watch one of those gruesome videos.*^{Thmt} Trymaine, who's 36, is a gregarious, self–assured cat,^{P} he sees this work as his calling.^{S} **I was surprised^{S}** to hear that the Ferguson story *ate at him so much*. "Day after day, not just dealing with the *heat on the ground*, but also *the physical heat and emotional heat of Ferguson*,"^{Thmt} he recalled. "It was a lot."$^{Thmt+S}$ And it wasn't just Ferguson.^{Thmt} Within days of Brown's death, *the grim roster expanded:* John Crawford. Ezell Ford. Kajieme Powell. "It was just one after another after another,"^{Thmt} said Trymaine. "Being a journalist, you have to keep some emotional distance from it. *That whole process takes a lot out of you.*"^{P}

4. [Mainly thematisation] In the 12 months since, the national conversation about police brutality^{Thmt} has reached a *higher pitch* than we could have imagined.^{Thmt} But this beat has also been *distressing and unrelenting.*^{Thmt} I've come *uncomfortably close*^{P} to handing in my resignation. **I've talked to^{P}** a dozen other black reporters who've covered race and policing since Michael Brown's death^{Thmt} and

[13] G. Demby, HUFFPOST-http://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2015/08/20/432590298/how-black-reporters-report-on-black-death

> *it's been a relief to learn* that **I'm not the only one.**[PS] That *sinking feeling* when a hashtag of a black person's name starts trending on Twitter,[Thmt] the *guilty avoidance* of watching the latest video of a black person losing his life,[Thmt] the *flashes of resentment and irritation*[PS] *at well–meaning tweets* and emails sent by readers asking **me** to weigh in on the latest development in the latest case.[Thmt]

The strongly axiological attitudinal positioning in the extracts above is conveyed through invoked (provoked+evoked) rather than inscribed/explicit attitudinal lexis, and through unmarked reporting verbs (2 tell; 2 say). The text effectively displays the contemporary thematisation–foregrounding of relevant contemporary issues about policing and race, which 'have become arguably the biggest story in the country'. A variety of attitudinal lexis is also used in the voicing and self–attributing of opinions regarding further salient issues at stake, such as African–American professional and personal identity in relation to the grim theme of these African–American deaths. Significantly, the need for 'an additional set of cognitive gymnastics to get through' is called into question to express the increasingly shared awareness of contrasting cultural and cognitive frames still at work in the US, which African–American reporters and essayists contribute to expose across the media with a deeper consciousness, through a sophisticated use of the 'reporter voice'.

Discussion and concluding remarks

This study investigated aspects of the media representation of the deaths of two unarmed African–American men at the hands of police officers, focusing on the axiological positions of the reporters' voices in the context of the contrasting cultural and cognitive frames, which are still (and outstandingly) recognisable in the contemporary US scenario. A central issue in our converged and mobile communicative environment is the multimodal real time resonance of events, which prevents the ensuing news from being invalidated or silenced, owing to the impact of the media affordances on how we experience news. An overarching question is the fluidity of the cross–mediatic space, which is accessible to anybody with a keyboard and/or a mobile phone. This shared dimension on the one hand blurs the boundaries between the expert, professional journalist and the mass of communicators/creators of contents – in our case, the HuffPost, as is now common, gives space to many interactive social media. Overall, the so–called traditional media are increasingly sharing the dimensions of the new social media, which is an interesting research topic in itself. On the other hand, this fluid accessibility allows a dialogistic diversity of voices and viewpoints that can help to bring about change in perspectives and/or policies (one example, *change.org*).

Nowadays, reports, narratives and videos can soon become 'viral', thus making a monoglossic reframing of the events hardly conceivable. Hence, the scope for 'white surprise' at the reports of African–American deaths is increasingly limited and, to varying extents, denounced as the effect of 'white privilege'. From a CDA perspective, in the contemporary US news discourse the themes of the African–Americans' condition and the 'white racial frame' are now foregrounded–thematised. The use of reporting verbs and pronouns in our corpus displays varying extents of attribution: the highest levels of

self–attribution/personalisation are attained in the articles posted on the Black Voices Blog, as well as the deeper levels of personal responsiveness and African–American–awareness – 'we quite literally have skin in the game'.

As regards the wider context, two questions may arise – Will the standard police narrative about 'aggressive' African–Americans now be challenged in the US? Will the condition of the African–American population noticeably change because of the media's foregrounding it? Actually, such narratives are increasingly tested, and there have been several Justice Department investigations resulting in indictments. Besides, the recent shooting of five police officers in Dallas by the black veteran Micah Xavier Johnson (July 7, 2016), though vehemently condemned, was considered as a reaction to an unjust situation, rather than as an incomprehensible act of violence: the kind of retaliatory violence that people have feared through two years of protests around the country against deaths in police custody, forcing yet another wrenching shift in debates over race and criminal justice that had already deeply divided the nation[14].

Hence, this and similar episodes did not substantially reverse the growing tendency to pay specific attention to the racism in law enforcement. As concerns the second question, complex and much debated issues are involved, which lie well beyond the scope of this study. Suffice it to say, that after the riots in Ferguson, amplified by the media, an interim African–American police chief and an interim African–American city manager were appointed.

As regards the role of the media in our web–wired socio–cultural arena – where the public daily rushes to judgment, as in a kind of virtual court of public opinion, expressing an immediate verdict – a final consideration may be worth making. Although powerful and influential narratives can traverse the world at the speed of a click, eventually bringing about significant (and even unpredictable) change, this will not make the understanding of 'truth' or 'facts' any simpler, given the workings of sophisticated attribution mechanisms in the contemporary hyper–divided media environment.

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INVESTIGATING THE COVERAGE OF AMERICAN AND BRITISH CULTURAL INFORMATION IN THREE ITALIAN–ENGLISH BILINGUAL DICTIONARIES

Laura Pinnavaia

University of Milan

Introduction

In any dictionary the worldviews of a society are apparent (Béjoint 2010:202). Willy–nilly a dictionary transmits the dominating «ideas, customs, social behaviour, products, or way of life of a particular nation, society, people, or period, and especially in English dictionaries» (see, for example, Benson 2001, Moon 1989). Under particular scrutiny have come labels and notes that provide (diasystematic) information about the usage of a word (see, for example, Otlogetswe 2012, Ptaszynski 2010, Yang 2007) through which ideological positions exude more evidently, compared to a more discreet emanation through the selection of lemmas, wording of the definitions, or choice of examples.

The full range of information provided by labels available in English language dictionaries seems to have been noted, among others, by Landau (1984) and Hausmann (1989), reiterated more recently, among other scholars, by Bergenholtz and Tarp (1995), Atkins and Rundell (2008), and Svensén (2009), and can comprise up to eleven types of restrictions covering the three macro socio–cultural functions of language: the ideational (etymological origins, temporal span, frequency of use, the region of use, subject field), the interpersonal (level of formality, if used by certain social groups only, the linguistic community's attitude, deviation from the cultural standard) and the textual (whether literary or poetic, if employed in written or spoken texts). By restricting dictionary definitions to certain contexts (Verkuyl et al. 2008:298), usage labels and notes «represent the views and prejudices of the established, well–educated, upper classes", whose prerogative it is to preserve and disseminate their own particular use of the English language» (Landau 1984:303).

Especially needy of this kind of pragmatic information are language learners whose knowledge of a foreign language often stops at the lexical and semantic level. In fact the Modern Theory of Lexicographical Functions (MTLF) ideated by Bergenholtz and Tarp (2003) and Tarp (2008) underlines the importance of determining the user profile before establishing the type and the position of labels/notes selected for inclusion in a

dictionary. Unlike native speakers, learners ought to benefit greatly from diasystematic information in order to go beyond a purely linguistic competence and embrace an extralinguistic one too. This explains why monolingual learner's dictionaries of English issued by Cambridge, Collins Cobuild, Longman, Macmillan, Merriam Webster and Oxford have always made extensive use of usage labels and notes, perfecting the method edition by edition (see, for example, Vrbinc–Vrbinc 2015). Particularly effective, it would seem, are usage notes: if some surveys have reported that labels tend to be overseen by dictionary–users (Atkins and Varantola 1997), usage notes are instead less easily missed. Being «descriptive explications presented within the entry or as a framed article forming an element of the inside matter of a dictionary» (Burkhanov 2008:106), usage notes can be more exhaustive and possibly even more incisive than labels.

Despite the evolution of English monolingual learner lexicography in the last fifty years or so, monolingual dictionaries are not learners' most favourite lexicographical tools. While language teachers tend to foster their use for most language learning tasks, learners still prefer to employ bilingual dictionaries (Barbe 2001:66). It is for this reason that in the last few decades lexicographical projects and research have increasingly been centering on the compilation and the investigation of bilingualised learner's dictionaries for English and other languages (see, among others, Atkins 1985, Laufer and Kimmel 1997, Lew 2004, Pujol et al. 2006, Thumb 2004), aware of the fact that translational equivalents are helpful at all levels of the learning process: elementary, intermediate, and advanced (Al–Kasimi 1983:103-4).

Although English bilingualised dictionaries for Italian learners are still a mirage, traditional Italian–English bilingual lexicography has advanced considerably in the last few years by issuing new revised and updated editions of older Italian–English dictionaries. Particularly innovative and still not wholly investigated in this field of lexicography is the inclusion of usage notes that offer Italian learners detailed information regarding culturally–bound areas of English life and society. It is the aim of this article, therefore, to begin to investigate the type of English cultural information imparted as usage notes in the following Italian–English bilingual dictionaries: Garzanti Hazon (2009), Oxford–Paravia (2010), and Ragazzini2011 (2010).

Methodology

Although new editions of five well–known Italian–English bilingual dictionaries have been issued in the last ten years; namely, Macchi (2006), Garzanti Hazon (2009), Oxford–Paravia (2010), Picchi (2014) and Ragazzini2011 (2010)[1], only three – as mentioned above – could be selected for this research. Since both Macchi (2006) and Picchi (2014) do not insert usage notes, we were obliged to exclude them and focus exclusively on the other three.

[1] Macchi (2006) is the fifth edition (the dates of the previous editions are 1975, 1981, 1988, 2003); Garzanti Hazon (2009) is a completely new edition (the first edition dates back to 1961, which was followed by other new editions dated 1990–1999, 2003–2004, 2005, 2006, 2007–2008); Oxford-Paravia (2010) is the third edition (the first edition was issued in 2001 and the second in 2006); Ragazzini2011 (2010) is the fourth edition (it is preceded by the three editions dated 1967, 1984, 1995); Picchi (2014) is the fourth edition.

While being perfectly suitable for our research, it is important to point out that Garzanti Hazon (2009), Oxford–Paravia (2010) and Ragazzini2011 (2010) represent two different types of bilingual dictionary. Garzanti Hazon (2009) and Ragazzini2011 (2010) are unidirectional, whereas Oxford–Paravia (2010) is bidirectional. The first editions of the former dictionaries in fact marked the beginnings of contemporary lexicographical practice for Italian learners of English (see O'Connor 1989:142) and are still today aimed principally for Italian students only. This can be gained by the information provided in the front matter regarding, among other things, the notes of usage devoted to explaining life and culture «in Great Britain and the United States» in Garzanti Hazon (2009: xi) and in «English–speaking nations» in Ragazzini2011 (2010:7). That the Oxford Paravia (2010: The Guide to the Use) «incorporates a wide variety of cultural notes, covering interesting aspects of (British, American) Italian society and institutions» proves that, unlike the former, it caters for both Italian students of English and English students of Italian. In fact, owing to this structural difference, Oxford Paravia (2010) includes cultural notes for both users, as opposed to Garzanti Hazon (2009) and Ragazzini2011 (2010), whose notes for English learners of Italian are few and far between. For this reason, it was decided that a comparative analysis of the cultural notes employed in the three dictionaries would focus exclusively on those addressed to Italian learners of English, located in the English–Italian section of each dictionary, or in other words, in the reception–oriented section of the dictionary, which – as stated in theory – is characterised by a significant amount of information regarding the headword, resulting in the inclusion of culture–specific and encyclopaedic facts expressed in the user's native language (Hannas 2008:148).

In sum, in the reception–oriented sections of all three dictionaries, all the English lemmas accompanied by a cultural note were identified and reported along with the cultural information provided. In Garzanti Hazon (2009) (from now on Garzanti) and Ragazzini2011 (2010) (from now on Ragazzini) the notes are highlighted in blue and introduced by the label 'nota'; in Oxford Paravia (2010) (from now on Paravia) they are framed in a blue box signalled by an 'I' that stands for information.

Results

In this section attention will be placed upon the results of the manual search through the dictionaries. The results will focus upon a comparative evaluation across the three dictionaries regarding the number and semantic fields covered by the annotated lemmas, the distribution of annotated lemmas belonging to the same semantic field, and the information provided in the cultural notes.

The number and semantic fields of annotated lemmas

In *Table 1* below are the semantic fields that the lemmas accompanied by cultural notes cover in the three dictionaries.

Table 1.

Semantic field	*Garzanti*	*Paravia*	*Ragazzini*
administration	4	2	1
agriculture	0	0	1
anthropology	5	7	3
architecture	3	3	1
army	0	1	1
art	0	1	0
behaviour	1	0	0
charity	1	2	0
communication	1	0	0
economics	0	0	1
education	39	12	15
entertainment	2	6	3
festivities	12	6	17
finance	3	4	2
food	1	0	0
geography	6	13	7
government & politics	15	30	23
heritage	3	7	1
history	1	2	6
journalism	0	2	0
language	2	2	12
law	2	5	23
leisure	1	1	0
literature	1	3	3
measurements	1	0	2
medecine	0	1	0
money	0	0	1
occupation	0	0	1
plants	1	0	0
political correctness	0	2	12
Religion	4	6	5
road system	0	0	1
Sport	1	2	4
taboo	0	0	1
Titles	0	2	2
Welfare	1	0	0
Total	111	122	149

The first thing worth noting is that the lemmas accompanied by cultural notes span 35 semantic fields. The semantic fields include administration (e.g. *civil service*), agriculture (e.g. *enclosure*), anthropology (e.g. *Celt, Yankee*) architecture (e.g. *Big Ben*), army (*National Guard*), art (*Smithsonian Institution*), behaviour (*eavesdropper*), charity (e.g. *Salvation Army*), communication (*zip code*), economics (e.g. *animal spirits*), education (e.g. *Charter schools*), entertainment (e.g. *pulp magazines*), festivities (e.g. *bank holiday*), finance (e.g. *blue chip*), food (e.g. *trifle*), geography (e.g. *United Kingdom*), government and politics (e.g. *Chancellor of the Exchequor, Congress*), heritage (e.g. *trooping of the colour*), history (e.g. *Magna Carta*), journalism (*Fleet Street*), language (e.g. *basic English*), law (*Habeas Corpus*), leisure (e.g. *pub*), literature (e.g. *nonsense*), measurements (e.g. *pint*), medicine (e.g. *National Health Service*), money (*Maundy money*), occupation (e.g. *jobsworth*), plants (e.g. *shamrock*), political correctness (e.g. *chairman*), religion (*Church of England*), road system (e.g. *driving on the left*), sport (e.g. *The Ashes*), taboo (e.g. *cunt*), titles (e.g. *honourable*), and welfare (e.g. *National Insurance*). The second evident piece of information is that the number of annotated lemmas in each dictionary differs: Garzanti adds the fewest number of cultural notes (111), Paravia annotates 122 lemmas, and Ragazzini with 149 annotated lemmas includes the greatest number of cultural notes. The third noticeable fact is that there are lemmas that are accompanied by a cultural note in one dictionary and not in another, resulting not only in the numerical discrepancy of annotated lemmas across the dictionaries, but a different coverage of semantic fields too. For example, the lemmas *enclosure* and *trifle* that belong to the semantic fields of agriculture and food, whilst appearing in all three dictionaries, are accompanied by a cultural note in the respective Ragazzini and Garzanti only, with the result that in the respective other two dictionaries these semantic fields are left unaccounted for. Consequently, as is very evident from the number of annotated lemmas in each dictionary, there are some semantic fields that are emblematised by a much more conspicuous number of annotated lemmas than other semantic fields. It is the case of the semantic fields of education, government and politics in all three dictionaries; festivities in Garzanti and Ragazzini, geography in Paravia; language, law, and political correctness in Ragazzini. What is also true but not perceptible from this table is that there are semantic fields that are covered by different annotated lemmas in each dictionary. So even though all three dictionaries may include annotations regarding the same semantic field, the lemmas annotated in each dictionary might not necessarily be the same. For instance, Garzanti adds a cultural explanation to the lemmas *blue chip, the City* and *curb market*; Paravia to *Bank of England, Federal Reserve System, The City* and *Wall Street*; Ragazzini to *The City* and *Domesday Book*. Thus, besides the slight difference in number, also the lemmas selected for annotation regarding the semantic field of finance differ across the dictionaries, except for *The City* of course. This will become clearer in the next section when the annotated lemmas covering one semantic field will be more closely examined.

The distribution of annotated lemmas belonging to the same semantic field

By examining the annotated lemmas belonging to three predominant semantic fields – education, government and politics, and festivities – some insight into the way the lemmas differ across the three dictionaries can be gained.

Education

As regards education, the number of annotated lemmas indicates Garzanti's particular interest in the matter: Garzanti annotates 39 lemmas, as opposed to Paravia and Ragazzini that annotate 12 and 15 respectively, as Table 2 below shows.

Table 2.

Garzanti	*Paravia*	*Ragazzini*
A level	charter school	A level
boarding school	colleges	BA
church school	fraternity	College
coeducational school	high school	comprehensive school
college	independent school	eleven–plus
community college	Ivy League	GCSE
comprehensive school	prep school	grammar school
curriculum	primary schools	key stage
day release course	public schools	MA
degree	secondary schools	O Level
further education	sorority	PhD
elementary school	the three R's	preparatory school
eleven–plus		public school
Eton		technical college
GCSE		University
grade		
graduate		
grammar–school		
high school		
kindergarten		
middle school		
mixed–ability teaching		
nursery school		
Open University		
Oxbridge		
Parent–Teacher Association		
PhD		
preparatory school		
private school		
professor		
public school		
remedial course		

Garzanti	*Paravia*	*Ragazzini*
sandwich course		
secondary school		
sixth form		
state school		
Streaming		
teacher		
technical college		

As can be seen from the types of lemmas annotated, all three dictionaries are careful to point out the differences between private and state schools in the Anglo–Saxon world, which are divided into single–sex and mixed institutions, as well as the different levels of education that go from primary school to high or secondary school through to university or colleges. The very different exam system in Britain is also pointed out with notes that accompany the lemmas *O–level, GCSE, A–level, PhD*. In Garzanti, however, more detailed information is provided on schools for infants (e.g. *Kindergarten*, *nursery school*), for high school leavers (e.g. *Open University*, *Oxbridge*, *technical college*), on school courses (*remedial courses*, *sandwich courses*, *streaming*), and on the differences between teachers and professors, making it the richest source of information as far as schooling and education in Britain is concerned.

Government and politics

As to government and politics, it is Paravia that this time provides more lemmas with cultural notes than the other dictionaries: Paravia in fact annotates 30 lemmas, Ragazzini 23, while Garzanti annotates 15, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3.

Garzanti	*Paravia*	*Ragazzini*
backbencher	amendment	backbench
carpetbagger	bill of rights	Cabinet
Chancellor of the Exchequer	cabinet	Chancellor of the Exchequer
Commonwealth	Commonwealth	check and balances
Congress	Congress	Commonwealth
Conservative Party	Constitution	Congress
Democratic Party	Council	Constitution
House of Commons / of Lords / of Representatives	Declaration of Independence	Declaration of Independence
Labour Party	Downing Street	Department
Primary elections	Founding Fathers	Election Day
Republican Party	House of Commons	Exchequer

Garzanti	*Paravia*	*Ragazzini*
Senate	House of Lords	House of Representatives
shadow minister	House of Representatives	Monarchy
Tory	Lame duck	Office
Whig	Mayor	Parliament
	mid–term elections	Senate
	Northern Ireland assembly	shadow cabinet
	Parliament	Sinn Fein
	Pentagon	three line whip
	President	Tory
	Primaries	Whig
	Scottish parliament	Whip
	Senate	
	segregation	
	spoils system	
	State of the Union Address	
	Watergate	
	Welsh Assembly	
	Westminster	
	Whitehall	

While all three dictionaries explain the way the major governmental bodies work in America and in Britain (e.g. *Congress, House of Commons, House of Lords, House of Representatives, Monarchy, Parliament, Senate*) along with the foremost political figures and parties (e.g. *backbencher, Tory, Whig*), Paravia also informs its readers, among other things, about the Northern Irish, Scottish, and Welsh institutions (e.g. *Northern Ireland Assembly, Scottish Parliament, Welsh Assembly*). Moreover, unlike Garzanti and Ragazzini, it enlightens readers about the American electoral system (e.g. *mid–term elections*, *President, primaries*), presidential and political party duties (e.g. *State of Union Address, Spoils system*) and scandals (*Watergate*).

Festivities

It is instead Ragazzini that annotates the greatest number of lemmas regarding the semantic field of festivities.

Besides important British and American historical events, such as *Bonfire Night, Poppy Day*, and *Thanksgiving* that appear in all three dictionaries, Garzanti and Ragazzini also provide information regarding Christian religious holidays, such as *Easter, Good Friday, Michaelmas, Pancake Day*. Particularly interesting is Ragazzini's choice to include and annotate the lemmas *Admission Day, Arbor Day, Kwanza* that refer to special celebratory events in America (California's becoming the 31st state in 1850, planting and caring for trees in the USA on the last Friday of April, the Western African diaspora to

the Americas, respectively), along with the better–known workers' holidays in Britain (*May Day*) and in the United States (*Labor Day*).

In sum, tables 2,3,4 not only exemplify the differing numerical distribution of culturally annotated lemmas across the three dictionaries within one semantic field, but also more importantly show *what* lemmas have been annotated. Even though all three dictionaries include a significant number of annotated lemmas that represent aspects of both British and American life and society, not all three dictionaries annotate the same lemmas within each semantic field. Certainly congruence exists, such as *college*, *prep school*, *public school* under education, *congress* and *commonwealth* under government and politics, *Halloween* and *Thanksgiving* under festivities, but so does much incongruence. Sometimes these differences are purely denominational, such as *Bonfire Night* versus *Guy Fawkes Night* under festivities or *private school* versus *independent school* under education; in most cases, however, they are referential, which thus results in different aspects of British and American life and society being highlighted in each dictionary. It is not easy to surmise why each dictionary should choose to highlight different aspects, but it does seem to show the individual concern each dictionary and its lexicographical team has towards its readership. By annotating more lemmas concerning education than the other dictionaries, Garzanti evidently considers this semantic field the most difficult to understand for the foreign language user. For the Paravia team, Anglo–Saxon government and politics undoubtedly need the most explanation, while for Ragazzini Anglo–Saxon festivities call for particular cultural attention.

The cultural note

As to the way the cultural information is conveyed, this also differs from dictionary to dictionary. If we take as examples three highly culture–bound lemmas annotated in all three dictionaries, we might be able to perceive some of the principal differences between the dictionaries. The three lemmas chosen are *bonfire night*, *public school*(*s*), and *habeas corpus*. The items highlighted in bold are lemmas that can be looked up in the same dictionary.

> 1) Con *Bonfire Night* si designa la notte del 5 novembre detta anche *Guy Fawkes Night*. In tale data in Gran Bretagna si accendono falò e si sparano fuochi di artificio per celebrare l'insuccesso della 'congiura delle polveri' (1605), quando Guy Fawkes, insieme ad altri cospiratori, tentò di far saltare in aria il Palazzo del Parlamento di Londra (Garzanti s.v. *Bonfire Night*)

> 2) Festa Britannica che commemora il fallimento della Congiura della Polveri (*Gunpowder Plot*). Il 5 novembre 1605 cospiratori cattolici, guidati da Guy Fawkes, tentarono di far saltare il Parlamento per eliminare re e il suo governo, ma furono scoperti e giustiziati. Ancora oggi la sera del 5 novembre si bruciano i fantocci di Guy Fawkes in grandi falò (bonfires) e si fanno fuochi di artificio (Paravia s.v. *Bonfire Night*)

> 3) È la festa detta anche *Bonfire Night* (notte dei falò) che si celebra la sera del 5 novembre in ricordo del fallito tentativo di far saltare in aria il parlamento nel 1605 (il cosiddetto *Gunpowder Plot*). Ci sono fuochi artificiali e si accende un falò sul quale

> viene bruciato un fantoccio di stracci, paglia e carta, il cosiddetto *guy*, che rappresenta Guy Fawkes, uno dei cospiratori, il cui arresto permise di sventare l'attentato; ma oggi, in realtà, il fantoccio può rappresentare anche un personaggio politico impopolare del momento (Ragazzini s.v. *Guy Fawkes Night*)

As for the cultural explanation regarding *Bonfire Night*, we can see that it is slightly more exhaustive in both Paravia and Ragazzini. Compared to Garzanti, more details are provided in the former dictionaries: Paravia mentions that the conspirators were Catholic and Ragazzini also mentions the fact that nowadays the guy can also represent a contested politician.

> 4) In Gran Bretagna il termine *public schools* è usato per designare un numero limitato di scuole private, molto esclusive e costose, che godono di grande prestigio. Le *public schools* sono in gran parte *boarding schools*, dove i ragazzi risiedono durante tutto l'anno scolastico. Le scuole private in generale si chiamano *private schools* o *independent schools*. Le scuole pubbliche statali sono dette *state schools*.
> Negli Stati Uniti il termine *public schools* è usato per indicare le scuole pubbliche statali (in Gran Bretagna questo tipo di scuola si chiama *state school*). Il governo federale con sede a Washington esercita un controllo molto ridotto sui sistemi scolastici locali; ogni Stato americano infatti è responsabile dell'istruzione scolastica all'interno dei propri confini, il che comporta notevoli differenze fra uno stato e l'altro per quanto riguarda sia i finanziamenti concessi alle scuole sia il modo in cui esse sono gestite (Garzanti s.v. *public schools*)

> 5) Contrariamente a quello che il loro nome sembrerebbe indicare, le public schools inglesi sono scuole private. Sono in genere frequentate dai figli della classe dirigente e dei ceti agiati in quanto il costo della retta è molto elevato, in particular modo nelle più prestigiose (*Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Rugby*). Tuttavia queste scuole concedono iscrizioni gratuite o borse di studio agli allievi meritevoli meno abbienti (v. *Secondary schools*) (Paravia s.v. *Public schools*)

> 6) In Inghilterra e nel Galles è un tipo di scuola secondaria privata (in genere un collegio) soprattutto maschile per ragazzi dagli 11 ai 18 anni. Le *public schools* di solito sono esigenti in fatto di rendimento scolastico e danno grande importanza allo sport e allo spirito di corpo. A causa delle loro rette elevate, sono tradizionalmente frequentate da ragazzi di ceto elevato. I loro diplomati sono spesso ammessi alle università di Oxford e Cambridge. L'aggettivo *public* deriva dal fatto che in origine si trattava di scuole non religiose create e finanziate a beneficio dei comuni cittadini. Le più antiche sono Eton, Harrow, Winchester e Rugby, tutte fondate nel XV secolo (Ragazzini s.v. *public school*).

Although the comment on *public schools* provided by Garzanti is longer than the one appearing in Paravia and Ragazzini, the information focuses mainly upon the denominational differences between private and state schools in the UK and in the USA. The most interesting comment is undoubtedly provided by Ragazzini, which not only explains the costly and prestigious nature of public schools in the UK including the examples of Eton, Harrow, Winchester and Rugby as does Paravia, but also adds more

intricate details regarding the predominance of male attendance and the prerogative placed upon sports and team spirit. The lemmas regarding the names of the schools are not accompanied by cultural labels incidentally. It is also interesting to see that Ragazzini enlightens readers as to why public schools are called so, while actually being private schools.

> 7) Nei sistemi penali anglossassoni è la procedura della libertà personale contro la detenzione arbitraria. Prevede tra l'altro, il diritto da parte dell'accusato di conoscere il motivo dell'arresto e di comparire davanti a un giudice, che ne valuta la legittimità (Garzanti s.v. *habeas corpus*)

> 8) Legge inglese risalente al 1679, che tutela i cittadini da arresto e detenzione arbitrario. Ogni accusato ha il diritto di essere ascoltato nelle ventiquattr'ore che seguono il suo arresto e di rimanere in libertà dietro cauzione fino al processo. Questa stessa procedura è in vigore negli Stati Uniti. L'espressione *habeas corpus* è l'inizio della frase latina: "habeas corpus ad subiicendum" che esprimeva l'ingiunzione di presentarsi di persona davanti al giudice (Paravia s.v. *habeas corpus*)

> 9) Nella *common law* è una procedura che garantisce il cittadino della detenzione arbitraria imponendo all'autorità di giustificare l'arresto davanti al giudice. Significa alla lettera: «che tu abbia il corpo» (dell'arrestato davanti al giudice) (Ragazzini s.v. *habeas corpus*)

While all three comments regarding *habeas corpus* are clear and to the point, the comments in Paravia and Ragazzini are more exhaustive: in these two dictionaries the Latin expression is explained and in Paravia the date of the introduction of this law is also included. The more detailed explanation provided by Ragazzini might not be so surprising when we reconsider the number of annotated lemmas regarding the semantic field of law. If Garzanti only includes 2 (*coroner and habeas corpus*), and Paravia includes 5 (*common law, habeas corpus, impeachment, licensing laws, supreme court*), Ragazzini annotates 23 lemmas (*act, assize, attorney, barrister, certiori, Lord High Chancellor, chancery division, clerk to the justices, common law, contempt of court, coroner, court of appeal, equity, habeas corpus, justice of the peace, lawyer, notary, solicitor, statute law, three strikes, supreme court, supreme court of judicature, tenancy*). The urgency to explain all the afore–mentioned people and procedures underlines Ragazzini's particular interest in legal matters.

Unlike the other two dictionaries, Ragazzini is also particularly interested in language and political correctness. The number of lemmas annotated as well as the contents of the cultural notes disclose this regard. There are 12 annotated lemmas concerning language (*Anglo–Saxon, basic English, BBC English, English, fit, Gaelic, jabberwocky, Norman French, pidgin English, runcible spoon, split infinitive, Welsh*) and 12 concerning political correctness (*chairman, Christian name, defective, fireman, lady or woman, lady or madam, layman, Mahometan, Ms, policeman, spokesman, stewardess*) as opposed to the 2 lemmas regarding language annotated in Garzanti and Paravia (Garzanti: *your sincerely, excuse me*), (Paravia: *Gaelic, Welsh*), and the 2 lemmas regarding political correctness annotated in Paravia only (*blind, deaf*). As to the contents of the annotations, indicative are the lemmas *English* and *chairman.*

> 10) L'inglese è la lingua ufficiale del Regno Unito in Irlanda,negli Stati Uniti, in Canada, Australia, Nuova Zelanda, e in molti altri Stati: uno studio recente stima il numero di anglofoni madrelingua in più di 337 milioni. Storicamente è una lingua indoeuropea di ceppo germanico, ma il suo lessico è stato fortemente influenzato dal franco–normanno, dal latino e dal francese, e inoltre si è arricchito di apporti da molte altre lingue anche non indoeuropee (Ragazzini s.v. *English*).

In the cultural note that accompanies the lemma *English*, Ragazzini includes both statistical data regarding the usage of the English language and historical information regarding its mixed linguistic origins.

> 11) Da più parti si sostiene che l'uso tradizionale di parole che terminano in *–man* (ad. es. *chairman, cameraman, fireman, policeman, workman*) esclude le donne della categoria in questione. In molti casi si sono diffusi termini alternativi che comprendono al loro interno entrambi i generi: ad esempio *chair, chairperson, camera operator, firefighter, police officer, worker*. Di conseguenza, l'uso di uno di questi termini al plurale (in questo caso *chairmen*) per indicare la categoria e quindi entrambi i sessi non è accettato da tutti (Ragazzini s.v. *chairman*).

Under *chairman*, Ragazzini points out the delicate linguistic issue of using the male gender suffix *–man*, which is rapidly being replaced by the genderless suffix *–person* to avoid sexual discrimination, thus displaying the English–speaking community's preoccupation for political correctness in language. Ragazzini's sensitivity to the use of the English language reflects its attitude to cultural issues in general. It is the dictionary that includes the greatest number of cultural labels covering the greatest number of semantic fields and along with Paravia provides the most exhaustive cultural notes rich in historical and etymological information. While Garzanti's cultural notes are worthy of appreciation for their clarity and precision, there is no doubt that Paravia and especially Ragazzini contain cultural notes of a more encyclopaedic nature.

Conclusions

In having to put forward some tentative conclusions, we can begin by hoping that the other two dictionaries, Macchi (2006) and Picchi (2014), will in their next editions include cultural information in the form of notes too, not only to highlight cultural differences between the Italian and English speaking worlds, but also to classify as more exhaustive tools for learners on a par with the three dictionaries Garzanti, Paravia, and Ragazzini, seeing that usage notes, as said earlier, can undoubtedly be of great help to language learners. The three dictionaries analysed in fact annotate quite a number of English lemmas that cover a wide range of semantic fields, evidently deemed by the lexicographical teams to be difficult for language learners. While all three dictionaries are aware of the need to provide cultural information to their Italian users, it is interesting to see how Garzanti, Paravia, and Ragazzini contribute differently. Not only does each dictionary annotate a different number of lemmas (Ragazzini 149 lemmas, Paravia 122, Garzanti 111), but each dictionary also chooses to annotate different lemmas belonging

to the same semantic field. In fact only 19 lemmas are annotated in all three dictionaries; namely, 1) *A level, college, preparatory school, public school;* 2) *Bonfire Night, Halloween, Poppy Day, Thanksgiving Day;* 3) *the City, Commonwealth, Congress, County, House of Commons, House of Lords, House of Representatives, senate;* 4) *habeas corpus;* 5) *Church of England, Church of Scotland.* The five groups of lemmas represent areas of Anglo–Saxon life in the fields of education, festivities, government and politics, law, and religion. This can be explained by the fact that they are the fields that are most extensively covered by the annotated lemmas in the dictionaries, and so congruence in all three dictionaries is easier to come by. That said, it is of note that each dictionary privileges one semantic field, Garzanti annotates lemmas that prevalently belong to the field of education, Paravia to those that concern government and politics and Ragazzini to the lemmas regarding the world of the law. The varying selection of annotated lemmas under one same semantic field and across the three dictionaries in general thus seems to suggest that each dictionary decides arbitrarily what lemmas and aspects of the social and cultural life described are worthy of attention. The attention placed upon the cultural information also differs from dictionary to dictionary. While all three dictionaries provide clear and interesting cultural comments, Paravia and Ragazzini seem to impart more historical and etymological information than does Garzanti. Compared to Garzanti, Paravia and Ragazzini are more exhaustive and encycopaedic in nature.

And it is with a lemma taken from Garzanti that we would like to conclude and offer three suggestions for future editions.

> 12) Il termine *Sloane Ranger* deriva da Sloan Square, piazza situate in una zona molto elegante di Londra, e da un gioco di parole con *Lone Ranger*, il famoso cowboy protagonist di fumetti e di un programma televisivo americano degli anni settanta (Garzanti s.v. *Sloane Ranger*)

The first suggestion is for more homogeneity in the selection of annotated lemmas. *Sloane Ranger* is a case in point. It is annotated in Garzanti only and yet it is frequently encountered in British English. At the moment we have seen there is a disparity in the lemmas annotated in the Garzanti, Paravia and Ragazzini. It would be useful for learners, if dictionary editors convened to even out the differences in the future editions of their dictionaries. Secondly, it might be worthwhile for editors to decide to annotate lemmas, which, like *Sloane Ranger*, describe more sensitive social issues, such as social standing, age, gender, occupation, ethnicity. In the three dictionaries examined, it was seen that very few words of this kind have been annotated, in spite of the difficulty learners have in understanding the profound social implications of some English terms. It has to be said, moreover, that the note provided for *Sloane Ranger* by Garzanti unfortunately focuses only on the etymological origins of the word, which is possibly the least fruitful information for learners. It would certainly have been more beneficial if the lexicographical team had contemplated the inclusion of *who* classifies as a *Sloane Ranger* and in the eyes of *whom.* This leads us to the third recommendation: it might be a good idea if lexicographical teams annotated more anthropological terms that could help the language learner to understand better the complex Anglo–Saxon class system. In these dictionaries, lemmas of a purely social nature amount to a mere 15: 5 in Garzanti (*celt,*

Rastafarian, Sloane ranger, speaker's corner, yankee), 7 in Paravia (*American Dream, Amish, Beat Generation, Cajun, Cockney, Hyphenated American, Yankee*) and 3 in Ragazzini (*aborigine, cockney, eskimo*). In sum, taking advantage of the fact that bilingual dictionaries address a specific linguistic community and as such are «better candidates [than monolingual dictionaries] for dealing with cultural specificities» (Sanchez 2010:126), Italian–English bilingual dictionaries should thus persevere with and boost their presentation of the finer and more intricate aspects of American and British life and culture, which – as we all know – are arduous to acquire in a non–Anglophone environment.

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SPONTANEOUS VS. SELF–MONITORED? LANGUAGE VARIATION IN MALALA'S BLOG AND MEMOIR

Maria Grazia Sindoni

University of Messina

Some people are afraid of ghosts, some of spiders or snakes –
In those days we were afraid of our fellow human beings.
Malala Yousafzai

Introductory remarks

Genre variation in web environments has attracted scholarly interest in several disciplines, mainly in linguistics (Biber 1992; Gillaerts, Gotti 2008; Campagna et al. 2012; Garzone, Ilie 2014), but the relationship between blogging and autobiography is still understudied (Morrison 2010). Even though research literature has frequently defined personal blogging as a form of diary or journal (Sindoni 2011, 2013), blogs have not been systematically studied in comparison with autobiography and memoir.

The Merriam–Webster online Dictionary defines the overall blogging phenomenon as a «web site that contains online *personal* reflections, comments, and often hyperlinks provided by the writer» (emphasis mine), where the adjective 'personal' foregrounds the definitional subjective quality of blogging (Kaye 2005). Affordances of personal blogging include the possibility of updating and modifying entries, interactivity with other users and a high degree of flexibility in the management of contents, which for example can be freely added, edited or deleted, and interconnectivity with other social media, for example linking a blog with other personal profiles in social networking websites (e.g. *Facebook*) and media–sharing platforms (e.g. *YouTube*) (see Herring et al. 2004, Herring et al. 2005, Herring and Paolillo 2006). For these reasons, personal blogging can be assumed to be more spontaneous, interactive, and volatile than other genres, and, as such, to share some characteristics typical of spoken genres.

Conversely, a memoir can be assumed to adopt a highly self–monitored style in accordance with genre conventions. According to the Merriam–Webster online Dictionary, a memoir is «a *written* account in which someone (such as a famous performer or politi-

cian) describes past experiences» (emphasis mine), or «a *written* account of someone or something that is usually based on personal knowledge of the subject» (emphasis mine). This definition preliminarily accounts for the eminent written nature of memoir as a genre, thus allowing us to establish another fundamental assumption that this paper will test. Developing these assumptions, we can provisionally associate blogging to spoken genres, at least for its volatile, impermanent, interactive and spontaneous characteristics (and not considering the materiality of blogging, that is written), whereas memoir as belonging to typical written genres, in terms of its stable, permanent (at least within one edition), non–interactive, and self–monitored characteristics. But how can we associate a genre that is written (i.e. a blog) to a spoken genre?

It would be highly misleading to consider spoken and written genres as two separate, opposing and never overlapping categories. In a similar vein, it would be likewise misleading to label a genre as 'spoken' or 'written' solely on the basis of its material affordances. For example, a written–to–be–read speech can be hardly defined as a spoken genre merely because it is read aloud by the speaker.

Consistently with these views, studies have proved that speech and writing can be better analysed in terms of their typical characteristics (e.g. spontaneity vs. planning, interactivity vs. autonomy, etc.), independently from their material spoken or written production. To this end, research literature has suggested that speech and writing can be analysed along a cline, with countless possibilities for the description and classification of different genres and text types (Biber 1988, 1992). Furthermore, many attempts have been made to label linguistic phenomena belonging to the speech–writing interplay, for example in the distinction between integration vs. involvement (Chafe 1982, 1983), self–monitored vs. spontaneous (Halliday 1985, 1987), focused vs. non focused (Scollon and Scollon 1984), contextualised vs. decontextualised (Denny 1991), planned vs. unplanned (Ochs 1979), formal vs. informal (Akinnaso 1985). All these examples show that the dyad opposing speech and writing as two separate and easily understandable categories is meaningless. In this paper, however, we will assume that blogging can be placed somewhere along the speech–writing cline that is close to the *speech end*, whereas a memoir can be placed somewhere along the speech–writing cline that is close to the *writing end*, as visually shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Tentative placement of Malala's blog and memoir along the speech–writing cline.

With the aim of reducing the generalisations presented so far, we have selected a specific case study in this paper, namely the personal blog written by Malala Yousafzai in 2009 and a memoir, which she co–authored with the British journalist Christina Lamb in 2013. These two particular texts present interesting characteristics that greatly increase the level of differentiation that we have already posited between the two genres of personal blog and memoir. The blog was written when Malala was eleven years old. It was the

first text produced by the young activist and published online by the BBC Urdu website. Originally, it was hand–written, then dictated on the phone to a journalist who digitised it and sent to BBC Urdu staff who turned it into a corporate blog. Furthermore, it was written in Urdu, and only later translated into English. However, it was the English version that made Malala internationally recognised. The blog helped popularise Malala's voice and played a part in her subsequent shooting by the Taliban who identified her as a target. Hence, it is evident that this blog is interesting for at least three reasons: 1) it was written by a child living in a region under attack by the Taliban and with a view to local events; 2) it was not originally written in digital format, so that Malala cannot be defined as a blogger (i.e. she did not select format, template, pictures to accompany the text, captions, hyperlinks, etc.); 3) it was not originally written in English, as it is a translation.

The memoir presents interesting characteristics as well. It was published in 2013, after Malala's shooting and following the events that made her world–wide famous as the child who had challenged the Taliban to defend women's education. After the attack, she moved to Birmingham, never to go back to her country. The title of the book is *I am Malala: The Girl Who Stood Up for Education and Was Shot by the Taliban*, thus explicitly mentioning the slogan "I am Malala" coined by Gordon Brown after he visited Malala on October 2012 when she was in the hospital. The former Prime Minister made the visit in his capacity as UN Special Envoy for Global Education in 2012 and the slogan was used to launch a petition in her name to deliver education to every child in Pakistan. The book's subtitle openly refers to the Taliban's attack and to Malala's cause. The memoir thus is interesting for different aspects: 1) it was written soon after Malala was almost lethally hit by the Taliban in the wake of huge international interest in these events; 2) it was co–authored with a professional UK journalist; 3) it was written in English for a different purpose and certainly had a completely different readership in mind.

After briefly providing additional background information on Malala's story and implications of this analysis, this papers thus sets out to explore language variation in her personal blog and memoir, with the aim of identifying differences that we postulate not simply in terms of composition and style, but, more interestingly, in terms of the different representations of the same events.

Background information

Malala Yousafzai is a Pakistani activist involved in girls' education and the youngest ever Nobel Peace Prize Laureate. She is of Pashtun ethnicity and was born in 1997 in Mingora, in the Swat Valley, North Pakistan, in a region thorn by conflict and religious and civil wars. The Swat Valley is very close to the Afghan border and an area of interest to the Taliban. At the time, Taliban militants led by Maulana Fazlullah were taking over the Swat Valley, banning television, music, girls' education, and undermining basic human rights (Ellick 2009; Basharat 2012). Malala started her militant activities to raise awareness on the Taliban attacks against women's rights as early as 2008, when she appeared on a local press club in Peshawar (Westhead 2009).

In late 2008, Aamer Ahmed Khan of the BBC Urdu website decided to cover the Taliban's growing influence in Swat via an anonymous blog written by a local school-

girl. The BBC correspondent in Peshawar, Abdul Hai Kakar, had been in touch with a local school teacher and education activist, Ziauddin Yousafzai, Malala's father, who suggested his own daughter, who at the time was eleven years old (van Gilder Cooke 2012). Malala was actually the last *chance*, as other schoolgirls had refused to do so, as it was judged as too dangerous by their families. The ten part blog, entitled "Diary of a Pakistani schoolgirl", was published under the pen name of "Gul Makai", a local folklore heroine (Yousafzai 2009; Boone 2012). It documented the first battle of Swat at a time close to the shutting down of schools following an edict by the Taliban (Basharat 2012). However, critics have questioned the authenticity of her voice, maintaining that her language, style and contents are not likely to be produced by a child (Siddiqui 2013; Waraich 2013). This blog is probably one of the texts less manipulated by the media, even though she did not have the chance to write and publish her blog entries freely, as she passed her notes to a journalist who scanned and emailed them to the BBC Urdu website (Yousafzai 2013).

The blog's first entry was written in January 9, 2009 and the last one was published on March 12 of the same year (Basharat 2012). Despite the apparent low impact of the blog, Malala and her father were soon after contacted by the New York Times reporter Adam B. Ellick, who filmed a documentary on the Second Battle of Swat, titled "Class Dismissed" and reporting on the evacuation of Mingora through the eyes of Malala's family and ending on Malala being reunited with her family in Mingora (Ellick 2009). The documentary rapidly broadened the international platform of Malala's cause, thus indirectly increasing attention on her also on the part of the Taliban who identified her as a target (Reuters 2012). As soon as she became the young spokesperson for girls' education and for a defence of basic human rights in the Swat Valley, she was shot by a Taliban gunman as she rode home with her schoolmates on a bus (Yousafzai 2013). The murder attempt received international media coverage and Malala was moved to Birmingham, where she was treated and eventually saved. After other remarkable events, such as the UN speech on July 12, 2012, later termed "Malala Day", the meeting with Barack Obama and other notable people across the Western world, she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (BBC 2013).

She also founded an organisation that raises funds to help her cause. It is within this completely changed environment that Malala wrote her memoir in collaboration with Christina Lamb. The book was generally positively received in Western countries, even though it was banned in private schools in her country, due to alleged disrespect to Islam (Umair and Buncombe 2013).

Malala's case has divided public and intellectual opinion in Western countries and in her own country, Pakistan (Siddiqui 2013; Waraich 2013). She has been accused of ventriloquising the Western agenda on education and critics have claimed that the blog was originally written by third parties. In a similar vein, the book was described by the Pakistani investigative editor Ansar Abbasi (2013) as «providing her critics something 'concrete' to prove her as an 'agent' of the West against Islam and Pakistan». In the following Section, we will briefly compare the 2009 blog and the 2013 co–authored book from a quantitative and qualitative standpoints with the aim of describing differences, if any, in terms of spoken–written variation.

Quantitative and qualitative analyses

As has been discussed in Section 2, the two selected texts are interesting not in intrinsic terms, but considering their socio–critical implications, for example with regard to the chance that powerless subjects, as represented by a child, and a girl, such as Malala, can empower themselves through digital textuality (Sindoni 2014). However, such considerations go beyond the scope of this paper.

In response to internal criticism against the authenticity of Malala's voice mentioned above, in a previous study, textual evidence has shown that the 2009 blog was very likely written by a child of Malala's age, based on a group of markers that have been analysed within a multidimensional framework, combining basic tools from corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis (Sindoni 2014). Markers, such as lexical density, readability (computed by Gunning–Fog index), type–token ratio, lexical keyness, have shown that Malala's language and style were consistent with her age and education at the time of composition of the blog (Sindoni 2014).

In corpus linguistics, lexical density is the estimated measure of content per functional and lexical units in the overall text. This parameter thus gives indications about register and genre and is useful for the purposes of this analysis. Spoken texts tend to have a lower level of lexical density than written genres and, as such, can be indicative of Malala's skills in mastering a written genre. Additionally, the parameter of lexical density proves that the blog can be provisionally associated with a spoken rather than with a written genre. Furthermore, the Gunning–Fog index is a measure of readability of English writing, as it is a weighted average of words number per sentence or clause complex, and the number of polysyllabic words per word (Gunning 1952). In the Gunning–Fog index, '6' stands for 'easy' and '20' stands for 'difficult'.

Table 1 below shows a comparison between lexical density, readability, type–token ratio and other measures between the blog and the memoir, which have been computed using *Wordsmith 6* (Scott 2012).

	Blog	*Memoir*
Lexical density	38.8%	17.5%
Complexity factor	6.8	7.4
Type–token ratio	39.18	42.85
Average syllable per word	1.58	1.52
Average sentence length	14.63	15.89

Table 1. Comparison between blog and memoir.

Table 1 provides a glimpse into textual information in quantitative terms. The difference in lexical density is rather striking, but can be explained in terms of the more compact nature of the blog when compared to the memoir. However, all other parameters prove that both texts are consistent with Malala's age and education at the two stages of composition. Complexity factor is not dramatically different, as well as type–token ratio and other basic parameters for the understanding of complexity and

variation. To complete this first sketchy picture, a keyness analysis (Tribble, Scott 2006; Bondi, Scott 2010) between the blog and BNC World as a reference corpus (British National Corpus 2011), and the memoir and the same reference corpus has shown that 9/20 lexical items are common in the two positive keyness lists (i.e. father, Taliban, Swat, Fazlullah, school, Pakistan, Mingora, girls, Maulana). The *aboutness* is very similar, even though the blog, divided into 35 entries, is much shorter than the memoir. However, as discussed in earlier research, the texts' *aboutness* clearly indicates a preference for referential contents, with a striking preference for lexical items describing the realities of Malala's world. Positive keyness shows in both blog and memoir a preference for lexical items instead of function words, thus confirming previous results (Sindoni 2014). In other words, it is likely that texts produced by a child–teenager are less elaborated, less dense and less complex, also if we consider that the analysed texts are 1) a translation (in the case of the blog) and 2) not produced by a native speaker.

Moving to a qualitative analysis, we will start by observing that even though the blog has been integrally translated into English, the most linked webpage to Malala's blog includes only seven entries out of the original 35. The first entry from the blog, dated 3 January 2009, is reproduced below:

> *Sample 1.*
> I had a terrible dream yesterday with military helicopters and the Taleban. I have had such dreams since the launch of the military operation in Swat. My mother made me breakfast and I went off to school. I was afraid going to school because the Taleban had issued an edict banning all girls from attending schools.
>
> Only 11 students attended the class out of 27. The number decreased because of Taleban's edict. My three friends have shifted to Peshawar, Lahore and Rawalpindi with their families after this edict.
> On my way from school to home I heard a man saying "I will kill you". I hastened my pace and after a while I looked back if the man was still coming behind me. But to my utter relief he was talking on his mobile and must have been threatening someone else over the phone. (Yousafzai 2009)

In the memoir, the event describing the composition of the blog's first entry is reported below:

> *Sample 2.*
> My first diary entry appeared on 3 January 2009 under the heading I AM AFRAID: "I had a terrible dream last night filled with military helicopters and Taliban. I have had such dreams since the launch of the military operation in Swat". I wrote about being afraid to go to school because of the Taliban edict and looking over my shoulder all the time. I also described something that happened on my way home from school: "I heard a man behind me saying, 'I will kill you'. I quickened my pace and after a while I looked back to see if he was following me. To my huge relief I saw he was speaking on his phone, he must have been talking to someone else". (Yousafzai and Lamb 2013:80)

The comparison between the blog and the memoir is interesting for several reasons. At first sight, the memoir appears to quote *verbatim* what had been written in

the blog's entry and the two direct quotations are reported as citations. However, at further inspection, some crucial changes in wording betrays some intervention that can be assumed as undertaken by the second author, i.e. journalist Christina Lamb. Table 2 below show such changes:

Yesterday	Last night
with military helicopters and the Taleban	filled with military helicopters and Taliban.
I heard a man saying "I will kill you".	"I heard a man behind me saying, 'I will kill you'".
I hastened my pace and after a while I looked back if the man was still coming behind me.	I quickened my pace and after a while I looked back to see if he was following me.
But to my utter relief he was talking on his mobile and must have been threatening someone else over the phone.	To my huge relief I saw he was speaking on his phone, he must have been talking to someone else.

Table 2. Comparison between the blog (Yousafzai 2009) and the memoir (Yousafzai and Lamb 2013:80).

As illustrated in Table 2, differences involve substitution or partial rewriting from the BBC translation. They can be partly explained as slightly different translations from Urdu, but changes also indicate attempts at improving style without significantly altering the core meaning. An example of these changes is: *while I looked back if the man was still coming behind me* turned into *while I looked back to see if he was following me*. In this case, the slightly elliptical version of the blog (i.e. *looked back if*) is made more explicit in the memoir version, with the significant addition 'to see'. Furthermore, *he man was still coming behind me* is changed into *he was following me*, thus making two significant changes: the pronoun 'he' is used instead of the noun 'man' and 'coming behind me' is substituted by the more precise lexical verb 'follow'. These two changes can be interpreted as a clear indication of preference of forms that are usually employed in written genres: use of pronouns indicates a more cohesive style (Biber 1992), whereas the preference for nouns and lexical repetition signals usage that is typical of spoken genres (Biber 1992). Furthermore, the lexical verb 'follow' indicates a higher mastery of written genres, whereas a periphrasis such as 'coming behind me' seems to suggest a partial lack of words on the part of the writer.

The last example from Table 2 is interesting as well, because beginning a sentence with 'but' is highly informal and more typical of spontaneous conversation, whereas the omission of *threatening*, that is absent from the memoir, is a device to avoid repetition and reinforce cohesion, another characteristics typical of writing.

What is remarkable is that all these changes are obliterated by the fact that they appear as *verbatim* quotations. This can be partly explained by the fact that the blog was originally published in Urdu.

The memoir continues as follows:

> *Sample 3.*
> It was thrilling to see my words on the website. I was a bit shy to start with but after a while I got to know the kind of things Hai Kakar wanted me to talk about and became more confident. He liked personal feelings and what he called my "pungent

> sentences" and also the mix of everyday family life with the terror of the Taliban. (Yousafzai and Lamb 2013:80)

In *Sample 3*, Malala comments on her reactions at the publication of the blog. The style from this extract appears as highly conversational and not particularly elaborated, as is evident from the loose use of punctuation (i.e. no commas, only full stops) and use of colloquial expressions (e.g. 'a bit shy to start', 'while I got to know the kind of things'). The use of vague expressions such as 'a bit' or 'the kind of things' is particularly frequent in spoken genres and, as such, implies a free and online processing of thoughts, thus with scarce editing and control (Chafe 1982; Biber 1988; Smith 1994).

The memoir continues as follows in *Sample 4* below:

> *Sample 4.*
> I wrote a lot about school as that was at the centre of our lives. I loved my royal–blue school uniform but we were advised to wear plain clothes instead and hide our books under our shawls. One extract was called DO NOT WEAR COLOURFUL CLOTHES. In it I wrote, "I was getting ready for school one day and was about to put on my uniform when I remembered the advice of our principal, so that day I decided to wear my favourite pink dress". (Yousafzai and Lamb 2013:81)

The use of vague expressions, such as 'a lot' (defined as «imprecision lexical bundle» in Biber, Conrad and Cortés 2004) is frequent in *Sample 4* as well. Malala also quotes *verbatim* from her blog by referring to another entry which is part of the seven entries that are available on the BBC website. In *Sample 5* below, the same passage is reported from the blog:

> *Sample 5.*
> I was getting ready for school and about to wear my uniform when I remembered that our principal had told us not to wear uniforms – and come to school wearing normal clothes instead. So I decided to wear my favourite pink dress. Other girls in school were also wearing colourful dresses and the school presented a homely look (Yousafzai 2009).

Comparing *Samples 4* and *5*, in the blog expressions such as *our principal had told us not to wear uniforms* is turned into *I remembered the advice of our principal* in the memoir. Nominalisation (i.e. 'advice') is a typical feature of written genres and shows the preference for cohesion and lexical precision (Biber 1988). However, both Samples reveal that the language used is not particularly complex, as has also been proved by a preliminary quantitative analysis.

Concluding remarks

In this paper, two texts from the young education activist Malala Yousafzai, i.e. her 2009 blog and her 2013 memoir, co–authored with the British journalist Christina Lamb, have been compared. In particular, the two texts have been explored in terms of the

interplay between spontaneous and self–monitored discourse, by positing a contrast between spoken and written genres. In this paper, linguistic characteristics of speech and writing are not related to the materiality and affordances of the two language modes, but are considered in stereotypical qualities along a continuum, in keeping with research on the matter (Biber 1988, 1992). To this end, it has been pointed out that both texts are materially written, but assuming that their different linguistic features, if any, could have allowed a different positioning in an imaginary cline from extreme forms of spoken genres (e.g. spontaneous conversation) to extreme forms of writing (e.g. an extremely controlled literary work) that have been provisionally presented in Figure 1.

After sketching briefly Malala's background, thus explicitly addressing the critical interest that such a study can produce, the two texts have been analysed from quantitative and qualitative standpoints. In particular, some text samples have been selected with the aim of understanding the interplay between spoken–like and written–like linguistic features.

A concise quantitative analysis has proved that the two texts *do not differ* to a significant extent, with the exception of lexical density. The qualitative analysis has confirmed the quantitative one, as it has briefly illustrated that the two texts have been composed as spontaneous and colloquial conversation with the readers, even though some symptomatic linguistic choices have revealed that the book has been more firmly placed in the written tradition. For example, in the memoir, Malala quoted *verbatim* from her blog, but with significant, albeit minimal, alterations. Even though we need to point out that the blog is a translation from Urdu, it is nonetheless true that some changes clearly indicate a preference for forms more typical of writing, such as use of cohesive devices, such as pronouns, lexical precision, and avoidance of redundant features.

Going back to the first research question addressed in this paper that involved the exploration of different representation of events in the blog and memoir, we have argued that they are substantially the same and this is reinforced by constant *verbatim* quotations from the blog in the memoir, that only adds some further remarks and comments on the described events without significant alterations. The degree of elaboration is in fact not particularly different in the two texts in question. Both texts are materially written, but present linguistic features that point to a high degree of spontaneity and immediacy that can be assumed as consistent with Malala's age and education at the time of composition of both blog and memoir.

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BRINGING THE STORY TOGETHER: TEXT ORGANISATION IN ELF CREATIVE WRITING

Valeria Franceschi

Università di Verona

1.1. Introduction

Globalisation processes and technological developments in the field of mass communication have provided a fertile ground for international communication and the creation of communities unbound by geographical constraints. In these cases, English is often used as the working language among people coming from a number of different linguacultural backgrounds, especially non–native speakers of the language. These uses of English may be analysed in the framework of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) studies, which focus on interactions where English acts as the shared language of communication. ELF studies put emphasis on mutual intelligibility over linguistic accuracy in such communicative events, analysing the strategies adopted by speakers to negotiate meaning and achieve their communicative and practical goals. So far, ELF research has focused mainly on spoken interactions, carrying out empirical research on multiple language levels and in different fields. However, research has recently widened its scope to include written texts and digital communication. As digital communication is not a homogeneous medium of communication, research spans across different modes, such as blogging platforms (Vettorel 2014) and websites (Poppi 2012; Carey 2013). Non–native speakers of English engage in diverse activities online in international environments, including participatory practices such as fanfiction, that is, creative writing based preeminently on existing media texts. This paper aims at exploring how multi–word text organising elements with varying degrees of semantic opacity, relating to time reference, are used in ELF creative writing. A quantitative and qualitative corpus–based analysis will be carried out by looking at written uses of ELF in a monologically–oriented genre found preeminently online, that is, fanfiction.

1.2. Participatory culture and global fandom

Fans differ from mainstream audiences as their engagement with the object of their interest extends beyond the simple enjoyment of the medium or event and have a

deeper, emotional investment. In this study, the fans involved are part of the category of media fans, who «[embrace] not a single text or even a single genre but many texts – American and British dramatic series, Hollywood genre films, comic books, Japanese animation, popular fiction […]» (Jenkins 1992:1).

Fans associate in groups based around their media of interest. They engage in multiple social and creative practices both in online and offline environments, creating and distributing content for other fans' consumption and enjoyment. Most notably, fans rework the existing material of the original text, producing alternative readings. These practices may find different outlets, of which the most popular is creative writing, or fanfiction, which is «fiction written by fans about pre–existing plots, characters, and/or settings from their favourite media» (Black 2008:10). Fans expand beyond the original narrative and provide alternative readings that often transcend the purpose of extending the pleasure of partaking in the product, and act as vehicles for the fan's own interpretation of the narrative (Ivi:14). Online fans often gather in big international communities where fan talk and the creation of fanfiction and fan art occur in cross–cultural contexts, bringing together members from different countries. In these contexts, the working language is English, which has become the *de facto* global language in a range of fields and domains. Fans who want to partake in fandom and share their stories with a wider audience are likely not to use their first language but English. We can therefore say that the language of communication in international fan communities is English as a Lingua Franca.

1.3 English as a Lingua Franca

With the term English as a Lingua Franca, we identify uses of the English language in international, cross–cultural contexts that involve speakers from different lingua–cultures for whom English is a, and often the only, shared language. Thanks to increased mobility, nowadays ELF interactions are common and widespread in multiple fields, from higher education to business, from tourism to hobbies and leisure. However, ELF cannot be described and circumscribed as a definable, self–containing variety of English; it «is not a variety of English but a variable way of using it» (Seidlhofer 2011:7). The main goal of ELF participants is to ensure mutual intelligibility and that the interaction is ultimately effective and successful. In such cross–cultural environments, this may entail the use of non–normative forms of English or of non–English elements in order for speakers to get their point across. Orienting the speech to the listener and meaning–negotiation strategies such as self– and other–repairing and paraphrasing, maximisation of explicitness (Mauranen 2012) are employed, not uncommonly as pre–emptive measures to ensure communicative success. ELF communication is intrinsically variable, as each occurrence involves speakers with multiple linguacultural backgrounds, different social and communicative goals; it is indeed defined as hybrid and fluid. English is adapted to suit the needs of the conversation, co–operation and linguistic accommodation being essential to the success of the interaction. Marked language forms and uses are therefore not to be dismissed as mistakes, but regarded as the formal realisations of underlying processes of accommodation and meaning–making that have the purpose of ensuring effective communication. Analysing the «functional motivation» (Seidlhofer 2009:52) of such forms

contributes to shedding light on the essential elements of cross–cultural communication in English. Most of the research carried out so far in English as a Lingua Franca has focused preeminently on spoken language, which is spontaneous and unedited. However, in more recent years, ELF research has expanded to the written medium, especially in relation to computer–mediated communication, where writing is less likely to have been professionally edited or proof–read by a native speaker of English. Research on written ELF has looked – and still is looking – at English used for specific purposes, namely academic English (WrELFA corpus, Mauranen 2013) and business English, as well as for goals that are preeminently social, as with blogging. Collecting and analysing written data allows researchers to add another layer to the study of ELF, that is, the exploration of cohesiveness and of text organisation. In this study, the analysis of text organisation also intertwines with formulaic language, as some of the multi–word expressions taken into account, carry varying degrees of idiomaticity.

1.4 Formulaic language

Formulaic language has been studied for decades and it is hard to define, as scholars have suggested different categorisations and taxonomies based on varying criteria. An encompassing description of formulaic language identifies it as «a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other meaning elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar» (Wray 2000:1). What's more, formulaic language is thought to be extremely frequent: despite a lack of consensus on the figures, studies on the topic seem to agree that «much of our everyday language use is composed of prefabricated expressions» (Biber, Conrad, and Cortes 2004:372). Formulaic language, especially when characterised by strong non–compositionality and semantic opacity, is traditionally perceived as an obstacle to language acquisition as their form and function, as well as the contexts in which they are pragmatically correct, are acquired through extensive exposure: «the knowledge of which collocations are normal in which environments is, as has been mentioned, part of a native speakers' communicative competence» (Partington 1998:18). As a result, it is not uncommon to find non–normative forms and contexts of use in non–native uses of English (Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992; Seidlhofer and Widdowson 2007). Moon identifies three kinds of 'error' in L2 use of multi–word items: formal, pragmatic and stylistic (Moon 1997). Formulaic language use by non–native speakers appears to differ also in terms of frequency and range of the expressions employed; as per Wray, «non–natives [tend] to restrict themselves to a small selection which are overused» (Wray 1999:227).

Indeed, prefabricated expressions are important in text organisation and cohesion. «Relations of place, time, cause and intention are paramount for understanding connected discourse» (Stubbs 2007:100). The use of formulaic language for text organisation in L2 writing, as well as collocations, has been analysed extensively, but existing research focuses preeminently on argumentative texts – most often essays – written by students in tertiary education (Granger 1998). These studies, however, adopt a traditional SLA approach, where the ultimate goal of the study is pedagogical.

NNS of English, as we have seen, employ the language in multiple contexts and for multiple purposes with the aim of getting their message across successfully, even if that might entail producing deviant forms or structures. ELF research has shown in past years that deviant forms and the integration of non–English elements in the conversation may actually play a role in facilitating successful communication (Mauranen 2013). Analysing ELF from a non–deficit perspective is essential to shed light on the strategies ELF speakers use to maintain intelligibility: «in ELF contexts these 'different' features can be seen as motivated by several functional underlying reasons as well as be part of natural language use, naturally complying with language change processes» (Vettorel 2014:122).

The study will focus especially on non–normative variations – of either form or meaning – of ENL prefabricated sequences in creative writing texts written by NNSs, and attempt to determine whether such adaptations exist and to what extent, and whether they achieve specific purposes in the textual organisation of stories written by ELF users.

2. Methodology

2.1. The corpus

The corpus[1] for this study was compiled using the fanfiction archive fanfiction.net[2] as a source of data. The website was selected for two main reasons: as of today, it is one of the biggest multifandom archives existing and because of its socially–oriented quality. In addition, the internal advanced search engine allowed setting search options as look specifically for stories that fulfilled the selected criteria. It was first decided to circumscribe the search to the manga[3]/anime[4] section of the website, as stories inspired by these media are rooted in Japanese culture rather than the dominant Anglo–American pop culture, and had to be written by non–native speakers of English and published on the website without prior proof reading by native speakers. The final corpus totalled 248,464 words written by 26 authors, representing 11 different L1s.

2.2 Research approach

A mixed approach was adopted in the study, and the exploration of the corpus was carried out in two stages, each with a different method. Looking for a specific list of NS expressions would risk an inaccurate data output: running the corpus against a list of frequent native expressions may fail to highlight non–normative forms or sequences that are not common in NS English but are employed more frequently in ELF. Indeed, «the corpus–driven discovery procedure is absolutely essential as there simply is no pre–established list of NNS prefabs» (DeCock 2004:228).

[1] V. Franceschi, *ELF users as creative writers: plurilingual practices in fanfiction*, unpublished PhD thesis.

[2] www.fanfiction.net (Web. 4 February 2016).

3 «A Japanese genre of cartoons and comic books […]», «manga, n. 2», OED *Online*, OUP, December 2015 (Web. 4 February 2016).

[4] «A genre of Japanese or Japanese–style animated film or television entertainment […]», «anime, n. 3», *OED Online*, OUP, December 2015 (Web. 4 February 2016).

In order to ensure the highest accuracy in the identification of frequent recurrent sequences, the first stage consisted in extracting multi–word sequences through n–gram analysis which «allows for the extraction of recurrent continuous sequences of two or more words» (Granger and Paquot 2008:38-39), regardless of whether the expression is idiomatic or syntactically complete. This method has been adopted to identify frequent recurrent sequences employed by NNS, regardless of their grammatical, syntactic or lexical deviant form. The 'cluster' function of the corpus analysis software Wordsmith Tools 5.0 was used to extract recurrent sequences from the corpus.

A search was run for bigrams, trigrams and fourgrams with a frequency equal or greater than 3. The sequences identified were then filtered manually, and only phrases with linguistic integrity were selected. It appeared clear from preliminary results that the most frequent expressions pertain to the structure of the temporal dimension in the story. Indeed, «speakers constantly refer to time and places, in routine ways, in order to organise both narrative and non–narrative texts» (Stubbs 2007:98). A choice was made to look specifically at multi–word units expressing time, duration and frequency. After the relevant clusters were identified, phrases that occurred multiple times but were written by a single author were excluded from the final list. At the end of this stage, a total of 41 multi–word expressions were identified: 5 fourgrams (e.g. *At the same time*, *at the last minute*), 24 trigrams (e.g. *As long as*, *in the end*) and 12 bigrams (e.g. *At first*, *right away*). The majority of them – 70% – are tPP, or temporal prepositional phrases. The sequences identified were run against a dictionary to determine their meaning and idiomatic status. The dictionary selected was *The Free Dictionary*[5], a free online dictionary that cross–references multiple idiom dictionaries, ensuring accuracy in determining idiomaticity. About 57% of the phrases identified were listed as idiomatic in at least one of the dictionaries referenced by *The Free Dictionary*.

The second stage of the research study entailed the use of the Wordsmith Concordancer tool, where a number of key–words extrapolated from the n–gram list were employed to run concordance searches in order to identify, if present, variations from canonical dictionary forms. Variations may include normative forms, that is, acceptable or established variations or insertions, or non–normative variations in vocabulary, syntax or grammar. Occurrences were then analysed within their contexts to check for semantic extension or changes as well as non–normative pragmatic uses of the sequences. Non–normative forms were run in the fiction section of the COCA (*Corpus of Contemporary American English*, Davies 2008–), which was used as a reference corpus to compare frequency and occurrence, in a native corpus, of the variations identified in the ELF corpus.

3. Results

The two stages of the analysis showed that use of multi–word temporal connectors in the corpus under investigation appear to differ from native texts of the same category in frequency, form and meaning. Frequency comparisons between the fanfiction corpus

[5] http://www.thefreedictionary.com/ (Web. 4 February 2016).

and COCA appear to support previous studies focusing on L1 and L2 use of bundles and other multi–word units: non–native writers showed use of a more limited range and the tendency to overuse certain sequences, as may be seen in Table 1 below.

Trigrams	Fanfic	COCA	Bigrams	Fanfic	COCA
after a while	64,3	22,1	at first	96,5	84,9
again and again	16	17,3	at last	40,2	66,9
all the time	108,6	52,8	at night	32,1	66,5
as long as	72,4	54,2	at once	16	60,7
as soon as	100,6	66,1	all day	40,2	38,6
at all times	12	3,9	right away	20,1	27
At that moment	28,1	23,5	all night	32,1	25,2
at that time	36,2	7,8	at times	12	15,5
at the beginning	12	3,9	over time	16	4,8
at the end	36,2	10,3	straight away	12	0,7
at the moment	60,3	25	(just) in time	24	20,4
at the time	16	33,8	on time	12	8,8
at this moment	12	8,3			
at this point	16	13,5	**Fourgrams**	**Fanfic**	**COCA**
at this time	36,2	4,7	as soon as possible	16	4,6
ever again	16	4,2	at the last minute	20,1	4,1
for a while	84,5	74,8	at the same time	120,7	42,9
in no time	16	4	from time to time	16,1	15,4
in that moment	12	5,8	in the middle of	24,1	14,2
in the beginning	16	5,1			
in the end	52,3	27,7			
in the night	24,1	17,1			
over and over	28,1	28,5			
the whole time	12	9,8			

Table 1. Sequences and their normalised frequencies

Normalised frequencies for both corpora show that 35 phrases out of 41 were more frequent in the fanfiction corpus than in the reference corpus, this difference being substantial for multiple expressions. The most notable discrepancy pertains to *straight away*, which has a very low frequency in COCA as it is more commonly used in British English, while American English shows a preference for *right away*. However, most sequences appear to occur more frequently in the fanfiction corpus rather than their ENL counterpart. This may suggest that non–native writers may «'cling on' to certain fixed

phrases and expressions which they feel confident using» (Granger 1998:156), as put forward by Carey in his analysis of organising chunks in spoken and written academic ELF (Carey 2013:226). These may be expressions that they have learned in the classroom as fixed forms; they may also feel more comfortable using routinised expressions rather than more complex pattern that have to be built compositionally. The second tendency may be observed in P + article/demonstrative + noun + (of X) patterns (*at the end/beginning*, *at the/this/that time*, *in the middle (of)*) patterns, which we will call *A*, and that may be found in both simple *A* and *A* + *of X* form. With the exception of *in the middle of*, which may only occur in this form in its temporal meaning, there was little to no presence of the *A* + *of X* form in the fanfiction corpus, whereas, in COCA, they are used preeminently in the *A* + *of X* form.

However, Concordancer searches and context analysis show that while the majority of the expressions are predictably not different from NS ones in form and use, 11 include form variations and 10 are non–normative in context and function.

Where form is concerned, most variations involve non–normative uses of articles and prepositions.

Deviations on the first element include omission, as in *at same time, in last second, at end;* addition, i.e. *over the time; o*mission of one *as* in *as X as* phrases: *as long nobody takes a picture, soon as I can*[6].

Deviations in preposition use are in line with other studies carried out on spoken ELF; indeed, non–normative preposition uses are among the most common variations in ELF. Specifically, Mauranen notes that «*in*, however, seems to be a kind of generalized preposition of time or place» (Mauranen 2013:124), often occurring in lieu of *at.*

The corpus showed a similar tendency. In three different sequences, *in* was indeed used in lieu of the expected preposition.

1. ...dreamed *in the night* and remembered *in the day*...

2. She seems not to think about it, but, *in the night*, when nobody is seeing her, she cries for sleep.

In both excerpts above, *in the night* was employed in contexts where *at night* would be used in ENL. In the first instance in particular, the choice might have been influenced by the analogy with the following expression *in the day*, and generally, by the analogy with *in the morning* and *in the afternoon*, through a process of regularisation. The following example shows a distinct preference for the preposition *in* in the fanfiction corpus, to the point that out of 5 instances, only one presents the ENL base form *at the last minute/second*. An instance was formed exclusively by the bigram *last second*, omitting therefore both the article and the preposition. The other instances were introduced by the preposition *in*, and included other variations, such as a normative insertion (i*n the very last minute*), the non–normative omission of an article (*in last second*).

The last example in this category involves the use of the summariser *in the end* where *at the end* would traditionally be used.

[6] This variation may be acceptable in colloquial NS uses.

3. The look he had *in the end* was a look a little lost

4. […] and *in the end* he screamed out […]

In both examples *in the end* was used to indicate situations and events that occur at the end of a specific period of time or of a series of events, traditionally expressed by *at the end*, and not in its idiomatic meaning «ultimately, in the long run»[7].

While examples 1 to 4 can be interpreted both as form and context variation, other sequences in the corpus maintained an ENL form, but their meaning or pragmatic use is extended.

The expression all the time, one of the most common sequences in the corpus, occurring 27 times, was also employed with non–normative meanings, as in the following example, where all the time is used with the meaning of the whole time:

5. […] laughed on his serious expression all the time [...]

In examples (6) and (7) all the time acquires the meaning of the whole time, all along:

6. you were it all the time, weren't you?

7. […] he had have my attention already all the time

In example (6), the character speaking implies that a second character had been behind a previously occurring action, while in (7), character 1 implies that character 2 had had his attention from the beginning of the event described.

The same expression is used with yet another meaning in example (8):

8. Daichi *all the time* moaned Aki STOP IT[8]

In excerpt (8) above, the expression indicates the insistent repetition of the action described by the verb. Here, a prefabricated sequence is preferred over the structure *keep* + *–ing*. Although there is no accurate way to tell, examples (5) to (8) may be a sign that ELF speakers may prefer to expand the contexts of use of sequences they have already acquired, rather than create language from scratch, which is cognitively more taxing. Another option, in line with other ELF studies, involves a semantic extension of the expression as a communicative strategy on the part of a speaker/writer who exploits the linguistic repertoire at his/her disposal to convey a specific message.

The expression *at that time* also occurred with two different, non–normative meanings, exemplified in examples (9) and (10).

9. but *at that time*, Yao was already walked away

[7] «end, n.», *OED Online*, OUP, December 2015 (Web. 4 February 2016).
[8] Names were changed to reduce text recognisability.

Here, the sequence is employed with the meaning expressed in ENL through the sequence *by then*, as the story entails that by the time one of the characters performed the action, the second character, Yao, had already walked away. As can be seen from example (9), the texts include other types of non–normative English. Such uses do not necessarily put off readers from the fanfiction, as in fan culture the enjoyment of the story goes beyond the linguistic aspect of the text (Black 2008:76-78).

10. *at that time*, lacus opened the shoji[9]

In example (10) above, the sequence introduces an action occurring at that precise moment, rather than describe a situation in the past.

The excerpts analysed here show that non–native writers publishing their works in English frame the chronological structure of their texts through a use of prefabricated temporal sequences that differs from ENL use in frequency, form and meaning.

4. Conclusion

The analysis of our fanfiction corpus showed that results were not dissimilar from previous studies on L2 users of English in terms of frequency and range of the expressions used. The comparison with a native speaker corpus suggests that non–native writers use a smaller range of prefabricated temporal expressions that appear substantially more often than in the reference corpus. Analysis of the temporal expressions within individual contexts in the corpus showed that their use was prevalently similar to native texts; however, about half of the expressions identified showed either non–normative forms or extensions of meaning. Here, again, results are in line with tendencies emerged from other ELF studies. The data regarding tPPs support Mauranen's observation that ELF speakers / writers appear to show a preference for the preposition *in* over *at* (Mauranen 2013).

Meaning extensions on multiple phrases suggests that the use of English as a common language of communication may entail processes of simplification and regularisation. Employing the same expression to convey multiple meanings may be the result of a communicative strategy on the part of the writers, who fall back on the expressions they already have in their repertoires, extending their meaning as to encompass the message they want to convey. The context allows readers to interpret the phrases in the way the writer intended, ensuring that the text remains intelligible. Variations such as those highlighted above are consistent with previous results in ELF studies; they appear not to hinder the reader's enjoyment of the stories, as fanfiction writers and their stories continue to be appreciated and encouraged through reader comments and reviews on the website. Further research on this topic could include extending the exploration to other prefabricated sequences and single–word cohesive devices, in order to examine

9 In Japanese architecture, a sliding outer or inner door made of a latticed screen covered usu. with white paper, «shoji, n.», *OED Online*, OUP, December 2015 (Web. 4 February 2016).

how ELF writers frame and structure their texts. In order to shed light on written ELF in fandom practices, using a native–speaker fanfiction corpus as a reference corpus would clarify whether non–professional, non–edited fiction would still show differences in the choice of sequence used and their frequencies, as well as whether there may be some common tendencies or preferred choices within fan communities that influence the authors' writing.

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PART TWO

ENGLISH AND SOCIAL CHANGE

HINGLISH, BLINGLISH: HOW LONDON'S ETHNIC MINORITIES ARE INFLUENCING THE ENGLISH OF THE CAPITAL CITY

Steve Buckledee

University of Turin

Introduction

The 2011 national census in the United Kingdom revealed that 37% of London's 8,173,941 residents were born outside the UK (Kausova, Vargas–Silva 2013). Between 2001 and 2011 the non–UK born population rose by 54% while the number of UK–born residents dropped by 1% (ibid.). Residents born in India represented the most numerous non–UK born group in London (over 250,000), followed by those from Poland, Ireland, Nigeria, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Jamaica and Sri Lanka (ibid.). On 2011 census forms 1.2 million people described themselves as being of mixed or multiple ethnicity and nearly 10% of UK residents were either married to or cohabiting with someone from a different ethnic background (Bingham 2014). Given the demographic nature of the capital city, we can assume that the percentage of inter–ethnic marriages or stable relationships is higher in London than in the country as a whole.

Non–UK born residents are not evenly distributed among the 32 boroughs of Greater London; they are more heavily represented in the boroughs of Inner London than in those of Outer London (Kausova, Vargas–Silva 2013). The combined numbers of first– and second–generation immigrant children mean that in most schools in Inner London ethnic minority pupils actually represent a clear majority of the school roll, up to 90% according to a report published by Demos (a cross–party think tank) in 2015[1]. Ethnic diversity implies linguistic diversity; the Languages of London Project, a survey involving 896,743 London schoolchildren conducted between 1998 and 1999, revealed that 32.14% of pupils did not speak English at home but instead used a total of 307

[1] Unsigned article, *61% of ethnic minority kids in England – and 90% in London – begin Year 1 in schools where ethnic minorities are the majority of the student body*, Demos, 2015, <http://www.demos.co.uk/press-release/61-of-ethnic-minority-kids-in-england-and-90-in-london-begin-year-1-in-schools-where-ethnic-minorities-are-the-majority-of-the-student-body>

different languages with parents or carers (Baker and Mohieldeen 2000). Given the rate of immigration since 1999, multilingualism is unlikely to have diminished.

The consequence of such ethnic and linguistic diversity in London's schools has been the emergence of Multicultural London English (MLE), which is replacing Cockney as the linguistic variety used by children and young adults in Britain's capital city. MLE is not determined by race or social class but by age, since it is the product of three decades of linguistic interaction between schoolchildren from the Indian subcontinent, Africa, the Caribbean and, of course, from a traditional Cockney background. Ill–informed journalists have dismissed MLE as *Jafaican* (i.e. Fake Jamaican, the imitation of Jamaican hip–hop artists by white youngsters), but in reality it is a *multiethnolect* (Cheshire et al. 2011), the product of input from all the most populous ethnic/linguistic communities in the city.

The title of this work exemplifies the multiple influences at work. *Hinglish* (Hindi English) actually includes the influences of Bengali, Panjabi and other languages of the Indian subcontinent. Modified lexemes from these languages began to enter the English language in the days of the British Raj but recent decades have seen a process of hybridisation that has been described as *chutneyfying English* (Kathari, Snell 2011).

Although *Blinglish* is often assumed to mean Black English, *bling* is a Jamaican word adopted by US hip–hop artists, originally to refer to sparkling jewellery but now used more generally for an ostentatious display of wealth. It is more accurate, therefore, to think of Blinglish as the language of performers and fans of grime, the British version of hip–hop.

Nang, like the more widely known *wicked* and *awesome*, means *great*. Two professional lexicographers disagree as to the origin of this expression: for Jonathon Green it derives from the West African language Mende and reached English via Jamaican patois (Green 2014); for Tony Thorne, nang «[…] comes either from a Thai proper name or from the Hindi and Bengali for naked» (Thorne 2005). The premodifier *bare* is used by young Londoners as an intensifier, and once again the etymology of the expression is unclear.

Innit has always been a Cockney realisation of *isn't it* but the MLE innovation is that some young Londoners use it as an all–purpose tag question irrespective of the verb used in the main clause, as in *That'll be difficult, innit?*

Important studies of the phonetic and grammatical characteristics of MLE have been conducted by Paul Kerswill and his team, the findings of which are reported in Cheshire et al. (2011) and Fox (2015). As regards lexis, Woods (2013) has compiled a dictionary of specifically London slang while Thorne (2014) and Green (2008) include MLE expressions in their dictionaries of all types of slang. A summary of the work conducted by the abovementioned is given in part 2 of this work along with my own observations.

Slang is often ephemeral and young people's slang in particular tends to evolve quickly. For this reason the third part of this study reports on my own investigation of a major vehicle for spreading new slang: the lyrics of recordings by grime artists and the language used by young people on the BBC's urban radio station 1Xtra.

The characteristics of MLE

Two important research projects have been conducted by a team led by Paul Kerswill of Lancaster University and including Jenny Cheshire, Susan Fox, Arfaan Khan and Eivind Torgersen. The first, called *Linguistic Innovators*, compared the English used by various age–groups in the multiethnic East End borough of Hackney with that spoken in the Outer London borough of Havering, which has far fewer immigrants. The second, called *MLE*, focused on the multiethnic Inner London boroughs of Islington, Haringey and Hackney. The findings of both projects are reported in Cheshire et al. (2011).

The aims of the two projects were, respectively:

> 1. looking for innovations in relation to earlier descriptions of London English, as well as the extent to which young Londoners' speech forms part of regional dialect levelling in the south–east; and
> 2. discovering how the London multiethnolect patterns in terms of its acquisition, the use of the various features constituting it across ethnic groups, and its status as an ethnically neutral variety. (Cheshire et al. 2011:157)

As noted above, many British residents are of mixed ethnicity, so Kerswill and his team opted for a very broad distinction:

> In each project, young people were divided into 'Anglos' and 'non–Anglos', with the Anglo group being composed of members of families of British origin who had resided in the area for two or more generations. This corresponds roughly to 'White British' in official terminology, and we find participants occasionally using this term. This resulted in socially and demographically rather homogeneous Anglo groups, while the non–Anglo groups were (intentionally) highly mixed, roughly representing the ethnic composition of the districts where they were recruited. (ibid.)

Both projects involved interviews with schoolchildren or young adults attending further educational colleges, and some 2.8 million words were transcribed and stored in databases.

Sue Fox has also conducted her own research in the borough of Tower Hamlets, an area «that is traditionally associated with the Cockney dialect and its working–class inhabitants» (Fox 2015:1). This once quintessentially Cockney territory has undergone a dramatic demographic upheaval in the last 70 years, firstly because of slum–clearance in the 1960s and the transfer of the original inhabitants further east, and since the 1980s because of immigration, particularly from Bangladesh. Fox notes that: «The Bangladeshi community now makes up over one third of the total population of the area and 57 per cent of all school–age children in Tower Hamlets are of Bangladeshi background. They are the new working–class community of the traditional East End» (2).

Both Kerswill and his team and Fox working alone focus on phonological and syntactic features, and their main findings are given below. As regards lexis, the recorders of emerging slang mentioned previously – Green, Thorne and Woods – are the most reliable sources of information.

The phonological features of MLE

Cheshire et al. note the following MLE vowel–system innovations:

> Compared with Cockney, the MLE diphthongs /eɪ/ (FACE), /əʊ/ (GOAT), /aʊ/ (MOUTH) and /aɪ/ (PRICE) have much shorter trajectories. In some cases FACE and GOAT become monophthongal. Changes also in short vowels, e.g. central /ʌ/ (STRUT) sounding more like /ʊ/ (FOOT) or even /u:/ (GOOSE). Fronting of the long vowel /u:/ so that FOOD sounds like FEUD. (Cheshire et al. 2011:158-172)

Regarding the diphthong shift, the researchers note that, «All the young speakers show these changes, regardless of ethnicity, but in many cases to a less extreme extent; predictors of more extreme pronunciations are male gender, non–Anglo origin and Hackney residence» (158). That MLE phonology is more evident in multiethnic Hackey than in the much more white Anglo borough of Havering is unsurprising. Similarly, a number of sociolinguistic investigations over the years have demonstrated a tendency for females to adhere more closely to the norms of what they perceive to be standard pronunciation. The influence of non–Anglo origin may be explained by the fact that Anglo schoolchildren often go home to a different pronunciation model (usually Cockney) provided by parents and older siblings. Indeed, Anglo children are sometimes diglossic, using MLE with their peers at school but Cockney with family members.

Interestingly, Fox reports similar narrowing of the /eɪ/ (FACE) and /aɪ/ (PRICE) diphthongs, even to the point of monophthongisation, in Tower Hamlets, and also notes that the shift is being led by male non–Anglos (Fox 2015:217-218). Since Bangladeshis are the main ethnic minority in Tower Hamlets, the claim that MLE is nothing more than Jafaican is disproved by empirical study. While the influence of Jamaican patois is undeniable, Cheshire et al. note that in London «Afro–Caribbeans are nowhere an absolute majority, but live alongside people of a wide range of ethnic backgrounds» (Cheshire et al. 2011:163). They borrow Mufwene's concept of a *feature pool* (Mufwene 2001): in language– and dialect–contact situations in multiethnic societies, speakers select and combine features from a range of input varieties. In effect, each group of speakers influences and is influenced by all other groups. The feature pools in multiethnic Hackney, Haringey and Islington are rich while that of Havering is more limited, which accounts for the continued prevalence of Cockney in that borough.

Cheshire et al. have almost nothing to say about MLE consonants while Fox merely cites other researchers' investigations, most of which are not particularly recent. My own observation, based mainly upon the radio station 1Xtra, is that there are two obvious departures from Cockney. The first is that the omission of initial /h/ so characteristic of Cockney is seldom evident in the speech of young Londoners, which is hardly surprising given that many are from linguistic backgrounds in which initial h is clearly aspirated. The second regards the consonants /θ/ and /ð/, which Cockneys usually replace with /f/ in initial position (*fing* for *thing*) and /v/ in medial position (*bruvver* for *brother*). Some MLE speakers seem to have little difficulty with standard /θ/ and /ð/, others use the Cockney realisations while some replace these consonants with /t/ in initial position (*ting* for *thing*) and /d/ in both initial and medial positions (*dat* for *that*,

brudder for *brother*). The same individual may switch between these various alternatives according to whether circumstances require extreme or mild MLE.

Some grammatical and discoursal features of MLE

A phenomenon that is particularly evident among the Bangladeshi community but appears to be spreading to other groups, white Anglos included, is the simplification of definite and indefinite article allomorphy by using /ə/ and /ðə/ before vowel–initial nouns instead of the standard /ən/ and /ði/ (Fox 2015:140-150, 222-223; Cheshire et al. 2011:186-189). This creates potential hiatus, which in most varieties of English is resolved by the insertion of linking /j/ (*I am* as /aɪjæm/), /w/ (*to eat* as /tʊwi:t/) or /r/ (*for all* as /fɔ:rɔ:l/). In MLE, however, hiatus–resolution is achieved through the use of the glottal stop, so *a army* is realised as /əʔɑ:mi/, *the army* as /ðəʔɑ:mi/.

Many young Londoners use the American *like–quotative*, that is *be* + *like* to introduce direct speech instead of a reporting verb (And he's like, "Why are you asking me that?"). However, MLE also has the *new quotative*, which consists of *this is* + *speaker* (Cheshire et al. 2011:172-181; Fox 2015:225-226):

> This is my mum: "You done your homework?"
> This is me: "Homework? Nah, that's long."
>
> This is them: "What endz you from?"
> This is my bruv: "We ain't from Hackney. Just here to get draw."

MLE speakers use conventional reporting verbs, the like–quotative or the new quotative according to context, with the last option tending to be favoured «at a salient point in a performed narrative, at moments of high drama» (Cheshire et al. 2011:178).

The beginnings of MLE can be traced «to some time in the early 1980s» (190) and over the last three decades a degree of stabilisation of phonological and structural features has occurred. As regards lexis, the situation is fluid with coinages springing up but often falling from use after very few years. The next part of this work will, however, attempt to identify lexical innovations that seem likely to last.

MLE lexis

Schoolchildren's multiethnic friendship networks ensure that where linguistic norms are concerned, the conform–to–peers imperative cuts across the confines of ethnic identity. Lexical innovations initiated by young people are inevitably subject to the lubricity of fashion, but certain lexical items have been in circulation for several years and, as yet, show little sign of imminent abandonment.

Words deriving from the languages of the Indian subcontinent include *pukka*, meaning first–rate, and *chuddies* for underwear. Sharma notes the interesting example of *gora*, a Hindi term for a white person, and the anglicised plural *goras* used by a white teenager

and the Hindi *gore* preferred by a British Asian girl during a conversation in English (Sharma 2011:14-15).

From the Caribbean we have *yard* – which can refer to a *house* or a *neighbourhood* – and *shower* or *showa* for a gang of youths. Thorne explains how the Jamaican *mandem* or *mansdem* (a group of male friends) has not only entered the lexicon of young Londoners of all backgrounds but has also spawned the authentically MLE parallel term *gal(s)dem* for a group of females (Thorne 2014:117).

Imports from African American slang are easy to identify: *fedz* for the police, *diss* meaning to treat someone disrespectfully and *piece* for a handgun. Expressions from US English may eventually be replaced by an MLE alternative: instead of complaining that they have been dissed, some young Londoners now say they have been *boyed*, which possibly derives from the practice of addressing black servants as boy to emphasise their subordinate status (62).

Many MLE lexemes simply involve changing or reversing the denotation of existing words: *sick* means very good, *safe* is either a friendly greeting or a reassurance that everything is OK, *long* describes something that is boring and time–consuming, *draw* means marijuana, *swag* describes something you consider worthless, *grind* means to work hard, a *tourist* is a clueless person, *beggin* means talking nonsense, *bait* can mean obvious or stupid, and the imperative *allow it* is a way of telling someone to stop whatever they are doing or saying. Occasionally what appears to be a semantic innovation is actually the revival of an archaic usage: Thorne notes that *gash*, a 19th century euphemism for vagina, came to refer generally to a woman in 1950s street argot, then practically disappeared until it was revived by rappers in the 1980s (178).

No self–respecting MLE–speaker would ever use traditional Cockney rhyming slang but new examples have been created to refer to the technonology used by the young: a *leaky tap* is an app while you can follow your friends on *banana fritter* (Twitter). Neither is MLE short of idioms: Woods gives the example of *hush your gums*, a no–nonsense way to tell a person to be quiet (Woods 2013:6).

The origins of some MLE words are unclear, and although contributors to various web sites offer plausible–sounding explanations, lexicographers like Green and Thorne are wary of such folk etymology. Examples include *creps* for trainers or sneakers, *cotch* meaning to relax or chill out, *wasteman* for someone who is stupid or worthless, the exclamation *brapp!* to indicate excitement and approval, *choong* to describe a physically attractive person, and *breading* in the sense of behaving in an obsequious manner or brown–nosing someone. A vice of more prestigious varieties of English, that of lexical gaps – for example, when a female term has no male equivalent or vice versa – is also evident in MLE: a *sket* is a woman who has a lot of sexual partners and there is no equivalent term of disapproval for a man who behaves in a similar fashion.

Green and Thorne know that each new edition of their dictionaries is already beginning to look out–of–date by the time it goes on sale, and both rely on people updating them by contributing to their blogs. As noted previously, grime music is extremely influential in spreading new coinages, so the next section of this study looks at the lyrics of recent recordings by London–based artists.

MLE and Grime: a symbiosis

Young people's musical tastes are as much a public statement, a staking out of territory, as is their slang. As long ago as 2004 M.I.A. (Mathangi Arulpragasam, a female rapper born in London to Sri Lankan parents) sang "London calling, speak the slang now" in a song entitled *Galang*, which is Jamaican patois for *go along*. When the daughter of a Sri Lankan couple uses a Caribbean title to encourage her fans to speak London slang, the interconnectedness between a multiethnic community's dialect and their music is evident.

Grime shares many characteristics with American hip–hop: the majority of artists, but by no means all, are male and dark–skinned; the lyrics feature many expressions that have crossed the Atlantic; themes include gangs and violence, drugs, ostentatious displays of wealth and male virility. There is a strong element of self–parody in such themes; in reality, only a small percentage of young Londoners are members of a gang and very few have ever seen, much less owned, a handgun, although the use of marijuana is common. Unlike certain American rap artists, British performers may boast of their sexual prowess but tend to avoid misogynistic excesses, and overt racism is rare.

The song that best exemplifies grime artists' identification with their multiethnic city is Dizzee Rascal's *Love This Town* (2013). Born in Bow in the East End of London in 1984, the son of a Nigerian father and a Ghanaian mother, Dylan Kwabena Mills became Dizzee Rascal singing "I freakin love this town" (*freakin* is replaced by another word beginning with *f* in live performances). London is a place where a boy from a poor background ('barely had the money for a bus ride'), can find success ('I earned my crown'), enjoy life with friends from his childhood ('the breders I grew up with') and revel in the diversity of the city ('every creed, colour and race, we got the lot'). Among the MLE terms used in the song, notable examples are *peeps*, an abbreviation of people to refer to trusted friends, and *reppin*, a present participle derived from the noun reputation to indicate that the son of penniless immigrants now enjoys high social status.

If the message of "Love This Town" is entirely positive, Dizzee Rascal reverted to genre conventions in his next single, "Still Sittin Here" (2014), co–performed with Fekky, a rapper born in South London to Nigerian parents. There are references to guns ('I got that ting and it goes bang' and 'straps'), what used to be called spliffs ('smokin on a big fat zoot'), gangs ('my crew is live'), wealth that stops short of a million pounds ('ain't got a mill but I'm alright though'), and the tough man's irascibility about being stared at ('What you preeing me for?').

Seven lines from "Shutdown" (2015) by Skepta (Joseph Junior Adenuya, born in North London in 1982, also of Nigerian descent) neatly condense references to gangster culture, the simplification of article allomorphy described in *Some grammatical and discoursal features of MLE*, London's religious diversity and the singer's contempt for hypocrites of all types:

> You wanna act like a G for the camera
> You say you're Muslim, you say you're Rasta
> Say you don't eat pork, don't eat pussy
> Liar, you're just a actor

Blud, you're not on your deen
And if Selassie saw you he would say
"Blud, take off the red, gold and green"

G is American slang for gangster, or in this case someone who passes himself off as a gangster before a TV camera. *Blud*, from blood brother, is a form of address and *deen* is an Arabic term for religion. Haile Selassie, who became emperor of Ethiopia in 1930, was seen by followers of the Rastafari faith as the Second Advent of Christ, and the Pan–African colours red, gold and green are those of the Ethiopian flag.

If violent gangs and gun crime were really ubiquitous in London, the city would not attract 15 million foreign tourists every year, and with a nice touch of irony Skepta inserts a brief recording of a young, middle–class female voice complaining about, 'A bunch of young men all dressed in black dancing extremely aggressively on stage, it made me feel so intimidated and it's just not what I expect to see on prime time TV'.

It would be wrong to assume that all grime artists are men of African descent. Asian grime is thriving, and not only in London: the commercially successful "Asian Bredda" (2012) was recorded by the Birmingham–born Sparkaman when he was only sixteen. The most unlikely breakthrough, however, came from the diminutive Lady Sovereign (Louise Harman, born in Wembley in 1985) who proved to skeptics that a white British girl could earn respect in a genre dominated by dark–skinned males. In "Sad Ass Stripper" (c. 2004 but never officially recorded), a philippic aimed at Jenina, a rival performer, she shows that she can use the MLE replacment of /ð/ and fill her lyrics with expletives as well as any man:

I have come to fuck up your career
Bitch, don't fuck wid dis titch, yeah!
I have come to really take da piss
And you will take dis lyrical diss
You been chattin bout ya Gucci thong
But how many weeks, bitch, have you had it on? Eurgh!
I can tell by your dances
Dat it's somewhere stuck up ya bum. Eurgh!

Typical features of Lady Sovereign's song are present here: vulgarity, a vicious personal attack, a reference to her own lack of height (*titch*) and a fondness for puns (the demonstrative pronoun *dis* and the homophonous *diss*, meaning disrespect).

For decades British pop singers imitated American pronunciation and lexis, but in MLE grime has found its voice, while in grime MLE reaches out to the world. Grime artists have for several years articulated politics with a small p, i.e. the issues that impact directly on the lives of young Londoners, such as the classification of marijuana as an illegal drug and the tense relations between blacks and the police, but 2016 marked a watershed in that it was the year that grime got into Politics with a capital P. At the start of the year Novelist (Kojo Kankam, born in South London in 1997) produced "Street Politician", which incorporates sound bites by former prime minister, David Cameron, and police sirens to punctuate lyrics that describe the disaffection of London's youth:

Yo, always thinking fuck these feds
They don't give a damn about the mandem
Who's criminals? Us or them?
They hate us and we can't stand them
A gang to them's what we are
I'm an angry teenager
I'm a G, I'm known to get reckless
In the ends, we'll pop your necklace

One of the most popular grime artists at present is also the most overtly political. Stormzy (Michael Omari, born in South London in 1993) has repeatedly expressed his admiration for the Labour Party leader, Jeremy Corbyn, while in London's mayoral election of May 2016 he described the Conservative candidate as 'a proper pussyhole'. On June 24 2016, the day after the Brexit referendum in which the majority of Londoners had voted to remain in the EU, Stormzy used Twitter to launch his campaign to become prime minister in 2020. Those who know that in London slang *merky* means excellent are bound to find his electioneering slogan – *Make UK Merky* – disconcertingly similar to Trump's promise to make America great again. Whether 23–year–old Stormzy truly craves political office is questionable but his outspokenness on current issues has sparked debate among young Londoners traditionally bored by politics, and the fact that he had 13,000 retweets within 15 minutes of posting the hashtag #StormzyForPrimeMinister suggests that nothing should be taken for granted.

Conclusions

The development of MLE has been so rapid that we now have the situation that London teenagers can make themselves incomprehensible to their own parents if they wish to do so. At present those adolescents are diglossic, switching between MLE with friends and a more standard variety in the classroom or when circumstances require convergence with standard norms. The same can be said for grime artists, who in interviews with the mainstream media endeavour to make themselves clear to everyone. It remains to be seen, therefore, whether MLE will go on to emulate Cockney and become the dialect Londoners use in all contexts, or whether it will continue to be an option in their repertoire of varieties.

The high percentage of immigrant children in London's school has led to two effects other than the development of MLE: the first is that the schools themselves have improved in terms of pupils' scholastic achievement; the second is that racism has never been less of a problem.

As regards the first, Burgess writes, «There is nothing inherently different about the ability of pupils from different ethnic backgrounds, but the children of immigrants typically have high aspirations and ambitions, and might place greater hopes in the education system» (Burgess 2014).

Concerning racism, in a recent article Singh concludes that by now, not just in London but in all of Britain, «class is a deeper dividing line in British society than ethnicity» (Singh 2016:40-44).

Returning to language, a further question concerns the fate of Cockney. Its future looks bright, but no longer in Central London: it thrives in the boroughs of Outer London and increasingly in counties adjoining Greater London like Hertfordshire and Essex.

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FALSE GALLICISMS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Cristiano Furiassi

University of Turin

Introduction

Thanks to globalisation, contacts between languages (and between cultures) have increasingly become the norm. This phenomenon has led to language contact outcomes, affecting the lexical inventory of the recipient language(s) involved.

English, nowadays the donor language *par excellence* (Furiassi, Pulcini and Rodríguez González 2012), was once viewed as a recipient language (Durkin 2014). In fact, English vocabulary is rich in lexical borrowings, as attested, for instance, by research on Gallicisms (Renouf 2004) and Italianisms (Pinnavaia, 2001). Notwithstanding the hackneyed saying that the term borrowing is used inappropriately in linguistics, the fact that speakers are often confronted not only with 'real' borrowings but also with false borrowings is a noteworthy issue (Furiassi 2003, 2010, 2014, 2015).

Indeed, this article addresses the phenomenon of false borrowings (Gottlieb and Furiassi 2015), which occur when genuine lexical borrowings are formally and/or semantically reinterpreted by different recipient languages. As noted by Furiassi «Although false borrowings – probably due to their reduced quantitative impact on the lexicon – have been usually disregarded by linguists and lexicographers, they undoubtedly bear witness to the creative potential of language contact, especially in times of globalisation» (2014:47).

More specifically, this article focuses on false Gallicisms in English since, as stated by Renouf, «discrepancies between Gallicisms and French source terms» are common and «[i]t is rather the exception than the rule that a Gallicism has retained its original French meaning and use» (2004:533). Furthermore, Schultz argues that «[t]he creation of pseudo–loans in English not only points to a relatively widespread knowledge of French among English speakers but also to the comparatively strong impact French had (and still has) on English» (2012:51).

Without accounting for each individual variety, the analysis is restricted to British and American English for the following reasons: on the one hand, they are the most widely spoken varieties worldwide; on the other hand, as far as pseudo–French influence is concerned, it would be interesting to notice whether there is any significant difference between the two sides of the Atlantic. Finally, operational needs implied selecting

varieties of English abounding with authoritative dictionaries and reliable corpora to allow the retrieval of scientifically–sound data.

Drawing on Martí Solano (2015) and Schultz (2012), and to a lesser extent on Lopriore and Furiassi (2015) and Matzeu and Ondelli (2014), the aim of this article is to examine the impact that language contact via false borrowings from French has had on present–day English by bringing together research in this as–yet–undeveloped area of contact linguistics and providing 'more' false Gallicisms – intended to complement Martí Solano's (2015:245-248) and Schultz's (2012:528) lists of false Gallicisms. Consequently, the overall approach is mostly qualitative; however, by means of a corpus–based analysis, some quantitative findings are also presented[1].

A Definition of False Gallicisms

False Gallicisms have been defined by Martí Solano as «words that look French, but which deviate from genuine French words either morphologically, lexically or semantically» (2015: 232). In other words, calquing the definition of false Anglicisms provided by Furiassi (2010: 34-36), false Gallicisms are French–sounding and/or French–looking words that are commonly encountered in the English language but that do not actually exist or are used with a different meaning in French. Examples of false Gallicisms, extracted from Martí Solano (2015:245-248), are *bon viveur* for En. 'someone who enjoys good things in life' vs. Fr. *bon vivant*, *culottes* for En. 'short trousers which look like a skirt worn by women' vs. Fr. *jupe–culotte*, and *venue* for En. 'a place where a public event or meeting takes place' vs. Fr. *lieu*.

Terminological Issues

As pointed out by Furiassi (2015:260), «false Gallicisms» (Partridge 2009:3921; Furiassi 2014:69) are also known as «pseudo–Frenchisms» (Ayto 1991:211) and «pseudo–Gallicisms» (Geeraerts, Grondelaers 1999:5; Janda, Joseph 2003:154; Rollason 2003:21, 2005:39; Grzega 2004:31) in the literature written in English and as «faux gallicismes» (Deroy, 1956: 64; Vankov, 1967: 109; Spence, 1989: 330; Mattioda, 2015: 158) and «pseudo–gallicismes» (Spence 2004:101) in the literature written in French.

In the scholarly literature written in Italian the labels used to refer to false Gallicisms are «pseudo–francesismi» or «pseudofrancesismi» (Lurati, 1988: 502; D'Achille, 2003: 68, 2008: 103; Catricalà, 2004: 151; Cella, 2010: 523; Stefanelli, 2010: 613; Bellone, 2015: 223), «falsi gallicismi» (Viel, 2014: 12) and «falsi francesismi» (Catricalà, 2004: 144).

[1] Thanks are due to Ramón Martí Solano for his valuable comments on the overall draft of this article and precious suggestions on key bibliographic material.

False Gallicisms in English Dictionaries and Corpora

The 16 false Gallicisms included in the first column of Table 1 below, namely *café crème*, *chiffon*[1], *chiffon*[2], *duvet*, *encore*, *mélange*[1], *mélange*[2], *ménage*, *ménage à trois*, *Napoleon/napoleon*, *pouf*, *sabot*, *suede*, *torchon*[1], *torchon*[2] and *vintage*, were extracted from English monolingual dictionaries, i.e. *AHD*, *CALD*, *COBUILD*, *LDOCE*, *MDO*, *Merriam–Webster*, *OALD*, *OED*, *WTNID*, and collections of foreign words in the English language, i.e. Ayto (1991), Durkin (2014), Partridge (2009). Their status as false Gallicisms was confirmed by their absence from French monolingual dictionaries, i.e. *CNRTL*, *GDT*, *Larousse 1*, *PLI*, *PR* and *TLFi*; or, more often, by the fact that they were recorded in the above–mentioned dictionaries with a different meaning, unknown to native speakers of French.

Table 1. False Gallicisms in English Dictionaries and Corpora

False Gallicism	Type	*OED*	*BNC*	*Merriam–Webster*	*COCA*	French Equivalent
café crème (AmE)	SS	n.f.	0	(*noun, often attributive*) SUEDE «a light to moderate brown that is slightly yellower than tanbark or mocha bisque – called also *café crème*».	0	*beige*
chiffon[1]	SS	(*n.*) «A diaphanous plain–woven fabric of fine hard–twisted yarn (orig. silk, later nylon, etc.); also *attrib.*, sometimes with sense 'light in weight'».	94 (1 pmw)	(*noun*) «a sheer plain–weave very lightweight clothing fabric made of hard–twisted single yarns of wool, silk, cotton, rayon, or nylon and usually given a dull soft finish». (*adjective*) «like the fabric chiffon in sheerness or softness».	513 (1 pmw)	*crêpe*, *mousseline*
chiffon[2] (AmE)	SS	n.f.	0	(*adjective*) «of pie, cake, or pudding: having a light delicate texture achieved usually by adding whipped egg whites or whipped gelatin».	42 (0.08 pmw)	*à la mousse*, *mousse*
duvet	SS	(*n.*) «A quilt stuffed with eider–down or swan's–down».	260 (2.6 pmw)	(*noun*) COMFORTER «a warm bedcover: QUILT, PUFF».	206 (0.4 pmw)	*couette*
encore	SS	(*int.*) «Again, once more: used by spectators or auditors to demand the repetition of a song, piece of music, or other performance, that has pleased them». (*n.*) «A call for the repetition of a song, etc.; the repetition itself. Also *attrib.*»	183 (1.8 pmw)	(*noun*) «an additional performance requested by an audience; a second achievemen; especially: an achievement that surpasses the first». (*adverb*) «used interjectionally by audience members to request an encore».	714 (1.4 pmw)	*bis*, *rappel*

False Gallicism	Type	*OED*	*BNC*	*Merriam–Webster*	*COCA*	French Equivalent
mélange[1]	SS	(*n.*) «Yarn, esp. woollen yarn, to which dye has been applied unevenly so as to produce a bicoloured or multicoloured effect; a fabric made of such yarn, or giving the effect of such yarn. Freq. *attrib.*».	1	(*noun*) «a yarn spun from stock printed in different colors».	1	*chiné/e*
mélange[2]	SS	(*n.*) «Coffee served with whipped cream or hot milk; a drink of this».	0	(*noun*) «coffee mixed with cream, served in a tall glass, and topped with whipped cream».	0	*café–chantilly, café viennois*
ménage	SS	(*n.*) «[…] the parties involved in a romantic or sexual relationship regarded as forming a domestic establishment; the relationship itself. Also *fig.*».	2 (0.02 pmw)	n.f.	9 (0.02 pmw)	*affaire, liaison, relation (amoureuse)*
ménage à trois	AC	(*n.*) «A relationship or domestic arrangement in which three people (usually a husband and wife and the lover of one of these) live together or are romantically or sexually involved; (also) a sexual act involving three people. Also in extended use. Cf. À TROIS *adv.*».	3 (0.03 pmw)	(*noun*) «an arrangement in which three persons (as a married couple and the lover of one of the couple) share sexual relations especially while they are living together».	35 (0.07 pmw)	*plan à trois*
Napoleon/ napoleon	E	(*n.*) MILLEFEUILLE «A rich confection consisting of thin layers of puff pastry with a filling of jam, cream, etc.; […]».	0	(*noun*) «a rich pastry consisting of several oblong layers of puff paste with a filling of cream, custard, or jelly».	6 (0.01 pmw)	*mille-feuille/s*
pouf (AmE)	SS	n.f.	0	(*noun*) PUFF «a fluffy mass».	0	*couette*
sabot (AmE)	SS	n.f.	0	(*noun*) «[…] (2): a shoe having a sabot strap».	67 (0.1 pmw)	*mule*
suede	SS	(*n.*) «Orig. in *suede gloves*, gloves made of undressed kid–skin; hence *suede* is used for the material and the colour of it […]».	0	(*noun, often attributive*) «a light to moderate brown that is slightly yellower than tanbark or mocha bisque – called also *café crème*».	0	*beige*
torchon[1]	SS	(*n.*) «The French word for a duster or dish–cloth: used *attrib.* in **torchon lace** *n.* (also abbreviated **torchon**, pl. **torchons**) a coarse bobbin lace, of loose texture».	0	(*noun*) «also **torchon lace** […] a coarse bobbin or machine–made lace made with fan–shaped designs forming a scalloped edge and used especially for edgings and trimmings».	1	*entrelacé*

False Gallicism	Type	*OED*	*BNC*	*Merriam–Webster*	*COCA*	French Equivalent
torchon[2] (AmE)	CE	n.f.	0	n.f.	14 (0.03 pmw)	*au torchon*
vintage	SS	(*n.*) «*transf.* Denoting an old style or model of something, esp. a vehicle; […] cf. VETERAN *n.*».	541 (5.4 pmw)	(*adjective*) «of old, recognized, and enduring interest, importance, or quality: CLASSIC, VENERABLE».	5,128 (9.8 pmw)	*rétro, de collection, d'époque, ancien/ne*

The second column indicates the types of false Gallicisms included in Table 1 by means of the acronyms AC, CE, E and SS. Furiassi's (2010:38-52) typology of false Anglicisms in Italian, already applied successfully to the analysis of false Italianisms in English (Furiassi 2014), is here employed for the classification of false Gallicisms. Most false Gallicisms, namely 13 out of 16, can be labeled as semantic shifts (SS), that is English lexemes which have a genuine French form but, once borrowed, acquire a new meaning – unknown in French–speaking speech communities. The meaning given to such items is very likely to strike the French speaker (proficient in English) as odd. The remaining false Gallicisms, *ménage à trois*, *Napoleon/napoleon* and *torchon*[2], can be classified as an autonomous compound (AC), an eponym (E) and a compound ellipsis (CE) respectively: *ménage à trois* is an autonomous English phrase made of authentic French material; *Napoleon/napoleon* is a French proper noun which, via eponymy, later became a common noun in English; *torchon*[2] is the ellipsis of the 'real' French phrase *au torchon*, which is also its French equivalent.

Columns three and five include the definitions of the false Gallicisms retrieved, as recorded in the *OED* and the *Merriam–Webster*, dictionaries of British and American English respectively. Genuine French meanings are often recorded alongside pseudo–French ones, as in the case of *suede*, which, as a 'real' Gallicism, means 'a type of leather used to make gloves, shoes, etc.' and, as a false Gallicism, refers to a shade of yellow. Obviously, only the pseudo–French meanings were included in Table 1. In addition, if a false Gallicism or its pseudo–French meaning were not found in the *OED* or the *Merriam–Webster*, the label 'n.f.' appears.

Columns four and six show the usage frequency of each false Gallicism in the *BNC* and the *COCA*, corpora of British and American English respectively. The raw occurrences displayed in Table 1 were checked manually and only those in which each item was used with a pseudo–French meaning were counted. With the exclusion of hapaxes, frequencies per million words (pmw) – between round brackets in Table 1 – were also computed. Whenever '0' appears, it indicates that no instance of the false Gallicism or its pseudo–French meaning was encountered in the corpus under scrutiny[2].

[2] Corpus data regarding the *BNC* and the *COCA* were last retrieved in September 2015. Frequency counts for the *COCA* might have changed slightly if compared to the figures included in Table 1. In fact, the *BNC* is a 100,000,000 million word corpus (containing exactly 100,106,008 tokens) compiled between the 1980s and 1993 whereas the *COCA*, about five times larger than the *BNC*, includes about 520,000,000 tokens to date (2015): its compilation started in 1990 and, being an open corpus, it is constantly updated. In addition, the raw frequency of *vintage* in the *COCA*, namely 5,248, obviously also included 'real' French

Finally, the seventh column lists the 'real' French equivalent(s) of each false Gallicism detected. French equivalents were selected from French–English bilingual dictionaries, i.e. *Collins*, *Larousse 2*, *OHFD*, *PASSWORD*.

Qualitative Findings

By qualitatively analysing each false Gallicism, some remarks are worth making. In general, 5 false Gallicisms, namely *café crème*, *chiffon*[2], *pouf*, *sabot* and *torchon*[2], signaled by '(AmE)' in Table 1, are more prototypically found and/or used in American English rather than British English: indeed, these items are not recorded in the *OED* and do not appear in the *BNC*.

It is curious that the false Gallicism *café crème* may be used in English as a quasi–synonym of another false Gallicism, *suede*, to indicate a color – its French equivalent being *beige*.

The item *chiffon*[1] was labeled as a false Gallicism since in none of the French monolingual dictionaries consulted is it related to fabrics or garments. In fact, *chiffon*[1] is mostly used in French to mean En. *rag*. «However, in sporadic cases, *chiffon* seems to be used in Canadian French to refer to a fabric, a fact which may lead linguists to consider it a borderline case» (Lopriore and Furiassi, 2015:220). Metaphorically, *chiffon*[2] is used exclusively in American English to refer to a pie or cake with a mousse–like texture. Also in this case, the 'real' Gallicism *mousse* and the false Gallicism *chiffon*[2] can be considered quasi–synonyms.

Duvet, among the most frequent false Gallicisms in both British and American English, alongside *chiffon*[1], *encore* and *vintage*, represents a more plausible alternative to another, less common, false Gallicism, that is *pouf*.

As far as *encore* is concerned, its status as a false Gallicism is further confirmed by the *OED*, which records that «[t]here appears to be no evidence that […] the French […] word was ever similarly used in its native country. The corresponding word […] in French […] is *bis*; […]».

Chiné/e is the genuine French equivalent of the fashion–related false Gallicism mélange: this is confirmed by the *Larousse 1*, which, under the entry *chinage*, derived from the verb *chiner*, namely [e]ffectuer le chinage d'une étoffe», provides the following definitions: «[a]ction de teindre les fils de chaîne de couleurs différentes par teinture ou impression suivant le dessin que l'on veut obtenir»; «[t]issage d'une étoffe au moyen de fils diversement colorés».

The culinary false Gallicism *mélange*[2] refers to «[c]offee served with whipped cream or hot milk» (*OED*). This pseudo–French meaning «does not appear to be attested in

meanings. However, although it was not possible to manually select only the occurrences of *vintage* in its pseudo-French sense, a very loose approximation, namely 5,128 – appearing in Table 1, was reached by not counting the occurrences of *vintage* as a term, namely a collocate of the following tokens – 120 in total: *beer* (2), *beers* (1), *Bordeaux* (7), *bottle* (6), *bottles* (3), *bourbon* (1), *bourbons* (1), *brandy* (1), *cabernet* (4), *champagne* (9), *champagnes* (2), *claret* (1), *harvest* (3), *merlot* (2), *port* (20), *ports* (2), *scotch* (1), *whiskey* (1), *wine* (26), *wines* (9), *year* (11), *years* (7).

French» and, apparently, was first coined in Austrian German (*OED*).

In none of the French monolingual dictionaries consulted, under the entry ménage, is there an explicit reference to «a romantic or sexual relationship» (*OED*); this semantic extension is exactly the reason why *ménage* was considered a false Gallicism in the English language.

Another sexually–connoted false Gallicism is *ménage à trois*, which was found 35 times in the *COCA*, including four misspellings, i.e. *menage a trios*, *menage a toi*, *menage ic trois*, *menage i trois*, and one verbal use, i.e. *menage a troied*. It is also worth adding that in both the *BNC* and the *COCA* one instance of *menage a quatre* is found and that in the *COCA* there is even one occurrence of *menage a cinq*, thus confirming how productive false borrowings may be in the coining language.

The French equivalent of *Napoleon/napoleon*, namely *mille feuilles*, is defined by Davidson and Jaine (2006: 505) as follows: «French for 'thousand leaves' and a term for any of several items made from several layers of puff PASTRY. [...] a 'Napoleon' – probably a corruption of 'Napolitain', from the Neapolitan habit of making layered confections. In the USA the name 'Napoleon' may be applied to any mille feuilles, and it is usual to top all kinds with royal icing».

Despite not including *pouf* as a false Gallicism corresponding to Fr. *couette* (Spence, 1989: 330), the *OED* defines the homophone *puff* as follows: «*N. Amer. regional* (chiefly *New England*). A lightweight bed–covering filled with down, etc.; a quilted coverlet or duvet».

Nowadays, primarily in American English *sabot* is used to define a female shoe, closed in the front and open at the back – referred to in French (and also English) as *mule*: this finding proves that in English the 'real' Gallicism and the false Gallicism exist side by side (Lopriore and Furiassi 2015:221).

As recorded in the *Larousse 1*, in French *suédé/suédée*, *suédine* and *(en) daim* may also be used to refer to fabrics or items resembling *suede*, a 'real' Gallicism found in English. However, the Gallicism *suede* is false only when used to refer to the color *beige* – a 'real' Gallicism coexisting with a false one. Curiously, another English quasi–synonym of pseudo–French *suede* is the false Gallicism *cafè crème*.

In English, *torchon*[1] is «[t]he French word for a duster or dish–cloth» (*OED*). In French, it traditionally indicates a tea towel (BrE) or a dish towel (AmE). Via semantic shift, this false Gallicism is used in the English language of fashion to indicate a twisted effect created in materials of different types, a meaning unknown in French–speaking countries (Lopriore and Furiassi 2015:222).

Torchon[2], a false Gallicism pertaining to the culinary field, seems to have undergone the opposite word–formation process if compared to the false Gallicism *au gratin* – detected by Martí Solano (2015), whose real French equivalent is *gratin*. On the one hand, *au gratin* originated from the addition of the "portmanteau morph *au*" to *gratin*, thus making it «[…] undeniably a false Gallicism – the actual combination *au gratin* simply does not exist in French» (Martí Solano 2015:237-238). On the other hand, *au torchon* is the French equivalent of the false Gallicism *torchon*[2] since «[…] torchon is "dishtowel" in French» (*COCA*).

Quantitative Analysis

According to Durkin (2014:25), who bases his findings on the *OED*, "French only" loanwords, namely Gallicisms – including both genuine and false ones, amount to more than 6,000 in the vocabulary of contemporary English. Considering that the *OED* comprises «a list of over 600,000 lexemes» (Durkin 2014:22), it can be stated that French vocabulary in the English language accounts for 1%. As far as false Gallicisms are concerned, a rough estimate can be achieved by adding Martí Solano's (2015) findings, i.e. 33,[3] and Schultz's (2012) findings, i.e. 18[4], to the present findings, i.e. 16, thus concluding that false Gallicisms in English number 67, about 0.11 ‰ of the English lexical inventory – false Italianisms in English, i.e. 20, accounting for 0.03 ‰ (Furiassi 2014:53), roughly one fourth if compared to false Gallicisms.

With regard to the frequency of false Gallicisms in English, data confirm that the phenomenon is rather limited. Only four false Gallicisms – *chiffon*, *encore* and *vintage*, in both the *BNC* and the *COCA*, and *duvet*, in the *BNC* only – show a relative frequency equal to or higher than 1 per million words whereas nine never occur in at least one of the corpora analyzed despite being recorded in either the *OED* or the *Merriam–Webster* – *cafè crème*, *mélange*[2], *pouf* and *suede* have a zero frequency score in both the *BNC* and the *COCA*, and *chiffon*[2], *Napoleon/napoleon*, *sabot*, *torchon*[1] and *torchon*[2] never occur in the *BNC*. In addition, two false Gallicisms are hapaxes, namely *mélange*[1], in both the *BNC* and the *COCA*, and *torchon*[1], in the *COCA* only.

The Reborrowing of False Gallicisms in French: 'vintage'

Although the reborrowing of false –isms is a rare phenomenon (Furiassi 2010:70, 2014:57), *vintage* may be considered a pseudo–French lexical innovation first coined in English and later reborrowed by French.

According to Harper (2016), the semantic shift *vintage*, originally borrowed from French in the 15th century, meaning 'vine–harvest', in 1746 was also used to indicate the 'year of a particular wine' and eventually acquired the pseudo–French meaning of 'being of an earlier time' in 1883. However, only in 1928 (*OED*) was *vintage* first used in English to refer to something, especially cars, «of old, recognized, and enduring interest, importance, or quality» (*Merriam–Webster*).

As attested by Durkin (2014:18): «[…] *vintage* entered English (late in the Middle English period) as a specific term relating to wine, but developed various metaphorical

[3] The 33 false Gallicisms listed by Martí Solano (2015:245-248) are the following: à la mode, *appliqué*, *au gratin*, *au jus*, *au pair*, *arbitrageur*, *bon viveur*, *brassiere*, *bureau*, *cagoule*, *chandelier*, *charade*, *cortege*, *coup (d'état)*, *courier*[1], *courier*[2], *crayon*, *culottes*, *double entendre*, *en suite/ en-suite/ ensuite*, *entrée*, *fatigues*, *folie de grandeur*, *foyer*, *fracas*, *(haute) couture*, *pannier*, *pompadour*, *résumé*, *rosette*, *surcingle*, *valet*, *venue*.

[4] The 18 false Gallicisms detected by Schultz (2012:528) – extracted from the *OED* – are the following: *longuette*, *rondine*, *speclette*, *troilism*, *urinette*, classified as "pseudo-loans", *amuse-bouche*, *charmelaine*, *faux-naif*, *mouli-légumes*, *pot-et-fleur*, classified as "pseudo-compounds", *déjà lu*, *déjà entendu*, *manière criblée*, *misère ouverte*, *nom de vente*, *palais de danse*, *pour le sport*, *tour jeté*, classified as "pseudo-phrases".

uses in other fields and can nowadays be applied also to *vintage cars*, for instance. The word is fully naturalised in English and, although it was originally a borrowing from French, it differs considerably from the modern French word form, *vendange*».

Such a conspicuously distant meaning of English *vintage* from its French etymon led Lopriore and Furiassi (2015:204) to consider it an Anglicism. As confirmed by Fleischman (1976:431), as an Anglicism, namely a false Gallicism coined in English, «E[nglish] vintage has subsequently entered French […]». Its status of Anglicism is further confirmed by the *TLFi*, which indicates the English pronunciation as the first option, and by the *GDT*, which includes *vintage* under the entry *rétro* and recognises it as a recent Anglicism in French by labeling it "emprunt à l'anglais" – *vintage* is very likely to have first entered the French language in the 1980s. This use later spread to other languages, such as Italian, where it was first attested in 1992 (*GDU*).

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, cross–cultural movements, both actual and virtual, have contributed to the fluidity of the world's languages. More specifically, this phenomenon has had an impact on the evolution of English lexis, enriched by both real and false borrowings from other languages – of which false Gallicisms are but one example.

Despite their reduced quantitative impact – small number and low frequency, false Gallicisms are a further sign of the cultural influence of French on both American and British society, especially in the fields of fashion (9 false Gallicisms, namely *café crème*, *chiffon*[1], *duvet*, *mélange*[1], *pouf*, *sabot*, *suede*, *torchon*[1], *vintage*) and cuisine (4 false Gallicisms, namely *chiffon*[2], *mélange*[2], *Napoleon/napoleon* and *torchon*[2]).

As for the comparison of the two varieties of English investigated, roughly one third of the false Gallicisms analyzed, 5 out of 16 – signaled by '(AmE)' in Table 1, are prototypically American. The remaining two thirds, 11 out of 16, are almost equally distributed between British English and American English.

This collection of false Gallicisms in the English language is by no means exhaustive. However, it is hoped that it will complement previous findings and act as a stimulus to further research on the phenomenon of false Gallicisms in English and other languages affected by French.

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SPELLING AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY IN NON–STANDARD LANGUAGES: THE CASE OF WRITTEN BRITISH CREOLE

Liis Kollamagi

Roma Tre University

Introduction

This essay analyses two contemporary British novels: *Small Island* by Andrea Levy (2004) and *White Teeth* by Zadie Smith (2000). Both authors are London–born, with Jamaican ancestry, and both novels employ Creole speech. This mixture of Jamaican heritage, London's multicultural atmosphere and familiarity with issues regarding the Afro–Caribbean community raise some expectations for the conscious use of both the Creole culture and language.

The Creole language employed in the novels is a variety of Jamaican Creole mixed with local English spoken by the London Caribbean community. Caribbean English–lexicon Creoles are the result of contact between one dominant European language (English) and other non–Western, mainly African, varieties (McArthur 2003), and they have been considered 'bad talk' and erroneous dialects of the English language (Le Page 2006). Caribbean writers have for long used Creole in literary works to convey the uniqueness of their culture, in addition to subverting the colonial power and claiming rights for the Creole population. Today, this Caribbean cultural heritage is present also in many works of British–born authors, just like the linguistic variety of British Creole may be part of their language. Creole is expressed through traditional discourse structures, starting from the macrostructures of meaning and the linguistic levels of lexis and syntax, but also through the spelling and orthographic choices deviating from the standard. Moreover, non–standard spelling has a strong visual impact on the reader, indexes the speaker's identity, and arises issues of language status as well.

My approach is first of all quantitative, I analyse the Creole linguistic elements in both novels, focusing especially on Creole *respellings*, i.e. on Creole words that represent a deviant spelling from the conventional standard English form (Romaine 2005; Sebba 2007). Secondly, I also carry out a qualitative analysis of these Creole elements in relation to the construction of the character's identity, as well as to the status of Caribbean English–lexicon Creoles in general. For this purpose, my analysis draws on the notion

of voice, referring to the ability to make ourselves heard, that «in the era of globalisation becomes a matter of the capacity to accomplish functions of linguistic resources translocally, across different physical and social spaces» (Blommaert 2005:69). Local in this case may refer to social spaces like minority groups or subcultures (Canagarajah 2005) and the capacity to move linguistically across groups, to have *voice*, directly relates to the notion of identities as ongoing performances always in process of transformation (Hall 2000; Sebba and Tate 2002; Pennycook 2007).

What is British Creole?

British Creole is a variety of Jamaican Creole spoken in Great Britain, resulting from the contact with the former with local English vernacular; it is the outcome of the large–scale immigration to London from the Caribbean region after World War II, and if the first immigrants spoke diverse Caribbean Creoles, the second generation – regardless of their specific Caribbean origin – adopted a simplified version of Jamaican Creole. British Creole has thus become a symbolic code to mark Black British identity (Sebba and Tate, 2002) and speakers mostly adopt some tokens or stereotyped features associated to Creole. This produces high variability, emphasised by Le Page and Tabouret–Keller (2006:180) claiming that «an idealized London Jamaican exists, but which is rarely achieved resulting in a variety of speech which is (a) highly variable from speaker to speaker, (b) highly variable internally, (c) tends to 'revert' to London English».

As Sebba (2012) outlines, one of the main characteristics of British Creole is its being acquired in the peer group during adolescence as a second language or even as a second dialect. Therefore, young speakers use local English as their first language and for communicative purposes, while the Creole variety is more a symbolic code to mark Black identity. Moreover, due to the high covert prestige of Black culture in general, increasingly more white speakers, as well as speakers of other ethnicities, adopt some features of British Creole. Rampton (1995:485) has discussed this phenomenon as language crossing, which «involves code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language that they are using». This directly involves identity construction, since speakers perform different identities than their own by crossing over to other linguistic and social communities.

To briefly summarise, we can say that British Creole is above all a symbolic variety, which functions and uses are restricted and occur always in code–switching with vernacular English. If its first value was to express a shared experience of living in UK as a marginalised group, in time its use has allowed black British people to make themselves visible and to 'perform' their belonging to a specific culture and ethnic group, and «has functioned as a simplified optional 'we–code'» (Mair 2003:231). As an in–group code, British Creole identifies its speakers as members of the black community and has become the symbolic variety of Black Britishness.

British Creole in writing

Jamaican Creole, as well as all English–lexicon Caribbean Creoles, lacks a standardised written form and rules of orthography. Consequently, its British variant has no codified norms of writing, nevertheless it is employed in almost all literary genres from dub poetry to prose texts, in the latter featuring primarily in dialogues (Sebba 1998).

Written Creole may follow two alternative orthographic models, i.e. a modified standard English orthography or the phonemical orthography developed in the *Dictionary of Jamaican English* by Frederic G. Cassidy and Robert B. Le Page. The latter represents the sound system of the Creole variety following the one sound–one letter correspondence, and distinguishes itself from the lexifier language conveying «political emancipation and national identity» (Hellinger 1986:55). However, authors are reluctant to accept the phonemic spelling, especially since it 'looks' too unusual and it does not correspond to the reader's expectations with a written form she/he is accustomed to.

Single writers who use Creole in their works, in effect, alter the standard English spelling, which leads to high inconsistency and idiosyncrasy of written Creole. This phenomenon should be considered socially and ideologically meaningful, since choosing from a set of alternatives, the writer performs an act of will and the deviant spelling becomes a social practice made in a socio–cultural context. Thus, «orthography can be seen as a practice, an activity of the writer embedded in social context» (Sebba 2007:26).

Moreover, single spelling choices deviating from the standard may have a strong visual impact. This visible/visual element is emphasised by many scholars approaching writing from new perspectives (Lillis and McKinney 2013). Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999:46), for example, stress how «written texts are multisemiotic, not only combining written language with visual images, but also treating the written language itself as a visual surface». Thus, Creole respellings visually embody language alliances or dissociations, since a new language «should not 'look like' that of the imposed colonial language or on the contrary, not 'to look different' from the lexifier, which is felt more prestigious» (Sebba 2007:75).

This visual essence of writing is linked also to the notion of 'indexicality' that establishes a link between linguistic features and the speakers «as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence» (Irvine and Gal 2000:37). Therefore, specific Creole respellings and stereotyped Creole features on the one hand index the black British community, on the other hand deviant 'misspellings' may be indexical of stigmatised speakers with lower social status and level of education.

Methodology

Considering that non–standard language, in this case Creole, is usually employed in dialogues, the first step of my analysis consists in identifying the parts of the texts in Creole. Both novels, in effect, are written in standard English and Creole is scarcely used, although some diversities between the novels occur. In *Small Island* Creole speech is mostly expressed through a deviant English syntax, as for example the use of a simplified pronoun system (universal *me* form), the lack of auxiliary and the loss of inflection. In

White Teeth, instead, Creole is employed only in dialogues and is always characterised by non–standard spelling. Due to this high inconsistency of Creole representation, I decided to identify a sentence being Creole if it matched at least one of these rules:

1. A sentence containing Creole vocabulary or Creole respellings.

2. A sentence pronounced by Creole–speaking characters and containing nonstandard English syntax.

So even if my analysis focuses on Creole spelling, attention is also drawn to non-standard syntax and vocabulary, and all these linguistic elements may be conceived as narrative tools to construct or to convey identity.

I have transferred the extracts in Creole to a text file, which allowed the use of text analysis software to determine the number of different respellings and their collocation in the text. This prior quantitative investigation of the Creole speech in the novels is necessary for the following qualitative analysis. This second part of my analysis concentrates on the functions of Creole language in fiction; on the one hand, it is employed to characterise the speaker and to provide information about their geographical and social background (Hodson 2014); on the other hand, Creole use is highly symbolical in providing *voice* across different social and spatial localities (Blommaert 2005) performing different identities (Hall 1996; Pennycook 2007)

Case study 1: Andrea Levy's "Small Island"

Andrea Levy's fourth novel *Small Island* is set in post–war London in the year 1948 and it features four main characters, one couple of Jamaican origins, and another couple composed by the British landlords. The novel is an exception among prose texts employing Creole, since Creole speech is used not only in dialogues, but also in narrative parts. The structure of the novel is built on first–person narrations of the four main characters, and in the case of the Jamaican characters, language becomes a key element of their story. Most Creole–speaking characters, in effect, command different lects of the Creole continuum shifting between basilectal varieties – with the highest degree of creoleness – and varieties employing only stereotyped Creole features or even standard English (Sebba 2002).

The quantitative analysis of the novel identified 6,563 Creole words, i.e. sentences in the text pronounced by Jamaican characters, which were deviant from standard English whether in syntax, or in vocabulary. Of these Creole words, only 180 were actual respellings that conveyed Creole language by modifying the conventional spelling form. Considering that the novel counts for approximately 162,875 words, around 4% of the text represents Creole language and even lesser words distinguish written Creole from the standard language in their spelling.

The presence of Creole language in *Small Island* is quite minimal, and primarily it is signalled by using stereotyped features of non–standard and colloquial English, such as simplifications and loss of syntactic or phonological elements. Emphasis is on the latter, which determines phonological respellings such as TH–stopping, loss of final consonant and double velar plosives /k,g/ in medial position. Additionally, many respellings are eye–dialect that do not express phonological or phonetical differences, but give

the impression of colloquial or non–standard speech by distinguishing words from the standard (Sebba 2007). Eye–dialect, in effect, acts on the visual impact of spelling and the language 'looks' different from the standard.

The characters employing Creole are all Jamaican in origin, which nevertheless does not implicate a full use of Jamaican Creole, but a gradual use of Creole features. Such variation depends mostly on the social status and social aspirations of the speakers except for Elwood. Central in my analysis is Hortense, and the character's development from a child growing up in rural Jamaica to a married woman in London is reflected in her use of language. Hortense is a good example of voice and the capacity to accomplish functions with language translocally (Blommaert 2005). Hortense's identity is constantly negotiated and she represents what Hall (2000:16) has defined as «identification as a construction, a process never completed».

She first appears in the novel using standard English, a result of her private school education in Jamaica, where she «could recite all the books of the Bible in the perfect English diction spoken by the King» (Levy 2004:52). In Jamaica Hortense's speech was close to a standard form of English, and represents an 'acrolect' on the Creole continuum, giving her a higher social position and conveying prestige. She is trained to become a teacher and is «determined to speak in an English manner» (Levy 2004:372).

However, once on the docks of England, she is *black* like all other Caribbean immigrants and her King's pronunciation is incomprehensible for the locals. Her social aspirations are now undermined by ridiculing her too archaic and bookish way of speaking English. In the first scene of the novel Hortense speaks to the Englishwoman Queenie asking for her husband: «I have not seen Gilbert […] but this is perchance where he is aboding?» (Levy 2004:11), clearly sounding too formal and impractical. This formality is made clear throughout the novel also by the fact that other people do not understand her, as in the humorous exchange between Hortense and Queenie where Hortense tries to ask for a basin:

> "Excuse me, but would you perchance have a basin that I might get a use of?" "A what?" "A basin," I repeated. "Sorry." "A basin to put at the sink." "A bee – to put what?" "A basin." "I'm sorry but I don't understand what you're saying." I thought to say it again slower but then remembered an alternative that would work as well. "A bucket," I said. "A what?" she started again. It was useless. Was I not speaking English?" (Levy 2004:188)

In England Hortense has no voice, common people (the taxi–driver, the grocer) literally do not understand her and she can't *do* things with language, which determines her inferior status and powerlessness. She must learn linguistic mobility and to shift between local or translocal spaces such as rural Jamaica, Kingston, London vernacular neighbourhood and London's Caribbean community.

After the first alienating impact with England, Hortense recalls her childhood in Jamaica and in these memories, her grandmother, Miss Jewel, appears. As a matter of fact, Hortense is not English on her mother side and the writer presents Hortense's mother memories who was a country girl with bare black feet; the only words Hortense recalls of her are me sprigadee» (Levy 2004:31), a Creole word for child or girl friend (Cassidy

and Le Page 2009). Hortense is separated from her mother in her infancy and given under the custody of some middle–class friends of her English father. Here Hortense constructs herself a new 'English' identity, and looking back on her past she affirms «what, after all, could Alberta [her mother] give me? Her black bare feet?» (Levy 2004:32).

Hortense' s grandmother, Miss Jewel is a house servant for the family who adopts her niece. The old lady speaks a rural basilect, the farthest Creole variety from standard English, and her speech – two short dialogues with Hortense as a little girl – contain many respellings featuring Creole phonology and eye–dialect. Here the young Hortense tries to teach Miss Jewel about England:

> "Whe you mean shepherd, Miss Hortense?"
> "A shepherd is a man who looks after sheep."
> "Sheep? Dem nuh have none ah dat in Jamaica?"
> "No, it is England where the shepherd is, Miss Jewel." (Levy 2004:36)

Hortense wants to teach Miss Jewel a poem by William Wordsworth and the two worlds and linguistic/cultural identities evidently contrast in this passage. On the one hand, Jamaican Creole and the Caribbean heritage are revealed, on the other, the way Hortense speaks standard English and recites Wordsworth's poem clearly appear as a rejection of them.

In the same dialogue Miss Jewel continues to use basilect Creole: «Me nuh know, Miss Hortense. When me mudda did pregnant dem she smaddy obeah'er. A likkle spell yah no. […] Oh, Hengland. Ah deh so de Lawd born ah Hengland?» (Levy 2004:38). In this short extract, some genuine Creole elements are present, such as 1. double velar plosives /k,g/ in medial position in words like *likkle* (little) and 2. insertion of glides /j/ and /w/ after velars or bilabials as in *Lawd* (Lord). Both these rules derive from Jamaican Creole and represent unique Creole features. As a matter of fact, /t,d/ change into velar occlusive sounds /k, g/ in middle position and before the sound /l/ (Sebba 1998), while the insertion of glides functions to distinguish the vowel quality of sounds [o] and [oi], otherwise pronounced as [a] and [ai].

Whereas the respelling *likkle* is used also by other characters, the insertion of semi-vowels or glides in the *respelling Lawd* is the only example in the entire novel. This shows that even if the author is aware of the rule and has employed it masterfully, she decides to abandon it later for example in words such as boy (*bwoy*) or cannot (*kyan/cyan*). Miss Jewel's speech contains a rich variety of Creole features mixed with eye–dialect so to reinforce the strong, and maybe unfamiliar, impact of Creole culture for the reader.

Miss Jewel's speech contains respellings applying TH–stopping as well, such as *de* and *dem*. TH–stopping is a one of the most salient phonological features of non–standard English varieties and informal English, and it is not unique to Jamaican Creole, but to Caribbean English–lexicon Creoles in general. TH–stopping means the substitution of English interdental fricatives /θ,ð/ with plosive sounds /t, d/ and in *White Teeth* the rule is employed to a great extent, while in *Small Island*, on 180 respellings only 29 (16%) express this common rule.

Miss Jewel is a fixed character if compared to Hortense. The only voice Miss Jewel possesses is a rural basilect Creole which confines her geographically and socially and

provides her with a pre–given immobile identity. Her character is the 'most Creole' in the novel, and is emphasised using a high number of respellings. Therefore, the more Creole respellings, the more stronger and fixed becomes the Creole identity.

Towards the end of the novel, Hortense, once she has not achieved becoming a teacher in England and all her Jamaican private school education reveals to be useless, there seems to be a change in her character. Up to this point Hortense has been very critical towards her husband who she seems even to dislike for his bad manners and language, but in the scene where Gilbert consoles her after the last job rejection, a change between them occurs. Hortense listens for the first time to what Gilbert is saying to her, i.e. that England is not what she – or every other Caribbean immigrant – expected. A more tender behaviour towards Gilbert is emphasised by some use of Creole words or sentences, such as «me a fool» and «I bang me foot on a bucket» (Levy 2004:382). Hortense's Creole speech, however, is never expressed on the level of spelling and her deviation from the standard is mostly conveyed by single tokens of erroneous morphology.

Hortense goes through what Stuart Hall has called the process of identification, where «identification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person of group» (Hall 1996:16). This did not happen with her mother or grandmother in Jamaica, but slowly occurs in London, where she becomes aware of her belonging to the Jamaican immigrants' community. With the example of Hortense, Andrea Levy has successfully depicted the formation of the Afro–Caribbean identity in general, even if the linguistic representations of Creole could have been bolder and conveyed more in Creole spelling.

In addition, Gilbert's speech is characterised by nonstandard English elements, such as the lack of agreement between subject and verb, the absence of copula and the use of a simplified pronoun system, as in the following example: «How many times she ask me that question? I lose count. That question became a mournful lament, sighed on each and every thing she see […] You no realise, man? Cha, you married to this woman» (Levy 2004:18). The nonstandard speech is made minimal and expressed by the present verb tense and by replacing the standard negation form with a stereotypical *no*. Gilbert frequently mistakes pronouns «My question is, why him follow me in the first place?» (Levy 2004:141), or misses the verb agreement, but correctly employs the present perfect tense: «What you expect, woman? Everyone live like this. There has been a war» (Levy 2004:17). As for respellings, Gilbert uses fewer words in Creole specific spelling that other Creole male characters. However, the word *caan* (can't) is present four times in Gilbert's speech and it is an example of eye–dialect with the double vowel. In *White Teeth* the same word is spelled in a more Creole way as *kyant* applying both eye–dialect ('k' instead of 'c') and the insertion of the semivowel /j/. This shows the variability of Creole spelling in different texts. In addition, Gilbert uses Creole lexis, such as *pickney* (child), *ras* (ass) and *nyam* (eat/food).

On the contrary, Gilbert's cousin Elwood's Creole language contains many respellings. He is a young man who rather than emigrating to London, stays in Jamaica to fight for the independence of his country. His speech is marked with respellings featuring the loss of final dental consonants /t,d/ or consonant loss in the cluster 'ing'. This is a phonological rule of Jamaican Creole according to which consonants are reduced in

clusters and in the word final position any consonant may be lost (Cassidy and Le Page 2009). In fact, respellings such as *jus'*, *mus'*, *wan'* are the most common respellings in *Small Island* and mostly used by Elwood, and they all apply the apostrophe to indicate the absence in the non–standard form. This latter emphasises the incompleteness of Creole spelling and draws attention to its deviation from the standard spelling, reinforcing its secondary and inferior status. Similarly, as the dental occlusive sounds, also the final consonant cluster <ng> in progressive verb forms is simplified as in verbs *goin'*, *tellin'*, *chattin'*, but also in the adverb *nothin'*, once respelled as *not'in.*

Elwood also uses much Creole vocabulary, such as *licky–licky*, *lick*, *bakkra* (master, whites) *pickney* (child) and other forms such as *fo* (to) and the Creole respelling *likkle.* Kenneth, another Jamaican young man who left for England, uses many Creole words in his speech, but contrary to Elwood, he becomes socially marginalised. The two characters are similar in their use of Creole language, which is much more marked than Gilbert's. We can certainly affirm that Elwood's Creole language is positively contextualised since he stays in Jamaica, whereas Kenneth's use of Creole stigmatises him in England. Like Hortense, Elwood is a good example of voice. He uses Jamaican Creole, highlighted by the many respellings, to maintain his Jamaican identity in a politically uncertain context. In his case the dominant language is appropriated and transformed by the local, and Elwood performs and establishes his Creole subjectivity (Pennycook 2007). Despite his geographical 'periphery', since Elwood does not leave Jamaica like many other characters represented in the novel, he is a dynamic person fighting for his political views. His Creole language, rather than being a symbol of inferior status in respect to hegemonic places and languages, establishes *voice* for all those segments of the Caribbean population who have been excluded from the political and economic decision making of their territories.

Unlike Elwood, Kenneth and his twin brother Winston move to London, where they need to shift between voices and identities to integrate both to the English society and to the London's Caribbean community. Whereas Winston succeeds in the new environment and achieves wealth and position, Kenneth fails to reinvent himself a new identity and becomes the most stigmatised character in the novel. Kenneth is by Hortense's words «is rough and uncouth. You hear his language?» (Levy 2004:369). This antagonism of the twins is emphasised in their use of language, the only element to differentiate them in case of mix up. Winston speaks almost a standard English and only some forms such as the final consonant in *nothin'* and the interjection *cha*[1] reveal his Creole culture.

Instead, Kenneth's Creole is highlighted by respellings such as *t'ink* and *t'inking* and *everyt'ing* (also used by Elwood) featuring TH–stopping, as well as most of loss of consonants in 'ing' cluster. As mentioned before, Kenneth and Elwood both use some Creole vocabulary (*bakkra*, *lick*), but in Kenneth's case it is socially more stigmatising due to the context of the Creole language use.

[1] The word *cha* appears in *Small Island* 32 times, six times together with *cha*, *nah. Cha* (*cho*, *chu*) is an interjection which derives from African languages, Ewe and Twi, and may express negative feelings as astonishment, scorn, anger, impatience and annoyance (Cassidy and Le Page 2009:103).

Table 1. Rate of Creole speech and respellings

	Small Island	*White Teeth*
Total	162,875	169,389
Creole words	6563	4105
Creole respellings	180	858

Case study 2: Zadie Smith's "White Teeth"

Zadie Smith's bestseller was published at the end of 2000 and it instantly became a «landmark for multicultural Britain, a superb portrait of contemporary London» (Perfect 2014:76). It is an easily readable family saga of two immigrant families living in North London; one of Jamaican descent and the other of Bangladeshi roots. The author deploys different languages and varieties, such as Cockney, Bengali (little), youth talk and street language, and most of all, Jamaican Creole mixed with local English. In *White Teeth*, therefore, language becomes almost a character on its own, and the narrator often draws attention to the language choices of the characters.

Contrary to *Small Island*, in this novel Creole language is only used in dialogues and never in narrative parts except for only one sentence. Whereas in *Small Island* the characters themselves speak in first–person, here the omniscient narrator's voice is always in standard English. This probably emphasises the contrast between the King's English and all other non–standard varieties, including Creole, and reflects a more conventional use of dialects and idiolects in fiction.

The novel counts for 169,389 words, of which 4105 were identified as Creole, representing thus 2,4% of the total. Compared to *Small Island* the amount of Creole language is lesser, however, there is a crucial difference concerning the use of Creole respellings, which are much more frequent and consistent in *White Teeth*. Creole speech, in effect, is always expressed on the level of spelling and some phonological aspects such as TH–stopping and the loss of final consonant are invariably applied

On the total of the Creole speech 858 words are Creole respellings, and almost half of these represent TH stopping, for example high frequency words (in rank of frequency): *de* (the), *dat* (that), *wid* (with), *dis* (this), *dem* (them), the verb *tink* (think) and the noun *ting* (thing). This rule was present in Creole speech regardless of the character, thus emphasising the opposition between Creole and standard English rather than different degrees of the Creole continuum as in *Small Island*.

Creole speaking characters in *White Teeth* are mainly two female speakers, Hortense and her daughter Clara, but there are also other minor characters who appear in single scenes without having a role in the main story. Additionally, these minor voices, though creating a multicultural atmosphere, belong to uneducated speakers and Creole spelling reinforces the stigmatising effect of their non–standard language. The minor characters include different people of the London's Caribbean community, like the hairdressers, a homeless mad woman and two old men sitting in the bar. However, basilectal Creole is spoken also by Hortense's mother and grandmother, who appear in two speakers from the past who establish a continuity between previous and present generations and symbolise

Creole roots. As a matter of fact, Ambrosia and her mother belong to the colonial era and their speech is highly marked with Creole lexis and the application of respellings. As Miss Jewel in *Small Island*, Ambrosia and her mother represent those rural illiterate Creole speakers whose dialect contrasts with the educated language of the Englishmen. Creole spelling visibly associates 'bad talk' to poor Caribbeans and stigmatises them by orthographic metonymy (Jaffe and Walton 2000). According to this last notion, non–standard orthography becomes the speaker's voice and represents his/her identity, establishing a connection between incorrect spelling and the social status and level of education of the speaker.

Other minor characters, Denzel and Clarence are two old Jamaican men represented as sitting in the pub and playing dominos. They do not have any function in the story of the novel and are simply humorous interruptions to the main discourse. Their speech is represented in Creole spelling and contains some of Creole specific vocabulary such as: «What dat bambaclaat say?» (Smith 2000:187), where *bambaclaat* is a common Jamaican swear word, compound of *bumba* (butt) and *claat* (cloth) and it is used referring in a derogatory way to non–Caribbean people. Another similar example is the fictional person of Mad Mary, a homeless Jamaican woman who shouts in Creole in the streets: «Black man! Dem block you everywhere you turn!» (Smith 2000:177), where *dem* hints to the Creole accent. Again, the speaker is not a central character of the story, except for interrupting the evening of Samad and his young English lover Poppy. Creole here is spoken by a mad person of lower social status and functions explicitly as a humorous intermission in the plot, in the meantime hiding stigmatisation and negative attitudes.

So, in the case of the minor voices Creole functions as a tool to add humour and to increase the multiplicity of languages and varieties in the novel. However, the employment of Creole in the speech of these minor characters reinforces also the traditional association of Creoles with uneducated speakers. The main characters who use Creole are Hortense and her daughter Clara who move to London when she is very young. Clara is the first character to speak Creole in the novel, when in a lilting Caribbean accent, she exclaims «"Cheer up, bwoy! Man... dey get knock out, But I tink to myself: come de end of de world, d'Lord won't mind if I have no toofs"» (Smith, 2000:25). Here, Creole is expressed primarily by the word *bwoy* respelled with the additional velar glide /w/ and by English fricative sounds produced as plosives. At the same time, the word *toofs* is an example of London English. Clara's speech is the perfect example of British Creole, a mixture of Jamaican elements and vernacular English. Clara is a remarkable character whose identity is constantly questioned and transformed. She code-switches between Jamaican Creole, Cockney and standard English exhibiting a capacity to move across social spaces. At the beginning of the novel Clara's speech is full of Creole respellings, such as *mout* (mouth), *marnin'* (morning), *mudder* (mother), *trow* (throw) and many instances of loss of final consonant (*wan', jus', comin'*). The word *marnin'* represents the vowel change of /o/ (LOT/HOT) to /a/ in Jamaican Creole, which has only the vowel /a/ representing both the sounds of [o] and [æ] (Cassidy and Le Page 2009:xlviii). This rule is applied also in *nat* (not), barn (born) and gat (got), all respellings present in Hortense's speech.

When Clara meets the Cockney speaking boy Ryan, her language becomes even more Creole and their dialogues make clear their different background and origin. While

Ryan uses few Cockney respellings, Clara's speech is openly Creole «"Bwoy, me kyant do nuttin' right today"» (Smith 2000:36) where *kyant* is a form of eye–dialect changing visually the standard 'c' to 'k' without any sound difference. The word *nuttin'* applies the vowel change /o/ to /a/, as mentioned above, but writers idiosyncratically choose sometimes to use the grapheme <u> and not <a>, as in words *nuttin* (nothing), *anudder* (another), *mudder* or *mudda* (mother), *nuh* (now). Since in JC the grapheme <o> is never pronounced as [o], authors feel free to spell the standard form as they please, once <a> which represents a phonological contrast, and alternatively as <u>, which is eye–dialect. This is much more frequent in *White Teeth* demonstrating the variability of the spelling, and may be misleading for the reader whether to pronounce [a], or [u].

When Clara marries the Englishman Archie, her Creole variety is slowly replaced with standard English. Clara breaks off with her mother and her Jamaican origins, and her progress in social status is achieved in the total replacement of Creole with standard English, like in the following example that shows the linguistic conflict of Clara «"You're pregnant? Pickney, you so small me kyant even see it". Clara blushed the moment she had spoken; she always dropped into the vernacular when she was excited or pleased about something» (Smith 2001:66).

Hortense, Clara's mother, is the main Creole speaker and her speech includes most of the Creole specific phonological respellings, as well as some vocabulary as in the following example «Pickney, nah even got a gansy on – child must be freezin' […] Come 'ere. Now come into the kichen an' cease an' sekkle» (Smith 2000:382). In the sentence *pickney* and *gansy* are Creole lexis standing for child and shirt, and in addition the word *sekkle* employs the Creole feature of double velars in medial position before /l/. Hortense is also the only character who uses initial velar fricative /h/ in *heducated* and in other words such as *hevil* and *hexplain*. In Jamaican Creole, the sound /h/ never appears in initial position and this strategy is called speaky–spoky style employed in performance poetry to undermine the sacredness of the standard English and to have a humorous effect for Creole speakers (Patrick 2004). However, in the case of Hortense – the only character to use this style which will be unknown for most readers – the effect is almost ridiculous and emphasises the assumption of Creole speakers as illiterate and uneducated.

The third–generation character Irie does not speak a word of Creole; instead, she seems to avoid Creole speech and her social aspirations are reflected in her «overcompensation of all her consonants» (Watts 2013:858) and she uses standard English even in situations where others speak Creole or code–switch into it. Irie's silence concerning Creole is interesting, she chooses not to have Creole *voice* and distances herself from her origins. However, in the novel she becomes interested in Jamaica and wants to know more about her roots, but the author has chosen not to reflect this in her language.

Conclusions

My essay has analysed the Creole spelling used in two British contemporary novels by authors with a Caribbean heritage: Zadie Smith's *White Teeth* and Andrea Levy's *Small Island*; in both novels, the authors choose the standard English orthography model on which they reshape Creole spelling, reinforcing the idea of Creoles as dependent from

their lexifier. This signals how both authors relate to a traditional belief of Creoles to be 'variants' of English and they do not venture into a more phonemic representation of Creole. Creole respellings mostly relate to Black or urban speech in general, such as TH–stopping and loss of the final consonant. Creole–specific orthography is rarer; for example, some Creole lexis, the use of eye–dialect and the speaky–spoky style. We can say that both texts combine Creole–specific orthographic elements with more urban and common spelling familiar to the reader. And, again, this reinforces the idea of Creole as Black urban speech depriving Creole of its specificity.

The two novels *White Teeth* and *Small Island* feature a rich panorama of Creole speakers whose code–switching between Creole, vernacular English and standard becomes a narrative strategy to construct their identities. Characters' own speech is an unmediated way to portray their social, as well as geographical backgrounds, and to reveal their individualities. In this way, the author's or the omniscient narrator's voice does not impose an identity on the character, but the latter him/herself constructs his/her identity through language and talk.

Creole speech is a modified and deviant form of the standard language, as well as most of the respellings are common to many nonstandard English varieties representing stereotypical tokens. This supports the perception of Creole as an inferior and 'bad' English, for example in the use of the apostrophe or in the cutting off the final graphemes of words, in turn the 'bad' uneducated language is connected to speakers by orthographic metonymy, according to which nonstandard orthographic choices stand for social identity. Therefore, we can say that Creole characters are stigmatised and – as demonstrated by the analysis – mostly they represent minor uneducated or rural speakers.

My analysis shows that British Creole usage in fiction may be a productive strategy and has plentiful potentialities to produce intense and rich characters shifting between cultures and languages. The ability to use different varieties give speakers more *voice* to move across social (and spatial) groups and communities performing different identities. However, Creole is also employed to express authenticity, without allowing Creole speaking characters to develop further, as in the case of Miss Jewel in *Small Island* or the minor characters in *White Teeth*. So, authors should and could express Creole more through linguistic and spelling choices. But they decide not to do it, so that the surface 'muliculturality' of the novels reveals to be, on a deeper study, just a mimicking of the commonplaces and stereotypes associated to Creole and black culture.

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ENGLISH IN THE TRADITIONAL MEDIA: THE CASE OF COLLOQUIALISATION BETWEEN ORIGINAL FILMS AND REMAKES

Raffaele Zago

University of Pavia

1. Introduction

In relatively recent times, social change has had one of its manifestations in the growing presence of colloquiality in a variety of domains. It might even be argued that colloquiality is among the trademarks of modern society. For instance, many contemporary radio and TV programmes are centred on «ordinary people talking in ordinary ways» (Tolson 2006:5), as in the case of talk shows, and many films now «successfully portray diverse aspects of genuine spoken dialogue» (Taylor 1999:268). The communicative immediacy granted by colloquial language is also recurrently exploited by contemporary politicians to sound convincing and approachable vis–à–vis their voters. Even textbooks, nowadays, are on a conversational wavelength with their readers in the interest of facilitating the presentation of information.

Despite the virtual absence of studies on the topic, it seems possible to suggest that the increase in colloquiality over time is a transnational trend, that is, a process which is active in more than one country and language.

For example, colloquialisation has been observed in Finnish political discourse by Fairclough and Mauranen (1997), who compared political interviews conducted on radio and TV in 1962 and 1992. The two authors observed a shift over time «from a distant, impersonal, formal public discourse towards conversation and personalised discourse» (Fairclough and Mauranen 1997:117), as evident in the increasing frequency of casual linguistic features such as repetitions, extrapositions, lack of subject–verb congruence, etc. in the talk of both Finnish prime ministers and their interviewers.

It would be hard to deny that a similar trend is also observable in Italian political discourse, e.g. the Italian prime minister Matteo Renzi frequently calls his opponents "gufi", a colloquial term literally meaning "owls" and denoting someone who is always wishing bad luck to others. Going beyond political discourse, further traces of the colloquialisation of Italian include at least the following: (1) the casual flavour deriving from the fact that contemporary newscasters do not level their regional accents the way they did in the past; (2) the frequent use of the greeting 'salve' in situations which would have triggered the more formal 'buongiorno' (i.e. 'good morning') until some

decades ago (e.g. a student addressing a professor by saying 'salve'); (3) the use of the first name by the employees of telephone companies to address their clients in sales calls; (4) the ubiquitous use of the colloquial address pronoun 'tu' on the internet, even between strangers who would use the formal pronoun 'lei' if they addressed each other offline (Berruto 2012:163-199; Cerruti 2009:267-282; the various case studies collected in Cerruti, Corino, Onesti 2011 and Cerruti, Corino, Onesti 2014).

English is, however, the language where colloquialisation has been most pronounced, as documented in different registers by various contributions. After a review of such contributions, this paper will look at colloquialisation in one specific register, namely English film dialogue. In films, colloquial language is widely employed to disguise the written, planned nature of the scripts (i.e. for the purpose of linguistic realism) as well as to qualify the characters' relationships (e.g. indicating those who are friends, family members, etc.), with films hence inviting an analysis in terms of colloquialisation. In particular, the colloquialisation of film dialogue will be investigated here by comparing American films from the 1950s and the 1960s with their remakes from the 1990s and the 2000s using Multi–Dimensional Analysis (Biber 1988). The study will point to a certain strengthening of colloquiality in the remakes, a trend which will also be considered in comparison with Italian films (Rossi 1999).

2. The Colloquialisation of English

This section discusses the literature out of which the specific research objective of the present research originated. From a qualitative and quantitative perspective, such literature has argued that English has been following a path variously labelled as 'conversationalisation', 'informalisation', 'colloquialisation' and 'drift towards orality' (Joos 1961; Irvine 1979:773-790; Ochs 1979:51-80; Atkinson 1982:86-117; Neufeldt 1999:1-22; Zago 2016:13-54).

One of the first observers of increasing levels of colloquiality in English has been Fairclough (1992). The position of Fairclough is that modern society has experienced a process of democratisation evident in what he calls the conversationalisation of public discourse, i.e. the appropriation and simulation of a conversational style in public interactions, e.g. by journalists vis–à–vis their readers, by politicians vis–à–vis their voters, by media broadcasters vis–à–vis their mass audiences.

The works on colloquialisation have tended to adopt a quantitative approach – with the exception of those by the aforementioned Fairclough – and to focus on written registers. A notable example is the study by Leech et al. (2009). Using the so–called Brown family of corpora, the scholars observed changes in the frequencies of a number of linguistic features in written British and American English between the 1960s and the 1990s and provided functional explanations for these changes. One of the explanations is what they term the colloquialisation hypothesis, i.e. «writing becoming more like speech» (Leech et al. 2009:239) or, as Leech (2004:72) defines it, «a tendency for the written language gradually to acquire norms and characteristics associated with the spoken conversational language» (e.g. increasing use of the progressive, increasing use of preposition stranding in relative clauses, increasing use of semi–modals, etc.).

Findings pointing to the colloquialisation of written English have also been obtained in studies adopting the quantitative approach developed by Biber (1988) and known as

Multi–Dimensional Analysis[1]. In particular, Biber and Finegan (1989) have used the Multi–Dimensional framework to trace the historical evolution of three written English registers – i.e. essays, fiction and personal letters – from the 17th to the 20th century, observing that «as far as style is concerned, all genres have been drifting towards more oral characterizations. That is, across the four centuries all genres have tended towards more involved, more situated, and less abstract styles» (Biber and Finegan 1989: 507). In a follow–up study on a substantially larger and more differentiated corpus (i.e. the ARCHER), Biber and Finegan (1997) found that the drift towards orality was confirmed for speech–based and popular written registers (letters, diaries, fiction, drama, news reportage); at the same time, they observed an opposite trend towards more literate styles for specialist expository registers (medical prose, science prose, legal prose). Biber and Finegan's works show that the more recent patterns of colloquialisation identified by the other scholars discussed above are part of a much broader, long–term process of drift towards orality.

Among written registers, newspaper prose has been the most studied in terms of colloquialisation (Westin and Geisler 2002; Steen 2003; Duguid 2010). For instance, in her corpus–based investigation of the language of British broadsheets collected in 1993 vs 2005, Duguid (2010) noticed an increase in the frequencies of three sets of linguistic features having in common the fact that "they mimic spoken and informal language use" (Duguid 2010: 135). The three sets are: (1) markers of hyperbole such as the evaluative adjectives *fantastic*, *amazing*, *fabulous*, *gorgeous*, *stunning*, *terrific*, *great* and the intensifiers *really*, *so*, *so not*, *very*, *absolutely*; (2) markers of vagueness such as *bit*, *stuff*, *thing*; (3) markers of informal evaluation such as the adjectives *scary*, *funky*, *funny*, *tricky*, *cool*, *cute*[2].

Finally, a colloquialisation trend has also been identified in political discourse, e.g. by Pearce (2005; see also Fairclough and Mauranen 1997), who investigated a corpus of British party election broadcasts produced by the Labour party and the Conservative party at the general elections of 1966, 1979, 1987 and 1997. Like the present research and the other quantitative studies discussed above, Pearce's position is to let the data speak, meaning that he adopted a bottom–up approach where conclusions are based on frequency counts of relevant linguistic features. More specifically, he selected a number of linguistic features which are more frequent in conversation according to Biber et al. (1999) – e.g. first and second person pronouns, questions, contractions, discourse markers, mental verbs, etc. – and treated them as markers of colloquialisation. The result obtained by the author is that over time «levels of elaboration of meaning decline, the verbal repertoire becomes more stereotyped, the language becomes more interactional, expressions of stance increase» (Pearce 2005:79), elements which seem to confirm the hypothesis of the colloquialisation of party election broadcasts from the 1960s to the 1990s.

3. Investigating the Colloquialisation of Film Dialogue

So far, the colloquialisation of film dialogue has been only suggested but not assessed empirically. For example, in an often–quoted book on film dialogue, Kozloff (2000:24)

[1] More on this in Section 3.

[2] Stance adjectives and intensifiers will also emerge as salient features in the present investigation of colloquialisation in film dialogue (Section 3).

pointed out that «it is tempting to […] conclude that the overall progression of film dialogue from 1927 to the present has been a movement toward realism, toward a more colloquial, naturalistic style». Kozloff's (2000) claim, however, remains at a somewhat impressionistic level, without an actual empirical assessment of the hypothesised colloquialisation trend. Testing colloquialisation empirically is, instead, the precise aim of this paper, as the following subsections will illustrate (Quaglio 2009; Bednarek 2012; Zago 2016; Taylor 1999; Pavesi 2005; Chaume 2012).

4. Data and Methodology

It is clear that different films tend to present different conversational situations leading to different levels of colloquiality. As a consequence, in order to see if film dialogue has become more colloquial over time, one has to contrast situationally comparable films produced in different decades. The approach used here to guarantee situational comparability as much as possible is to use remakes. More specifically, as can be seen in Table 1, American films from the 1950s and the 1960s were selected and compared with their remakes from the 1990s and the 2000s, respectively:

Table 1. The corpus of originals and remakes

Originals	Remakes
1950s	1990s
Father of the Bride (1950) dir. Vincente Minnelli [Comedy]	*Father of the Bride* (1991) dir. Charles Shyer [Comedy]
Born Yesterday (1950) dir. George Cukor [Comedy]	*Born Yesterday* (1993) dir. Luis Mandoki [Comedy]
The Narrow Margin (1952) dir. Richard Fleischer [Crime]	*Narrow Margin* (1990) dir. Peter Hyams [Crime]
The Desperate Hours (1955) dir. William Wyler [Crime]	*Desperate Hours* (1990) dir. Michael Cimino [Crime]
1960s	2000s
Guess Who's Coming to Dinner (1967) dir. Stanley Kramer [Comedy]	*Guess Who* (2005) dir. Kevin Rodney Sullivan [Comedy]
Yours, Mine and Ours (1968) dir. Melville Shavelson [Comedy]	*Yours, Mine and Ours* (2005) dir. Raja Gosnell [Comedy]
Ocean's Eleven (1960) dir. Lewis Milestone [Crime]	*Ocean's Eleven* (2001) dir. Steven Soderbergh [Crime]
Charade (1963) dir. Stanley Donen [Crime]	*The Truth About Charlie* (2002) dir. Jonathan Demme [Crime]

The corpus of originals and remakes under investigation comprises approximately 166,000 words and was constructed following various criteria (e.g. selection of realistic films, inclusion of a balanced number of comedies and crime films, etc.)[3]. Once selected, the films were transcribed manually, then POS–tagged via the *Biber Tagger* and investigated using Multi–Dimensional Analysis, an approach which was launched in Biber (1988) and has subsequently had numerous synchronic and diachronic applications on many different corpora.

For reasons of space, this paper cannot go into the technicalities of Multi–Dimensional Analysis (Biber 1988:70-97). Suffice it to say that Multi–Dimensional Analysis is a statistical technique which makes it possible to uncover major dimensions of linguistic variation within a synchronic or diachronic corpus. Starting from frequency counts, Multi–Dimensional analysis allows the researcher to find out how several POS–tagged linguistic features are distributed throughout the corpus under study, indicating in particular those linguistic features which occur together frequently. The researcher's task is then to interpret the identified co–occurrences in functional terms, that is, to look for a common communicative function motivating them, and this is done through a qualitative examination of the individual linguistic features in the various texts of the corpus. This process ultimately leads to the identification of different dimensions of variation, also called 'factors', i.e. communicatively motivated sets of co–occurring linguistic features. Each factor is an explanatory construct which summarises some area of variation in the corpus.

Multi–Dimensional Analysis was chosen for this investigation precisely because, as discussed above, it is a robust quantitative approach whereby one can empirically capture salient patterns of linguistic variation within a corpus. Also, the adoption of the Multi–Dimensional approach enabled this study to consider the frequencies of a large number of linguistic features, and this was necessary due to the fact that colloquiality is a macro–phenomenon involving several different linguistic realisations. The specific methodological angle taken here is to use Multi–Dimensional Analysis to detect co–occurrence patterns interpretable as indicators of colloquial language, and then to draw on such indicators to measure the degree of colloquiality of the originals and the remakes, with the ultimate aim of assessing whether the remakes are more colloquial than their originals.

As explained above, Multi–Dimensional Analysis extracts different factors from a corpus. Among the factors which were extracted from the corpus of originals and remakes, two proved especially revealing in terms of colloquialisation, namely those reported below:

[3] As also pointed out by D. McIntyre 2012, corpora of films tend not to be very large because their compilation is notoriously laborious.

Table 2. Factor 1[4]

Linguistic features	Factor loadings
Wh– clauses	0.72926
Stance *wh*– clauses	0.65524
Mental verbs	0.61316
Desire/intent/decision verbs + *to* clauses	0.51550
Present tense verbs	0.46159
Questions	0.43312
Second person pronouns	0.37957
Contractions	0.35667
Prepositions	–0.47177
Common nouns	–0.45099
Determiners (*a*/*an*)	–0.42568
Agentless passives	–0.34496

Table 3. Factor 3

Linguistic features	Factor loadings
Interactional features	0.68184
Interjections	0.58556
Stance adjectives	0.51174
Predicative adjectives	0.44672
Demonstrative pronouns	0.44584
Intensifiers	0.42754
Discourse particles	0.39660
Hesitations	0.35715
Activity verbs	–0.57195
Prepositions	–0.38772
Progressive verbs	–0.34458
Third person pronouns	–0.33781

The reason why the two factors above are useful to study colloquialisation is that they capture typical facets of colloquiality, namely:

- the strong presence of the speaker in colloquial talk, i.e. direct expression of stance (e.g. frequent use of mental verbs, captured by Factor 1; frequent use of stance adjectives, captured by Factor 3), expression of emotional content (e.g. frequent use of interjections, captured by Factor 3) and tendency towards intensification (e.g. frequent use of intensifiers, captured by Factor 3);
- the strong interactional focus of colloquial talk (e.g. frequent use of second person pronouns, captured by Factor 1; frequent use of various interactional features, captured by Factor 3);

[4] Factor loadings indicate «the extent to which a given feature is representative of the dimension underlying a factor» (Biber 1988:85). All the features having positive factor loadings tend to co-occur; similarly, all the features having negative factor loadings tend to co-occur. The features with positive factor loadings and the features with negative factor loadings are distributed in a complementary pattern, that is, when the former are frequent in a text, the latter tend to be relatively infrequent or absent, and vice versa.

- the occurrence of reduced/elliptical forms in colloquial talk (e.g. frequent use of contractions and elliptical questions, captured by Factor 1);
- the occurrence of dysfluencies in colloquial talk (e.g. frequent use of hesitations, captured by Factor 3);
- the anchorage to the present (e.g. frequent use of present tense verbs, captured by Factor 1).

5. Results

The following two tables give the general factor scores obtained for the originals vis–à–vis their remakes[5]. As can be seen from the tables, in most of the cases the remakes present more positive factor scores than the originals.

Table 4. Factor 1 scores

Title	Original	Remake
Born Yesterday	6.11023575	4.44672307
Charade / The Truth about Charlie	–0.95228165	–1.97071827
Desperate Hours	–1.73470780	0.93834409
Father of the Bride	–4.01661011	–2.19943777
Guess Who's Coming to Dinner / Guess Who	1.82947130	3.11660765
Narrow Margin	0.17757128	1.89476969
Ocean's Eleven	–5.37388876	–2.88000707
Yours, Mine and Ours	–1.27758710	0.99823602

Table 5. Factor 3 scores

Title	Original	Remake
Born Yesterday	1.36652603	3.40627756
Charade / The Truth about Charlie	–1.13804070	2.36715506
Desperate Hours	–7.04177194	–3.77331728
Father of the Bride	2.72686821	4.99584338
Guess Who's Coming to Dinner / Guess Who	–0.23550903	3.56489843
Narrow Margin	–3.15794938	–0.15904982
Ocean's Eleven	–1.77363568	–2.14551850
Yours, Mine and Ours	0.66506991	3.49412583

[5] A general factor score is the mean of the factor scores obtained for the various scenes constituting a film. The factor score of each scene is computed by adding together the frequencies of the linguistic features having positive factor loadings and then by subtracting the frequencies of the linguistic features having negative factor loadings.

The tendency observable in the data is that the scenes having positive scores on Factors 1 and 3 are those which contain highly interpersonal dialogues, e.g. dialogues where familiar or intimate interactants engage in expressing thoughts, opinions, feelings, needs, wishes, intentions, likes, dislikes, in short personal attitudes and concerns. In such scenes, the characters and their interactions take precedence over narration, explanation, description or, more generally, the presentation of information. As a consequence, these are the scenes which more closely approximate the eminently interpersonal purpose of spontaneous colloquial conversation. To various extents, this tends to be the case also in those scenes having at least one positive score on either Factor 1 or Factor 3. Instead, the scenes having negative scores on Factors 1 and 3 tend to be more focussed on the presentation of facts and events than on interpersonal concerns, with the facets of colloquiality discussed in subsection 3.1 being less pronounced in these scenes. By and large, therefore, the more positive factor scores of remakes indicate a certain strengthening of colloquiality over time.

To exemplify the colloquialisation trend captured by Multi–Dimensional Analysis, below an extract from the original version of *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967) is offered, followed by the corresponding extract – i.e. the same scene – from the remake. Both scenes take place on a taxi and feature a young woman trying to reassure her soon–to–be husband, who is worried because he is about to meet her parents.

Table 6. The taxi scene in the original version of *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967)

John	You know, I just had a thought. Why don't I go check in a hotel and get some rest and you go find your folks!
Joey	Oh, John! You wanted to meet them! Let's go meet them! The sooner we get it over with, the better! Mom may not even be at the gallery, she'll probably be out to lunch, dad's at his office. You may not meet them till dinner anyway!
John	You know, you may be...wrong about them. You should have called and told them we were coming. You may be in for the biggest shock of your young life!
Joey	After 23 years living in the same house with them, don't you think I know my own mother and father?
John	I hope so!
Joey to John	There's no problem!
Joey to Taxi Driver	We'll only be a minute, and then we'd like to go out to Claremont Drive!
Taxi Driver	Right!

Table 7. The taxi scene in the remake of *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (i.e. *Guess Who*, 2005)

Simon	I'm not so good with dads...baby! I'm good with moms! I'm better with moms! He's a... big guy... right?
Theresa	Scary big! He also has these piercing eyes that just burn right into your soul! Just don't–don't maintain eye contact for a long period of time, at least today, ok? Babe, I'm kidding! Just relax! It's gonna be fun! Ok?
Simon	Did you tell them?
Theresa	What? Tell them what?
Simon	Babe, don't...the–the...
Theresa	What?

Simon	Did you...I'm...
Theresa	Cute? Clean-shaven? What?
Simon	Pigment-challenged? Did you tell them that I'm white?
Theresa	You're white? You're white? Stop the car!
Simon	((bumps his head)) Ah!
Theresa	Oh my God!
Simon	Ah!
Theresa	Oh my God! Look at what you...
Simon	Ah!
Theresa	Oh my God!
Simon	Ah!
Theresa	Simon, I'm so sorry!
Simon	Ah!
Theresa	It was a joke, sir! I was kidding!
Taxi Driver	Yeah, sister! You're funny!
Theresa	Simon? Simon, are you ok?
Simon	Who are you?
Theresa	Are you serious?
Simon	Why am I in Jersey?
Theresa	Simon! Stop! Don't worry! It's gonna be great, ok?
Simon	All right.
Theresa	I'm very sorry! I'm sorry! It was a bad joke!
Simon	So did you tell them?
Theresa	No. I only told them the important things, ok? That I love you. That you're an amazing man. That you have a very cute birthmark on your left butt cheek.
Simon	You just didn't feel the need to mention that it's a Caucasian butt cheek. That was...
Theresa	Simon, look! I didn't mention it because I don't think it's gonna matter!
Taxi Driver	Oh, it's gonna matter! It's gonna matter!
Theresa	We're-we're fine, sir.

When the two extracts are compared, one acknowledges that colloquiality is already attested in the original, yet notices that the language is more colloquial in the remake. For example, the remade scene has many colloquial features from Factor 3, such as interjections (e.g. *oh my God*), intensifiers (e.g. *He also has these piercing eyes that <u>just</u> burn right into your soul!*; *I'm <u>so</u> sorry*; *A <u>very</u> cute birthmark*), stance adjectives (e.g. *good*, *funny*, *bad*, *amazing*) and interactional features (e.g. several occurrences of *ok*, mainly used as a fixed question tag enhancing the illocutionary force of reassuring utterances such as *It's gonna be fun! <u>Ok?</u>* or *It's gonna be great, <u>ok?</u>*). As regards positive Factor 1 features, there are a number of colloquial questions[6], e.g. non-clausal fragments such as *What?*,

[6] Colloquial questions were tagged manually in the present study.

which incorporate the typically compact, inexplicit grammar of spontaneous casual conversation into film dialogue. Colloquial questions also include those questions having declarative form but interrogative intonation such as *You're white?*: questions of this type tend to be emotionally–loaded, e.g. in this case Theresa is pretending to be shocked by the news that her boyfriend is white. Notice also the emotional contribution given by the mental verbs *worry* in *Don't worry!* and *feel* in *You just didn't feel the need to mention that it's a Caucasian butt cheek*. The extract also presents dysfluency phenomena (e.g. the repeat in *We're – we're fine, sir*). When all these linguistic features are considered, it can be concluded that a strengthening of colloquiality has occurred in the remake, in the sense that the language of the remake is more interactional, more emphatic and more fragmented than the language of the original.

6. Comparison with Italian Films

In their contrastive analysis of English and Finnish political discourse, one of the concluding remarks offered by Fairclough and Mauranen (1997:117-118) on colloquialisation is that «despite common, possibly 'global' tendencies, the local traditions and conditions can […] 'inflect' global tendencies, bend them towards their own trajectories». In other words, the two authors underline that while colloquialisation has a transnational dimension, its manifestations vary across languages and cultures. In this respect, it is interesting to compare the results of the present research with those obtained for Italian films by Rossi (1999), whose study is comparable to the present investigation for three reasons: (1) his corpus includes the original version of *Born Yesterday* (1950) dubbed into Italian – the rest of the corpus is made up of five original Italian films; (2) he pays attention to the degree of formality; (3) his corpus includes films released from 1948 to 1957, i.e. as far as the year of release is concerned the films he analysed are comparable to the originals investigated here.

Rossi's (1999) findings for the dubbed version of *Born Yesterday* (1950) are antithetical to those obtained here. Rossi (1999) found that the Italian version of *Born Yesterday* (1950) was the most formal film in his corpus. He describes the dubbed Italian of *Born Yesterday* (1950) as uniformly formal, that is, characterised by a radical levelling of the significant sociolinguistic variation clearly observable in the American version.

While the dubbed version of *Born Yesterday* (1950) is the most formal film in Rossi's (1999) corpus, it can definitely be claimed that the American version is among the most colloquial originals examined in the present research. A first clear indication of its strong colloquiality is given by Factor 1 scores: *Born Yesterday* (1950) has indeed the highest Factor 1 score in the whole corpus (i.e. 6.11, followed by its remake having a Factor 1 score of 4.44, as can be seen in Table 4). Second, qualitative investigations made it possible to establish that the five domains of colloquiality exemplified in Table 8 are clearly attested in *Born Yesterday* (1950) – as well as in the other originals. Third, within the corpus as a whole, *Born Yesterday* (1950) is the film where colloquial questions are most frequent (18.2 occurrences per 1,000 words).

Table 8. Domains of colloquiality in the original version of *Born Yesterday* (1950)

Quasi–swearing	Harry: Dumb jerk! I'd be selling him his own stuff back half the time and he never knew!
Intensification	Harry: It'd mean an awful lot to me! I'll give you 200 bucks a week.
Vagueness	Harry: Wanna wash your hands or anything, honey?
Non–standard features	Harry: And I made every nickel of it! Nobody never gave me nothing!
Ellipsis	Harry: Ø You sore? […] Don't you feel good? Ø You want an aspirin?

In Rossi's (1999) corpus, markedly formal language is not exclusively found in *Born Yesterday* (1950), being also significantly present in the original Italian film *Catene* (1949). The clash typical of these two films between standard language and socioculturally low settings was also observed by Rossi in the film *Poveri ma belli* (1957). Moreover, Rossi oscillates between 'medium' (Rossi 1999:247-273) and 'formal' (Rossi 1999:451) in describing the degree of formality of another film of his corpus, i.e. *Le amiche* (1955).

On the contrary, not only is colloquiality attested in the American version of *Born Yesterday* (1950) but is also fairly widespread in the other American originals investigated here. By way of illustration, suffice it to look at the density of colloquial markers in the following extract taken from the original version of *Father of the Bride* (1950), e.g. the colloquial questions *Finished?*, *You're kidding?* and *What about tonight?*, the back–channel *uh–huh*, the interjection *oh*, the discourse marker *you know*, contractions such as *wanna* and *gonna*, etc.

Table 9. Colloquiality in the original version of *Father of the Bride* (1950)

Kay	Finished?
Stanley	Uh–huh.
Kay	Hi, pops!
Stanley	Hi!
Kay	How are you?
Stanley	Fine! Uh, Kay? Uh, uh, about Buckley.
Kay	What about him?
Stanley	Oh, I–I think he's great! Fine chap! Nice cleancut chap!
Kay	Thanks.
Stanley	Yeah. I thought, uh, you know, we might, uh, have a little talk, you know. I thought I talk to him about what he's earning, you know.
Kay	Oh, you're kidding?
Stanley	That sort of thing. I...
Kay	I didn't believe they really did that! I thought it was just a gag!
Stanley	Well, you know, after all, when a man's only daughter is going to be married, I...
Kay	Ok! If–if you want to go through all that old–fashioned rigamarole, it's ok with me! When do you wanna see him?
Stanley	Well, what about tonight?
Kay	We–we have a date at 9.

Stanley	Well, why–why don't you ask him to dinner? And we can talk before dinner, about 6:30?
Kay	Ok. I'll deliver him.
Stanley	Uh, uh, K–Kay! You know, don't–we're, tell him we're just gonna have a little chat! Don't make it sound too formidable! I don't want to frighten the boy to death!
Kay	Oh, don't worry about Buckley. He's big enough to take it.

When all the above observations are taken together, there is evidence to claim that while colloquiality is not absent from Rossi's (1999) data, the overall linguistic tenor of his corpus is more formal than that of the original American films analysed here. This finding has the merit of highlighting what can be characterised as a distinguishing feature of American cinema, namely its appreciably high degree of openness and receptiveness to features of colloquial talk. More specifically, what the results of this paper suggest is that since at least the 1950s American film dialogue has been providing a fairly good approximation to spontaneous American colloquiality, with Italian cinema lagging behind American cinema in the representation of colloquiality.

7. Conclusions

Prior to the present research, the intuitively plausible idea of a colloquialisation of film dialogue had only been suggested but not investigated. This study, instead, has adopted an empirical approach to test whether the language of films has become more colloquial over time. In particular, American films from the 1950s and the 1960s have been compared with their remakes from the 1990s and the 2000s using Multi–Dimensional Analysis (Biber 1988). The results point to a certain strengthening of colloquiality as one moves from the originals to the remakes.

By means of a contrast between the findings obtained here and those obtained by Rossi (1999) in his analysis of the language of Italian cinema, this paper has also highlighted that American films from the 1950s were already capable of a fairly good approximation to spontaneous colloquial language, whereas Italian films of approximately the same period seem on the whole less receptive to colloquiality. The conclusion which can be drawn from this result is that colloquialisation tends to acquire different forms in different languages (e.g. it may take place to various extents in different languages depending on language–specific sociocultural reasons, it may occur earlier in one language than in another, etc.).

While focussing on English, which is the language where the increase in colloquiality seems to have been more pronounced, and while acknowledging that colloquialisation tends to have language–specific manifestations, this paper has at the same time mentioned Finnish and Italian examples of colloquialisation with a view to underlining the transnational dimension of the phenomenon.

By pointing out, in line with Fairclough and Mauranen (1997), that colloquialisation operates at both a transnational and a local level, this paper has also intended to underscore the complexity of colloquialisation, a complexity which deserves further scholarly attention.

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PART TRHEE

ENGLISH THROUGH INTERTEXTUAL INVESTIGATIONS

'SUSTAINABLE' CORPORA FOR TRANSNATIONAL SUBJECTS: METHODS AND TOOLS

Marisella Gatto

University of Bari "Aldo Moro"

1. Background and aims

In recent years several tools and methods for corpus compilation have been developed in the context of research on the 'web as/for corpus', which have already proved extremely useful for the creation of large general purpose reference corpora for a variety of languages as well as for the creation of monolingual/multilingual corpora for terminology extraction (Baroni and Bernardini 2004; Baroni et al. 2009; Bernardini and Ferraresi 2013). More recently these corpora have attracted attention in the context of corpus–based Critical Discourse Analysis, where flexible tools for the compilation and exploration of corpora (e.g. WebBootCaT and Sketch Engine) seem to be promising allies in the effort to join forces between corpus linguistics and critical studies (Gabrielatos 2007; Baker 2008; Wild et al. 2013).

Without questioning the validity of the established practice of building carefully compiled traditional corpora, (especially for the purposes of Critical Discourse Analysis) this paper aims to show whether the possibility of creating *ad hoc* corpora in a few minutes for a variety of domains and genres can contribute to spread the use of quantitative evidence to support, validate and stimulate the work of researchers primarily engaged in qualitative analysis of language data. For their characteristics, these quick *ad hoc* corpora could be defined as 'renewable corpora', since they are easily and rapidly created and recreated on the basis of customised criteria and variable parameters, as well as 'sustainable corpora', since they can be maintained, updated and regenerated at an extremely favorable cost–effectiveness ratio. These characteristics make them particularly useful in research and teaching contexts dealing with issues whose topicality requires continuous updating of the resources. The examples reported below in Section 3 are indicative of the possible benefits of using corpora quickly built 'on demand' in the context of research or classroom activities, where they performed quite well even as single use corpora to prompt classroom discussion or to provide subsidiary quantitative evidence to complement research carried out with other methods.

2. Methods and tools

The tools and methods presented in this paper have now become a standard in the creation of specialised corpora for translation purposes as a development of the practice of creating Do–It–Yourself, 'quick–and–dirty', disposable corpora (Zanettin 2002). More specifically, the paper deals with corpora compiled through a semi–automated process usingeither BootCaT (Baroni and Bernardini 2004), a stand–alone software, or WebBootCaT, a service available through the Sketch Engine website[1]. The key feature of these tools is that they take as a starting point for corpus compilation just a number key words or phrases which the user considers likely to occur in the domain for which a corpus is going to be built These words are called 'seeds' and are transformed by the system into a set of automated queries submitted to an ordinary search engine. Thus, if the intention is to create a corpus on alternative forms of tourism based on issues regarding sustainability and responsibility, one can input the words 'tourism', 'sustainable', 'responsible', 'green', 'nature', 'environment', 'eco–friendly' and let the software perform the search, download and clean the text, and compile the corpus (see Gatto 2014:140ff). An alternative procedure allowed by the tool is to compile a corpus using a number of known URLs: in this case the system automatically performs the crawl, downloads and cleans the texts, and returns them to the user in the form of a corpus in text–only (.txt) format for analysis with the most common concordancers.

Whether used in the standalone version or through the Sketch Engine, these systems pose a common challenge in terms of strategies to 'bootstrap' the process of corpus compilation. In particular, choosing the seed terms has been recognised as a particularly sensitive area, as discussed in Gabrielatos (2007:6), because of the tension between «creating a corpus in which all the texts are relevant, but which does not contain all relevant texts available in the database, and, [on the other], creating a corpus which does contain all available relevant texts, albeit at the expense of irrelevant texts also being included». For this reason, it is important not to rely simply on intuition when choosing the seeds, and search for alternative ways to make sure that seed terms are not arbitrarily chosen. Several solutions have been described in works by Gabrielatos (2007), Zanettin (2012) and Bernardini (2013), depending on the research aims.

This is the case with the two corpora for *immigration* and *sustainable tourism* discussed in the present paper. Since the corpora presented in this paper were aimed at providing a snapshot of discourse within specific discourse communities, crawl form URLs was prioritised in the first case study, whereas the compilation of a small 'pilot' corpus from known URLs in order to extract more controlled keywords to use as seeds was opted for in the second case study. In the first case study, a corpus was compiled automatically to provide a comprehensive overview of the parliamentary debate on the Immigration Bill 2014, in the context of classroom activities with postgraduate students in Modern Languages for International Cooperation. The corpus was queried for key words like 'migrant' or 'immigrant' to investigate patterns of usage for these words in this specific context, and proved extremely useful in foregrounding the role played by

[1] BootCaT can be downloaded for free from the developers' website http://bootcat.dipintra.it/. WebBootCat can be accessed by registered users from https://www.sketchengine.co.uk/

specific lexico–grammar patterns in the creation of what could be termed in Van Dijk's terminology as in–groups and out–groups (Van Dijk 2006:126). In the second case study a corpus of texts taken from the official website of the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) was compiled through the automatic extraction of keywords obtained from a small pilot corpus obtained by crawling the web starting from the URLs derived from links in the "UNWTO A to Z" in the website home page.

3. Case studies

"People who have no right to be here" in the Debate on the Immigration Bill 2014

The first case study concerns a preliminary investigation of the 2014 Immigration Bill, performed in classroom activities with a group of postgraduate students in a Modern Languages for International Cooperation MA Programme at the University of Bari[2]. Corpus–based investigations of the representation of migrants, immigrants, refugees and asylum–seekers are among the seminal and most influential research projects aimed at evaluating the «useful synergy» between corpus linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis (Baker et al. 2007; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008). Also relevant is the dissemination of results from research by "The Migration Observatory" at the University of Oxford[3]. In the present case study the aim was simply to have a comprehensive overview of the parliamentary debate on the Immigration Bill 2014, and a corpus consisting of the complete debate was compiled by performing an automatic download of the texts from the URLs corresponding to each stage of the debate (as available at the British Parliament website)[4]. The resulting data set was a 200,026 word corpus, compiled and Part–of–Speech tagged, which was ready to be queried online through the Sketch Engine in less than 10 minutes.

The starting point for the investigation was the list of keywords extracted by the system using enTenTen 2012 as a reference corpus[5]. Apart from the list of proper nouns of MPs and the presence of abbreviations like Hon., or of personal address markers as Friend and Mr Speaker, which clearly reflect the specific genre of the Parliamentary debate, the list of keywords retrieved basically outlined the main concerns of the debate in terms of both discourse situation (clause, amendment, …) and issues at stake (landlords lettings, devolved, NHS surcharge etc.…), as shown in *Figure 1* below:

[2] The compilation of the 2014 Immigration Bill corpus was part of classroom activities in the English Language and Translation course in the a.y. 2014-2015. The students accessed WebBootCat through a one-month free trial registration to the Sketch Engine.

[3] http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/

[4] http://services.parliament.uk/bills/2013-14/immigration/stages.html

[5] enTenTen 2012 is a member of a family of web corpora made available through the Sketch Engine. See https://www.sketchengine.co.uk/ententen-corpus/

		Immigration_Policy			enTenTen [2012]			
Word		Freq	Freq/mill		Freq	Freq/mill		Score
Landlords		245	1075.2		49,407	3.8		223.8
Clause		384	1685.2		105,152	8.1		185.1
Devolved		57	250.1		8,437	0.7		152.2
Clause		101	443.2		28,698	2.2		138.3
amendment		294	1290.2		138,993	10.7		110.2
immigration		414	1816.9		204,194	15.7		108.6
first–tier		27	118.5		1,429	0.1		107.6
Tribunal		105	460.8		43,871	3.4		105.4
roll–out		45	197.5		11,812	0.9		103.9
Tabled		44	193.1		11,638	0.9		102.3
Tenancy		55	241.4		21,262	1.6		91.8
Landlord		183	803.1		103,350	8.0		89.7
constituency		72	316.0		33,270	2.6		88.9
surcharge		47	206.3		18,581	1.4		85.2
Migrants		75	329.1		39,232	3.0		82.0
Biometric		45	197.5		18,476	1.4		81.9
Landlords		29	127.3		8,134	0.6		78.8
NHS		176	772.4		116,051	8.9		77.7
Immigration		111	487.1		68,821	5.3		77.4
Lettings		25	109.7		5,777	0.4		76.6
order–making		17	74.6		102	0.0		75.0
deportation		44	193.1		21,806	1.7		72.4

Figure 1. A sample from the list of keywords form the Immigration Bill Corpus (lines including names and abbreviations have been removed)

The corpus was then queried to explore the behaviour of specific words. Most students focused their attention on the words 'immigrant' and 'migrant' and noticed in the first place that as a debate on immigration, counting the lemma 'immigration' itself as a keyword with 414 occurrences (see *Figure 1* above), the texts did not contain a high number of occurrences of the lemma 'immigrant' itself, featuring instead the more 'politically correct' form 'migrant' as one of the keywords. Going back to the frequency list they noticed indeed that the lemma 'immigrant' occurs only 21 times in the whole corpus, almost invariably in the collocation with 'illegal' (see *Figure 2* below), whereas the 105 occurrences of 'migrant' mostly referred to 'economic migrants' and 'temporary migrants', with fewer examples for 'illegal migrant' or 'illegal migrants' (a datum which perfectly matches findings about usage of the word 'migrant' in a recent corpus–based

study by the Migration Observatory[6]). This triggered a question on whether there might be other 'labels' used to refer to immigrants, which are to be considered as the main participants in the discourse world represented in the Immigration Bill.

file1956760	of illegal Column number: 34	immigrants	was some 1.1 million in 2010, and you estimate
file1956754	concern for everyone, not simply those who are	immigrants	in the country. Q 206 Mr Harper:
file1956761	is worth worrying not only about European	immigrants	. Under the previous Government, twice as
file1956756	immigrant? Because by definition, an illegal	immigrant	is here in breach of immigration rules
file1956757	they have encountered might be an illegal	immigrant	, but where they also have doubts about
file1956757	suggesting that they might be an illegal	immigrant	—that officer would have to either let the
file1956756	to the Home Office if there is an illegal	immigrant	in the property. In the same way that a
file1956756	financial products, and was not an illegal	immigrant	? Because by definition, an illegal immigrant
file1956759	checking that someone is not an illegal	immigrant	. We think that the proposals we have
file1956756	tenant who they believed was an illegal	immigrant	, or in this country improperly in some
file1956759	a property to someone who was an illegal	immigrant	. If you accept that premise you obviously
file1956759	interested to hear why, if I were an illegal	immigrant	who sought to rent a property from a landlord
file1956754	presume that you mean people who are illegal	immigrants	and therefore breaking our immigration
file1956755	hauliers and airlines for carrying illegal	immigrants	. Column number: 344 The previous
file1956761	moment, it is illegal to employ illegal	immigrants	, and indeed there is currently a maximum
file1956761	proposals to make it more difficult for illegal	immigrants	to work and access services. We have proposed
file1956756	have already been ensuring that illegal	immigrants	do not have the right to reside in the
file1956760	. There are then, of course, the illegal	immigrants	—the "back of a truck" people—and there
file1956761	report in July found that the increase in	immigrant	numbers led to more people living in overcrowded
file1956761	particularly those employing significant numbers of	immigrant	workers, such as food processing, hospitality

Figure 2. Concordance lines for the lemma 'immigrant' form the Immigration Bill Corpus

With this in mind, a new exploration of the frequency wordlist revealed the special function of the word 'people'. As suggested in Mahlberg (2005:99ff.), 'people' belongs to the category of general nouns which may typically have what she calls a «local textual function» in terms of cohesion and coherence. In the case of 'people', as used in this corpus, what seemed noticeable was a repeated collocation with 'who', the strongest collocate computed by the system, which was taken as evidence of a tendency to use the word 'people' with a qualifying post–modification. In the specific case of the Immigration Bill, the pattern 'people who…' seemed indeed to perform the local textual function of introducing specific categories labelled through a periphrasis rather than directly through a more specific noun or a through a premodifier. One such category appears to be the one labelled as 'people who have no right to be here' which, a close reading of excerpts from the debate suggests, can be related to unmodified 'migrants' (rather than 'illegal immigrants') through patterns of coherence and cohesion:

> We always prefer people who have no right or valid leave to be in the United Kingdom to return home voluntarily. However, if they do not do so, it is right that they can be removed quickly and easily. The amendment is intended to ensure that a person must be given written notice of their removal. […] At the moment, migrants are told

[6] The Migration Observatory, *Migrants in the newspapers: An influx of illegal, failed, economic terrorists?*, http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/press/migrants-in-the-newspapers-an-influx-of-illegal-failed-economic-terrorists/

> that they are not allowed to be here, and we have to tell them separately about their removal. (Mr Harper, Public Bill Committee, Tuesday 5 November 2013, Morning) [7]

Starting from this example, a more comprehensive exploration of concordance lines for the pattern 'people who' revealed a large number of occurrences for such clusters as 'people who are here illegally' (11), 'people who have no right to be here /in this country' (7), or 'people who should not be in this country' and a number of possible variants:

- people who have no right or valid leave to be in the United Kingdom
- people who are told that they have no right to be in the country
- people who have no right to be here,
- people who have no right to be in this country
- people who should not be here
- people who do not have the right to remain in this country
- people who have no right to be here.

These variants indicate that the category of illegal immigrants is referred to in the texts of the debate in many different ways. Here is, by way of example, the complete list of concordance lines for 'people who are here illegally':

file1956754	This is not something that will affect only	people who	are here illegally or people who do not
file1956751	removed from the United Kingdom, nor to	people who	are here illegally being removed. In practice
file1956752	give the policy a fair wind. If we can stop	people who	are here illegally renting accommodation
file1956752	though I do not think I need to. I agree that	people who	are here illegally should not have access
file1956752	confirms that she is happy to deal with	people who	are here illegally, but she does not necessarily
file1956752	wants. We want to address the problem of	people who	are here illegally accessing public services
file1956752	account of the Column number: 243	people who	are here illegally and accessing public
file1956752	Home Office done an estimation of how many	people who	are here illegally currently rent from
file1956755	We are in favour of any attempts to stop	people who	are here illegally opening bank accounts
file1956755	and safety provisions as well—by employing	people who	are here illegally is the right decision
file1956755	There are still too many companies employing	people who	are here illegally, often paying rates

Figure 3. A sample of concordance lines for the pattern 'people who' from the Immigration Bill Corpus

It is also interesting to note that the pattern 'people who' has precisely the words 'here', 'come', and 'illegally' as its most salient collocates (see *Figure 4* below):

[7] http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmpublic/immigration/131105/am/131105s01.htm

Collocation candidates

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		Cooccurrence count	Candidate count	T-score	MI	logDice
P | N	here	33	285	5.698	6.933	11.076
P | N	illegally	14	51	3.729	8.178	10.747
P | N	come	20	234	4.423	6.494	10.508
P | N	are	101	2,192	9.843	5.603	10.425
P | N	no	14	283	3.670	5.706	9.844
P | N	should	16	434	3.897	5.281	9.656
P | N	have	53	2,159	6.999	4.695	9.514
P | N	care	8	181	2.768	5.543	9.367
P | N	legally	5	35	2.221	7.236	9.350
P | N	many	8	190	2.765	5.473	9.335
P | N	right	15	585	3.730	4.758	9.261
P | N	not	51	2,549	6.803	4.400	9.239
P | N	been	13	489	3.477	4.810	9.239
P | N	renting	4	15	1.993	8.136	9.148
P | N	may	9	316	2.900	4.909	9.115
P | N	UK	9	323	2.898	4.877	9.096
P | N	true	4	24	1.989	7.458	9.093
P | N	only	7	206	2.572	5.164	9.086
P | N	homeless	4	27	1.987	7.288	9.075
P | N	against	5	94	2.196	5.810	9.046
P | N	number	13	591	3.450	4.536	9.044
P | N	refused	4	33	1.984	6.999	9.040
P | N	apply	5	98	2.195	5.750	9.027
P | N	be	40	2,296	5.980	4.200	9.027
P | N	for	40	2,314	5.978	4.189	9.017
P | N	fall	4	37	1.982	6.833	9.017
P | N	need	7	231	2.563	4.999	9.003

Figure 4. A sample from the list of collocates for 'people who' form the Immigration Bill Corpus

Taking further advantage from the fact that in corpora compiled using the tools discussed in the present paper each word still retains its link to the original web text, the post–modifying relative clause 'who have no right to be here' was searched in the whole debate to highlight all possible forms of discursive formation of what could be well termed with van Dijk as an out–group (2006), consisting of people whose 'negative' representation is crucially grounded in this specific lack of the right of abode. Examples of postmodifying 'who have no right to be here' were found to occur in particular in speech by the Minister for Immigration (Mr Harper), as in the following extract from the debate:

> 9.15 am
> **Mr Harper:** The right hon. Gentleman makes a good point about those **who have no right to be here** and the mechanism by which *they are removed from the country*. There are approximately 14,000 enforced removals a year whereby *people are arrested, detained and then removed*. Sometimes it involves hiring escorts and is an expensive process. About 29,000 people depart voluntarily. There are different levels of voluntariness; some go completely voluntarily, others we assist in their departure from the United Kingdom but without having to enforce it.
> The right hon. Gentleman is right. It could be argued that the first thing we should do with *all those whose extension of leave is refused* or **who have no right to be here** is arrest them, detain them and remove them. I would argue that that would not be a sensible use of taxpayer resources, because an enforced removal can cost about £15,000. That does not include the incredibly expensive cases where escorts have to be hired.
> When someone is refused leave to be in the United Kingdom or their leave is curtailed and they are told that they have no right to be here, the first option should be for them to leave voluntarily. A significant number do, and we have seen quite a lot of success in encouraging more people to leave the United Kingdom voluntarily. That is much better for them. It saves them having to go through the process of being arrested, detained and removed. It also means that they are much more likely in future to be able to return to the United Kingdom legally. If we have to use taxpayer resources to enforce their removal, we will put in place a 10–year re–entry ban. The limits are much lower if they remove themselves voluntarily.
> The right hon. Gentleman makes a good point. Part of what we are trying to do in the Bill is to make it more difficult to remain in the UK voluntarily, so that people **who have no right to be here**, of whom a significant number come here lawfully and then overstay, choose to leave voluntarily and we do not have to use enormous sums of money, which we get from hard–working families, to remove them. (Mr Harper, Public Bill Committee, Tuesday 5 November 2013, Morning)[8]

The repetition of the clause 'who have no right to be here' and its variants is indeed worth further investigation, as it appears to have become a 'formula' which may have come to the Bill from the language of ordinary citizens, newspapers, speeches by politicians, and may well be interpreted in terms of intertextuality/interdiscursivity (Fairclough 1992) as well as in terms of the *vox populi* strategy whereby other voices are incorporated in the language of politics and find there new resonance (Van Dijk 1993). It comes certainly as no surprise that Home Secretary Teresa May closes her speech in the House of Commons at the second reading of the Immigration Bill on 22 October 2013 with the words:

> Fixing the immigration system is not something that can be done overnight. There were too many problems with the system that we inherited for that to be possible. However, this Bill will help us further along that road. It is frankly ridiculous that the Government has to operate such a complex system to deal with **foreigners who**

[8] http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmpublic/immigration/131105/am/131105s01.htm

> **fail to abide by our laws**. It is ridiculous that the odds are stacked in favour of **illegal migrants**. It is unacceptable that hard working taxpayers have to compete with **people who have no right to be here**.[9]

In more general terms it could be argued that the preliminary cursory investigation of the corpus consisting of the complete Immigration Bill 2014 debate allowed a sort of «distant reading» (Moretti 2013), to borrow a highly evocative recently coined expression in the context of the digital humanities, which can complement and enhance other forms of linguistic investigation. This was for instance the case of the exploration of the loose pattern based on the repeated co–occurrence of the two words 'right' and 'here', observed in the examples above. The data retrieved from the corpus suggested that this pattern mostly corresponds to a general strategy of (de)legitimation whereby a discursive juxtaposition of two categories was created, i.e the ingroup of British citizens or people who otherwise have a right to be here, and the outgroup of those 'who have no right to be here':

are either British citizens or who have a	right	to reside *here* , but who might struggle
people who are British or otherwise have a	right	to remain *here* . People who are homeless
the tenant is later found not to have the	right	to reside *here* . At the moment we think
necessarily means that they will have the	right	to reside *here* and that those checks have
not disadvantage people who do have the	right	to be *here* . The other area where
have documents to prove that they had the	right	to be *here* and the landlord did not accept
Pensions will have conducted checks on people's	right	to be *here* . Can you give us more detail
British citizens or people who had other	right	to remain *here* who were paying housing
are foreign criminals who do not have a	right	to be *here* and ought to be removed. However
chance to be heard *here* first, has that	right	to appeal, and is not removed and then
nationality status has changed, they have the	right	to be *here* . That is one factor taken into
you highlight, the person would have the	right	to be *here* . When we examine the Bill line
benefit in being able to evidence their	right	to be *here* in advance, so that they are
to leaving the United Kingdom and has no	right	to be *here* , and would not therefore be
But as a general rule, people who have no	right	to be *here* should leave the country if
absolutely agree with him. It is good to see my	right	hon. Friend *here* . I am sure that he was
to have notice that they do not have the	right	to be *here* in accordance with section 4
makes a good point about those who have no	right	to be *here* and the mechanism by which they
extension of leave is refused or who have no	right	to be *here* is arrest them, detain them
voluntarily, so that people who have no	right	to be *here* , of whom a significant number
People get a notice saying that they have no	right	to be *here* , but it is not necessarily
valid leave to remain *here* in their own	right	, just because they happen to be in a family
ultimately decide whether someone has a	right	to stay *here* . As constituency MPs, we
allowed, to ensure that people who have no	right	to be *here* are removed within the time
nationals it establishes whether they have the	right	to reside *here* and asks a significant number
this country of people who clearly have no	right	to remain *here* and that undermines public
themselves of free health care when they have no	right	to be *here* . The audit report published
to someone who perhaps does not have the	right	leave to be *here* —perhaps they are going
employing people who are *here* illegally is the	right	decision for everyone. There are still
landlords who let property to people who have no	right	to be *here* , but we will also examine housing
not people in her constituency who have no	right	to be *here* , and so that we can take action
countries joined the EU and they were given more	rights	to come *here* . The population data suggest
voluntarily, so that people who have no	right	to be *here* , of whom a significant number

Figure 5. Concordance lines for the pattern 'right' + 'here' from the Immigration Bill Corpus

[9] https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/speech-by-home-secretary-on-second-reading-of-immigration-bill

Examples like those briefly discussed above rest on the assumption that there is such a thing as the right of being 'somewhere' which is being strongly re–asserted. Thanks to corpus–based evidence obtained from this quickly compiled corpus, 'right' and 'here' could thus be interpreted in the context of the Immigration Bill as two key lexical items which – by virtue of strong ideological implications ('right') and pragmatic force ('here') – significantly shape ongoing discourse on immigration in the UK.

Sustainability in the World Tourism Organisation

The second case study concerns the compilation of a corpus of texts taken from the official website of the World Tourism Organisation (WTO), the UN specialised agency for tourism. The corpus was compiled through the automatic download of a limited number of webpages using the URLs of each single page link available in the "UN-WTO A to Z" section in the home page, as a heuristic method to get a small pilot corpus representative of 'discourse' within this specific organisation. From this small pilot corpus, keywords were automatically extracted by comparison with a very large English reference corpus of English (enTenTen 2012). Using these keywords as seeds, and limiting the crawl to the WTO website itself, the process was run a second time to obtain a larger corpus. From this larger corpus (240.510 words) a number of key terms and patterns were extracted as reported in *Figure 6*.

Terms	Score	F	RefF
tourism sector	690.37	291	4,752
sustainable tourism	275.65	108	3,534
tourism development	274.58	103	2,839
tourism industry	244.89	182	18,297
international tourism	197.69	69	1,762
sexual exploitation	175.97	79	5,958
international tourist	171.94	57	1,025
specialized agency	162.05	51	327
tourism demand	151.19	47	172
sector commitment	143.15	44	37
21st century	140.20	43	0
private sector commitment	140.06	43	19
air transport	137.89	56	4,182
social dialogue	132.94	44	1,036
ski industry	123.34	40	754
tourism transport	120.78	37	12
domestic tourism	116.56	38	842
climate change	106.72	640	238,935
adaptive capacity	106.53	35	958
decent work	102.48	36	1,909
child sex	96.59	38	3,690
sex tourism	93.16	31	1,147
global tourism	90.62	29	614
child labour	89.80	37	4,487
child exploitation	89.09	29	851

Figure 6. Key terms extracted from the WTO Corpus

At first glance the key phrases extracted appear to be indicative of the global approach of the WTO to tourism discourse, as the list does not only contain obvious two or three word clusters like 'tourism sector', 'sustainable tourism', 'tourism development', 'tourism industry', 'private sector commitment', but also includes a significant number of occurrences for 'sexual exploitation', 'social dialogue', 'climate change', 'decent work', 'child labour', 'child exploitation', which are all together evocative of the wider spectrum of urgent issues which the WTO is to address at global level in the 21st century. For instance, a sample of concordance lines for the phrase 'sexual exploitation' immediately suggests that this is a really crucial concern for the WTO, as it is mostly related to the exploitation of children in the sex tourism industry:

destination: protection of	*children* from *sexual*	exploitation , Ms. Nohora Vargas Castro, Director General
Tri-national campaign against the	*sexual*	exploitation of *children* in tourism - Austria, Germany
prostitution activity and commercial	*sexual*	exploitation of *children* . 28 Around the world, between
in human beings, child labour and	*sexual*	exploitation of *children* ; improving respect for employers
commitment to protect *children* from	*sexual*	exploitation in tourism complements the activities of
infrastructure is used to facilitate the	*sexual*	exploitation of women and *children* . The Secretary General
to monitor the fight against the	*sexual*	exploitation of *children* in tourism networks at both
of the body was the prevention of	*sexual*	exploitation of *children* in tourism. In March 2007,
Organization take a stand against the	*sexual*	exploitation of *children* in tourism by unanimously adopting
establishments for the commercial	*sexual*	exploitation of *children* ; and promote better
measures to curb the commercial	*sexual*	exploitation of *children* . Several tourism industry
prevent trafficking in persons and the	*sexual*	exploitation of *children* in his country's tourism sector
eradication of human trafficking and the	*sexual*	exploitation of *children* , and seeks to stimulate safeguarding
overnment-funded programme that combats the	*sexual*	exploitation of *children* in travel and tourism, with
the protection of *children* from	*sexual*	exploitation in tourism. The commitment to the Code
ethical policy regarding commercial	*sexual*	exploitation of *children* and to training the personnel
of the session, reminded that the	*sexual*	exploitation of *children* did not happen in isolation
government policies to combat the	*sexual*	exploitation of *children* in tourism, and (B) child pornography
Colombo to fight against commercial	*sexual*	exploitation of *children* . They have conducted several

Figure 7. Sample of concordance lines for "sexual exploitation" from the WTO corpus

Similarly, such phrases as 'social dialogue' and 'decent work' suggest a strong commitment by the WTO to implement the social dimension of sustainability, which is reflected in its discourse. As a matter of fact, one notices such emphasis on the social dimension of sustainability in a number of patterns of co–occurrence of 'sustainable' words relating to the socio–economic domain. Here is a sample of co–occurrence with 'social':

GDFHTS-R-[2010-08-0058-1]-En.docv2 47 5.	**Sustainable**	tourism and *social* dialogue The following
reinforces the idea that, in order to achieve	**sustainable**	tourism, its *social* dimension including
sustainable tourism criteria on effective	**sustainable**	planning, maximizing *social* and economic
economic, *social* and cultural benefits of	**sustainable**	tourism are of particular interest for
to strengthen growth and development of	**sustainable**	tourism by promoting *social* dialogue among
Strategies to promote *social* dialogue and	**sustainable**	tourism 6. Suggestions for future ILO action
collaboration to position tourism as a key driver of	**sustainable**	economic and *social* development. (c) To
green jobs Enterprise-level principles for	**sustainable**	enterprises Role of the *social* partners
that their exploitation yields the most	**sustainable**	*social* and economic benefits for all stakeholders
, *social* and environmental dimensions of	**sustainable**	development. One of the world's largest
point that African tourism will only be	**sustainable**	if it addresses *social* and cultural factors
that their exploitation yields the most	**sustainable**	*social* and economic benefits for all stakeholders

Figure 8. Sample of concordance lines for 'sustainable' + 'social'

More specifically, concordance lines for 'social dialogue', one of the key phrases computed by the system, suggests that this is something which discourse within the WTO is striving to promote, strengthen, or simply call attention to by stressing a lack:

file3127339	enterprises are not sufficiently engaged in	social dialogue	and instead have limited communication
file3127339	stability Facilitating and participating in	social dialogue	A tourist destination in a politically
file3127339	question, therefore, is: how can meaningful	social dialogue	be implemented within HCT workplaces in
file3127339	encouraged to reiterate the importance of	social dialogue	within the sector, enhance training programmes
file3127293	prospects below the supervisory level. A lack of	social dialogue	often strains communication between managers
file3127339	proactive measures to reduce the lack of	social dialogue	and skills development within the sector
file3127339	workplace organization and processes of	social dialogue	beyond minimum requirements are quite unusual
file3127339	In addition, job mobility, promotion of	social dialogue	as well as employees' health and safety
file3127339	tourism industry, as well as the promotion of	social dialogue	between governments and organizations of
file3127339	Conference, promotes the strengthening of	social dialogue	to maximize the impact of crisis responses
file3127339	be developed through the effective use of	social dialogue	which is fundamental for decent and productive
file3127339	presented by HCT also enhances the value of	social dialogue	in the workplace and, where such processes
file3127339	vocational training needs to be based on	social dialogue	structures at national, local and enterprise

Figure 9. Sample of concordance lines for 'social dialogue' from the WTO Corpus

Finally, even the relatively obvious focus on 'climate change' in WTO discourse shows that this key concern is not to be seen in isolation but as part of a more comprehensive policy, as in the following excerpt from a publication by the WTO on climate change and tourism, which provides evidence in context of patterns of co–occurrence for such key phrases as 'climate change' and 'poverty alleviation':

mid-century.[15] The tourism sector cannot address the challenge of climate change in isolation, but must do so within the context of the broader international sustainable development agenda.[2,16] The critical challenge before the global tourism sector is to develop a coherent policy strategy that decouples the projected massive growth in tourism in the decades ahead from increased energy use and GHG emissions, so as to allow tourism growth to simultaneously contribute to poverty alleviation and play a major role in achieving the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDG).

"Climate change as well as poverty alleviation will remain central issues for the world community. Tourism is an important element in both. Governments and the private sector must place increased importance on these factors in tourism development strategies and in climate and poverty strategies. They are interdependent and must be dealt with in a holistic fashion."

UNWTO Secretary-General Francesco Frangialli - 2007

Figure 10. A screenshot from the WTO publication Climate Change and Tourism: Responding to Global Challenges (2007) as accessed from the WTO corpus

The presence of the phrase 'poverty alleviation' in the context of a publication entitled *Climate Change and Tourism: Responding to Global Challenges* (2007) reveals that poverty is a really key concern in WTO discourse on sustainable tourism development. Indeed, the most frequent collocates for 'poverty' in the WTO corpus are 'alleviation', 'reduction', 'eliminating', 'eradication', but there is also clear reference to precise projects for sustainable tourism and the eradication of poverty ("ST–EP") and to the Millennium Development Goals ("Millennium") as shown in *Figure 11.*

Collocation candidates

Page 1 Go Next >

		Cooccurrence count	Candidate count	T-score	MI	logDice
P | N	alleviation	22	22	4.688	11.248	12.240
P | N	reduction	27	94	5.189	9.448	11.967
P | N	Alleviation	8	8	2.827	11.248	10.923
P | N	Eliminating	8	8	2.827	11.248	10.923
P | N	reducing	7	38	2.640	8.808	10.441
P | N	ST-EP	8	64	2.819	8.248	10.423
P | N	eradication	5	7	2.235	10.763	10.256
P | N	development	25	557	4.954	6.770	10.226
P | N	creation	6	47	2.442	8.278	10.142
P | N	lack	6	52	2.441	8.133	10.101
P | N	reduce	8	131	2.809	7.215	9.989
P | N	Sustainable	10	197	3.137	6.948	9.982
P | N	through	10	250	3.130	6.604	9.764
P | N	Poverty	4	28	1.994	8.441	9.724
P | N	gender	4	48	1.990	7.663	9.549
P | N	fostering	3	10	1.730	9.511	9.487
P | N	growth	7	204	2.614	6.383	9.437
P | N	opportunities	5	115	2.215	6.725	9.403
P | N	sustainable	9	323	2.956	6.083	9.356
P | N	strategies	4	87	1.982	6.805	9.259
P | N	Millennium	3	37	1.723	7.624	9.227
P | N	contribution	4	106	1.978	6.520	9.136
P | N	opportunity	3	53	1.719	7.105	9.093

Figure 11. Sample of collocates for poverty from the WTO Corpus

The collocations of 'poverty' also indicate patterns of co–occurrence with words which concern issues apparently less obviously related to tourism, which the WTO nonetheless includes and foregrounds. For instance, one of the collocates for 'poverty' is 'gender', which in turns refers to the question of 'gender equality/inequality'. And a look at concordance lines for 'gender' in this corpus suggests that a concern for gender issues in the tourism industry is part of the organisation's overall mainstreaming policy and inclusion strategies, which are connected to all other aspects, including climate change and decent work, as shown in some of the instances reported below:

2009: Green jobs: Improving the climate for	gender	equality too!, Gender information brochure
encouraging member states to mainstream	gender	issues in their respective tourism policies
which provides a road map for mainstreaming	gender	equality issues in the four pillars of
youth organisations and the importance of	gender	training across all sectors. She then set
also include greater diversity in terms of	gender	, ethnic background as well as the age profile
hallenge of how to construct shared meaning on	gender	was raised, in order to ensure that local
Labour Conference adopted a resolution on	gender	equality at the heart of decent work in
particular focus on policies that promote	gender	equality, youth unemployment, skills adequacy
project called Revalorize Work to Promote	Gender	Equality in Portugal. 32 One benefit of
enterprises, respects workers' rights, promotes	gender	equality, protects vulnerable people …

Figure 12. Sample of concordance lines for 'gender' from the WTO Corpus

The preliminary, cursory, exploration of corpus data from the WTO website thus contributes evidence of the holistic approach to tourism which is one of the main goals of the organisation. Most of the terms and phrases computed by the system as 'keywords' can be subsumed under the commitment of the WTO to the implementation of sustainability within the tourism industry, which is by no means limited to environmental questions, but includes social and economic aspects too, as indicated by the three pillars of sustainability (social, economic, environmental) acknowledged worldwide.

Conclusions

The case studies reported are indicative of the possible benefits of investigating corpus data in the context of research or classroom activities not necessarily centred on corpus linguistics alone. The peculiarity of the corpora on which this paper focused is that they were built through semi–automated methods which reduce to a minimum the time spent in building the corpus. This suggests that these could perform well even as single use corpora to prompt classroom discussion or to provide subsidiary quantitative evidence to complement research carried out with other methods. In the case of the Immigration Bill 2014, the corpus consisting of the complete debate triggered questions about lexical choices in the representation of the category of migrants/immigrants in this specific context, providing evidence of the discursive creation of the opposed categories of people through recurring lexico–grammatical patterns, which could be further investigated with other methods. In the case of the WTO corpus, the simultaneous reading of a large number of texts taken from the organisation's official website provided evidence to support a view of a comprehensive commitment to sustainability issues in the context of WTO discourse. It is finally important to stress that – given the topicality of the issues discussed – the two corpora actually created a 'snapshot' of discourse at a certain point in time which could be easily reproduced (using the same criteria) at a different point in time in order to replace/integrate the data, with close to no effort. It is this last feature that, more than anything else, makes compiling and investigating corpora in this way a definitely 'sustainable' approach.

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ADDRESSING INTERPERSONAL NEEDS IN ORAL INTERACTION: THE CASE OF APOLOGY RESPONSE

Sara Gesuato

University of Padua

The apology exchange

An apology is a remedial speech act which restores equilibrium between an offender and their victim (Holmes 1989:196). When the offender realises that they have caused damage to another party, they regretfully acknowledge and take responsibility for the offence caused (e.g. Bergman and Kasper 1993). Indeed, the notions of 'offence', 'regret' and/or 'responsibility' often end up in the encoding of apologies, as in *I burnt the cake*, *Sorry* and *My fault*, respectively. Due to its redressive social goal, the apology is typically a reacting utterance, produced after causing (non–)verbal damage. However, it is also an initiating utterance, which primes for the victim's relevant response to the offender's admission of wrongdoing. This response can be more or less favourable to the offender (e.g. reproaching, forgiving, questioning, ignoring them). However, the preferred reaction is one that avoids or reduces the disparagement of the offender, as this contributes to achieving social ease (Robinson 2004:302).

The apology and the apology response serve complementary redressive purposes. The former aims to appease the victim and obtain their forgivenness through the expression of contrition and the demonstration of good manners. The latter serves to free the offender from their indebtedness, reassuring them about the limited negative effects of their wrongdoing and/or the adequacy of their remedial move. The apology and the apology response, respectively, restore and ratify the restoration of the balance of social debts and credits: they are a harmony–enhancing adjacency pair (Robinson 2004:292, 301).

The literature on apology exchanges has occasionally examined apology responses.

Literature review

Some studies of English apology exchanges only exemplify specific realisations of apology responses. For example, in her New Zealand corpus of remedial exchanges, Holmes

(1990) identifies simple apology responses (e.g. 'It doesn't matter') and complex ones (e.g. 'that's OK. Un understand – though I must admit I felt pretty hurt at the time'), including utterances that stress the offender's indebtedness or wrongdoing (e.g. 'You should watch where you're going'). Clyne, Ball and Neill's (1991) analysis of Italians' and Australians' workplace interactions illustrate such apology responses as '[…] just forget it', 'these things happen […] don't worry', and 'is your husband back', which serve to convey reassurance, show understanding or shift topics. Finally, Aijmer's (1996) corpus–based study shows how apologies may be followed by such supportive conversational moves as 'that's all right'; 'no', 'don't worry, and 'yes'.

Other studies illustrate and describe apology responses. For example, Fraser (1981) observes that strategies for responding to apologies include: rejecting the need to apologise (e.g. 'You didn't have to apologize; I certainly understand'); denying offence (e.g. 'I wasn't really upset'); expressing appreciation for the speaker's concern (e.g. 'Thanks for your concern'); and rejecting the speaker's responsibility for the action (e.g. 'Well, you really couldn't help it').

Owen (1983) classifies apology responses into three macro–strategies: Accept, Acknowledge and Reject. Accept involves presenting the remedial works as unnecessary, and includes three micro–strategies: Reduce the importance of the offence (e.g. 'It's nothing'); deny the need for an apology, which usually occurs after apologies including a specification of the offence; and assert restoration of balance, which includes explicit acts of forgiveness. The Acknowledge macro–strategy consists in recognising the remedial work as adequate (e.g. 'OK'). The Reject macro–strategy comprises two sub–strategies: withhold any response, which signals that «the victim does not want to see the matter closed» (103) and overtly reject, that is, confirming the trouble done by the offender or introducing a pause after the apology. The author observes how certain responses fall in between categories or may be relevant to accounts or corrections *accompanying* the apologies.

Holmes' (1989, 1995) fieldwork analysis of New Zealanders' apology exchanges illustrates six apology response strategies: Accept (e.g. 'That's OK'); Acknowledge (e.g. 'OK (but)'); Reject (e.g. Marked silence); Evade (e.g. 'Let's make another time'), No response; and Other (e.g. an apology, a humorous rejection). She observes that, overall, the preferred strategy is Accept, especially among women.

Lipson (1994) examines apology exchanges as instantiated in American sit–com episodes, and then rendered in students' re–writings of them in Italian. Following Owen's (1983) classification scheme, she reports that the students' preferred remedial response strategy is Asserting restoration of balance, adding that the participants' status and role affect the choice of strategies and formulae more in Italian than in US English.

Ely and Gleason's (2006) corpus–based examination of parent–child interactional behaviour in remedial exchanges reveals that apology responses may be marked by acceptance and minimisation (e.g. 'That's ok'), challenges (e.g. 'You're sorry?'), forgiveness/reinforcement, which explicitly comment on the breach (e.g. 'Alright, be careful'; 'I'm sorry too; I should have looked where I was walking'). The analysis also shows that «children rarely acknowledge the apologies directed to them», while adults often do (614).

In a study of naturally occurring interactions, Robinson (2004) identifies two frequent apology response strategies: Absolution (e.g. 'That's ok/alright'), which simultane-

ously acknowledges the offence and claims no offence was taken, and Disagreeing with the need to have apologised (e.g. 'No'), which may be accompanied by support material (e.g. 'Don't be silly'). The author also reports the occurrence of dispreferred responses such as Response delays and Pursuit of apology responses.

Adrefiza and Jones (2013) use oral DCTs to compare apology response behaviour in Australian English and Bahasa Indonesian. They classify them into four macro–strategies (Acceptance, Acknowledgement, Evasion, Rejection), each comprising micro–strategies (i.e. subsidiary speech acts and expressions), which are based on a study of compliment responses, and some of which are relevant to several macro–strategies (e.g. Thanking and Advice/Suggestion). They report that apology responses can be elaborate and mitigated; that the most frequent category is Acceptance; that more directness and face threats are found among the Indonesians than the Australians; and that no significant gender differences can be identified within or between the languages/cultures considered.

The above studies exemplify apology responses that are similar in content and structure, but also variably realised. Content–wise, apology responses usually encode notions that are favourable, or not unfavourable, to the offender; indeed, they may: qualify the offender's verbal remedy as adequate or unnecessary; minimise the magnitude of the offence; express affiliation with the offender's regret; alternatively, they may evasively comment on the apology or the remarks accompanying it; reject the apology; or be totally withheld. With regard to structure, apology responses include both short and routinised formulae which realise one reactive strategy, and elaborate and more original formulae, in which reactive strategies are combined together and/or accompanied by expansions.

However, previous studies differ in the breadth and depth of their analysis. Some only exemplify, but do not discuss, apology responses. Others characterise apology responses at different levels of detail (e.g. in terms for strategies vs strategies and sub–strategies) or classify them according to different criteria (e.g. function vs content vs register). Most importantly, they appear to assign apology response tokens to given categories on an intuitive basis. This casts doubt on the validity of the classifications, and may cause difficulties in distinguishing categories (Owen 1983:182; Lipson 1994:24).

In this study, I explore how apology responses are realised in role plays, a type of elicited data, not previously considered, which simulates and thus approximates spontaneous discourse, and which can be controlled for some situational variables. My goals are: to present an explicit classification scheme of apology responses that considers their strategies, content and structural organisation; to investigate how often apology responses occur in simulated interactions across socially different situations; and to determine how (dis)similar elicited apology responses are to those attested in other data sources.

Method

The data collection instrument consisted of 59 written scenario descriptions, partly based on real–life events (experienced by me as a participant or witness), and partly adapted from the literature, representing two interactants in the roles of offender vs victim. The scenarios outlined in the descriptions were made relevant to six types of

envisaged victims: intimate and equal (set A: 20 scenarios); distant and equal (set B: 13 scenarios); intimate and subordinate (set C: 6 scenarios); distant and subordinate (set D: 3 scenarios); intimate and superior (set E: 9 scenarios); and distant and superior (set F: 8 scenarios). The variety of the victims' social roles was supposed to favour a varied realisation of apology exchanges. Instead, the magnitude of the object of the illocution (i.e. the cost of the damage) was kept constant (i.e. high), as this was supposed to favour the production of apology exchanges. Each scenario description comprised distinct prompts for the roles of apologiser/offender vs apologisee/victim, identified as Speaker A and Speaker B, respectively, as in the following example:

> Scenario description (AP–O–A2)
> Speaker A:
> *You are a student and you are notoriously late. These days you are working on a joint paper, or project, with a friend. Today you have a meeting with him/her and you are late once again. At last you do show up for the meeting.*
>
> Speaker B:
> *You are a student working with a friend on a joint paper or project. Your friend is notoriously late and today he/she is late again for a meeting with you. He/She finally shows up. What do you say to him/her, if anything?*

The study participants were 6 pairs of US university students, aged 17–24 (10 females, 2 males), native speakers of English, rewarded with a small amount of money for their help. Each pair recorded 6 interactions (each relevant to one scenario description freely chosen from each set) in a soundproof booth. They were given no time limit to complete the task and offered the opportunity to opt out of it at any time. Of the 36 dialogues I recorded – later transcribed by a British English university lecturer and proofread by me – I discarded five, which did not instantiate apology exchanges. The material considered thus consists of the transcripts of 31 interactions (5,394 words).

A sample transcript follows, relevant to the elicitation prompt reported above:

> Transcript (AP–O–A2–01)
> B: Oh, hey Charlotte! You're finally here!
> A: Yeah, oh (*pants*) sorry, I'm late again.
> B: Umm, that's fine, umm, I was just staying here for, umm, doing some homework, [yeah]
> A: [oh]
> B: I came here about half an hour ago.
> A: Oh gosh. I apologize, very much, it's just that something came up and there was like really heavy traffic, on the road…
> B: I see. Well umm, yeah, I mean, it's, it's, it's really not a problem. But I really appreciate if, if you can let me know, that you'll be late next time.
> A: I forgot my phone.
> B: Ok, (*laughs*) you, remember your phone next time then.
> A: Ok…
> B: Ok, let's get started.
> A: Ok, yay!

In the transcripts, I considered an apology exchange an adjacency pair whose first part mentions the offender's wrongdoing and/or their attitude towards it (e.g. 'I broke your frame'; 'Sorry'; 'Sorry I broke your frame'), and whose second part contains a response relevant to either or both notions (e.g. 'Oh, how did it happen?'; 'No worries'). However, I chose not to consider other conversational material possibly found in the apology and apology response turns (e.g. discourse markers, reference to other topics). In the following and later examples, underlining highlights the turn segments considered relevant to the apology exchange:

A: Yeah, it was really good. I'm so sorry, I promise I won't do it again next time.
B: Oh, it's ok, you know, we're, we're busy, it's fine. (AP–O–A7–01)

A: Ok. Again, I'm very sorry, I know that I promised to have it back by today
B: Ok. No, that's totally fine, I'll come back Monday. (AP–O–C2–02)

Oh, yeah. Umm, I just, I'm sorry, I placed it down and it…hit you (AP–O–B3–27–01)

Umm, that's fine. Can we start now? (AP–O–D1–02)

I then distinguished the apology responses into their component head acts and supporting moves. I regarded as head acts those turn segments that, by themselves, (could) satisfy the apologiser's expectation of a relevant reply, by (potentially) bringing the apology exchanges to an end. I regarded as supporting moves those turn segments whose content expands on, and motivates the content of, the head acts with contextualising details.

After familiarising myself with the data through repeated readings, I analysed the apology response head acts and supporting moves by adapting Schneider's (2005) model for gratitude responses. This model presents the advantage of not directly matching a specific instantiation of a given speech act (component) with a given rhetorical function. Rather, it keeps the pragmatic role played by a speech act component distinct from its propositional content; also, it shows how different types of propositional content are similarly to given pragmatic strategies; finally, it groups specific instantiations of speech acts (or speech act components) under semantic types, and these under pragmatic strategies. By using this three–way distinction between strategies (or conventions of means), types (or conventions of forms) and tokens (or specific instantiations), Schneider is able to motivate the assignment of speech act tokens to pragmatic and semantic categories, as well as to identify with some certainty the number of components in speech act tokens. In line with Schneider's model, I also described apology responses in terms of their strategies (functions), semantic types (content), and structural elaboration (number and sequencing of component strategies). But in addition to that, I also motivated each strategy with an explicit definition, while I assigned the label to each semantic type on lexico–notional grounds.

Table 1 lists the apology response head act strategies (in single quotes) with their definitions (in roman type), and semantic types (in italicised capital letters) with relevant examples (in small italics). The strategies exemplify three main macro categories: those that settle social the credit–debt imbalance in favour of the offender (1 to 5); those that do so in favour of the victim (6, 7); and those that address topics other than those mentioned in the head acts (8, 9). Finally, unclear responses and responses not directly relevant to the

apologies are also attested (10, 11). Four of the strategies include two or more semantic types (1, 3, 4, 8), while the rest only one. The labels for the semantic types encapsulate the main notions conveyed or speech functions realized in the various tokens.

Head act strategies		Semantic type	
Label	Definition	Label	Example
1. 'Acknowledging the apology'	Recognising and accepting the previous turn as valid and appropriate	*OK*	*Ok*; *But that's, that's an ok excuse I, I guess*
		YES	*Yeah*
		UNDERSTAND	*I see*
2. 'Showing interest in the circumstances of the damage'	Inquiring about the origin, scope, nature of the damage	*WHAT HAPPENED?*	*What, what did you break?*
3. 'Reassuring the offender'	Comforting the offender, showing understanding and sustaining his/her positive face	*IT'S OK*	*That's ok*
		IT'S GOOD	*That's cool*
		NO WORRIES	*Don't worry about it*
		IT HAPPENS	*I know stuff happens*
4. 'Denying/Minimising the damage'	Cancelling or reducing the offender's debt	*NO*	*No*
		NO PROBLEM	*It's not a big deal*
5. 'Re–interpreting the exchange'	Assuming the role of a co–apologiser	*SORRY*	*Sorry*
6. 'Reprimanding'	Ascribing responsibility for the damage to the offender	*REFERRING TO THE FAILURE TO ACT PROPERLY*	*So why didn't you just come earlier then?*
7. 'Requesting compensation/remedy'	Pointing out the imbalance in the relationship	*OFFENDER'S FUTURE REDRESSIVE ACTION*	*You're going to buy me a new jacket now*
8. 'Replying to a supporting move'	Addressing a non–crucial aspect of the exchange	*ANSWER QUESTION*	*Um, not that much, no*
		AGREEMENT/ ACCEPTANCE	*It did*; *Um yeah!*
		GRATITUDE	*I really appreciate the call*
		EXHORTATION	*Don't*; *Fine, go*
		REACT TO SUGGESTION	*so umm, you know, I'm gonna have to impose a fee on you, you know, just a light fee*
9. 'Responding to something else'	Replying to non–apologetic, accompanying turn segments	[VARIED]	*Yes! I will be, if I sleep well tonight; Well, it's, if it, if it's an emergency then*; *Just like two dollars or something*
10. 'Unclear'	Providing a reply equally suitable to the apology head act, its supporting move or something else	[VARIED]	*Ok; Yeah, that's great*
11. 'No response'	Reacting in a way that is not relevant to the apology	[NOT APPLICABLE]	[e.g. silences, hesitation fillers, discourse markers with not accompanying proposition]

Table 1. Apology response head act strategies and semantic types

Table 2 illustrates the apology response supporting move strategies (in single quotes) with their definitions (in roman type), and semantic types (in italicised capital letters) with relevant examples (in small italics). The supporting move strategies mention aspects or circumstances of the damage (1), its follow–up remedial actions (2) or the victim's sympathetic, understanding outlook on it (3). Each strategy comprises two or more semantic types. Their labels specify the main notions they express (1), the interactional functions they serve (2) or the interpersonal function they realise (3).

Supporting move strategies		Semantic type	
Label	Definition	Label	Example
1. 'Commenting on the damage'	Informing the offender on circumstances of the wrongdoing.	*CONTEXT*	*Wasn't sure what was going on and I'm just, looking forward to starting today*
		IMPACT	*I was a bit startled at first, actually and I actually do need it for my salary*
		NORM VIOLATION	*But you know, this, you're not supposed to write on library books*
2. 'Next steps'	Suggesting a suitable future course of action for the offender	*PRE–EMPTING FUTURE DAMAGE*	*so why don't you just come earlier next time?*
		OFFERING AN ALTERNATIVE SOLUTION	*if you wanna switch or something, it's just if you're… parking there now I, I'm not really sure what spaces are open to parking 'cause…they're assigned!*
3. 'Attitude'	Stressing the commitment to cancel the offender's debt	*SINCERITY*	*I don't want to cause any trouble, or anything*
		MOTIVATION	*I don't really like this jacket anyway*

Table 2. Apology response supporting move strategies and semantic types

From the point of view of structure, apology responses can be simple, that is, consisting of one head act, or complex, when they combine two or more head acts together, or when they comprise head acts with supporting moves; e.g.:

Oh, I, ok, mm. (AP–O–A22–01; 1 head act)

Oh, it's ok, don't worry about it. Um, as long as you're not hurt…are you ok? AP–O–A1–01: 2 head acts)

Ok, don't worry about it, but, yeah, it's ok (AP–O–C6–01: 4 head acts)

Umm, that's fine, UMM, I WAS JUST STAYING HERE FOR, UMM, DOING SOME HOMEWORK, YEAH I CAME HERE ABOUT HALF AN HOUR AGO. (AP–O–A2–01: 1 head act + 1 supporting move)

Well, so why didn't you just come earlier then? IF, YOU'RE, LIKE, YOU'VE BEEN LATE LIKE FIVE TIMES NOW? LIKE, EVERY SINGLE TIME IT'S LIKE, OH THE TRAFFIC, SAME EXCUSES, I'M BUSY, I'M BUSY, SO WHY DON'T YOU JUST COME EARLIER NEXT TIME? (AP–O–A2–02: 1 head act + 2 supporting moves)

No. No. It's fine. IT'S JUST PERFUME. You, you didn't cut yourself, did you, while picking it up right? (AP–O–E6–01: 2 head acts + 1 supporting move).

After developing my coding scheme, I determined the frequency of occurrence and dispersion patterns of the functional, semantic and structural features outlined above in the corpus.

Findings

The data considered instantiates 59 apology exchanges, 93% of which include apology response turns. These realise 83 unambiguous apology response tokens, which are fairly equally dispersed across the datasets (see Table 3).

No. of	Set A	Set B	Set C	Set D	Set E	Set F	Total
Apology exchanges	14	8	8	6	12	11	59
Words	365	246	289	316	515	449	2,180
Apology response turns	13	8	7	5	12	10	55
Apology response tokens	21	13	11	9	14	15	83
Unclear response tokens	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
Other response tokens	1	1	1	0	3	3	9
Total response tokens	22	15	12	9	17	19	94

Table 3. Frequency of occurrence and dispersion of apology exchanges

Nine types of apology response head act strategies and 23 formulation types are attested. Given the variety of strategies and semantic types exemplified and the limited size of the data considered, it is not surprising that each dataset comprises only a few tokens of each strategy and/or semantic type (see Table 4). Overall, three strategies (i.e. 'Reassuring the offender', 'Acknowledging the apology', 'Replying to a supporting move') and three semantic types (i.e. *OK, IT'S OK, IT'S GOOD*) account for most of the data (81% and 50%, respectively, of all the apology response tokens).

Strategies	Semantic types	A	B	C	D	E	F	Pre-total	Total
'Acknowledging the apology'	*OK*	4	1	2	0	0	3	10	15
	YES	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	
	UNDERSTAND	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	
'Reinterpreting the exchange'	*SORRY*	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	2
'Denying/Minimising the damage'	*NO*	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	4
	NO PROBLEM	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	
'Showing interest in the circumstances of the damage'	*WHAT HAPPENED?*	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	3
'Reassuring the offender'	*IT'S OK*	3	3	1	4	2	1	14	40
	IT'S GOOD	4	2	4	2	3	3	18	
	NO WORRIES	2	2	1	1	0	0	6	
	IT HAPPENS	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	

Strategies	Semantic types	A	B	C	D	E	F	Pre-total	Total
'Replying to a supporting move'	*ANSWER QUESTION*	1	2	0	0	0	0	3	13
	AGREEMENT/ ACCEPTANCE	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	
	EXHORTATION	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	
	GRATITUDE	0	0	0	1	0	2	3	
	INFORM	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	
'Reprimanding'	*REFERRING TO THE FAILURE TO ACT PROPERLY*	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	2
'Requesting compensation/ remedy'	*OFFENDER'S FUTURE REDRESSIVE ACTION*	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	2
Responding to something else	[VARIED]	3	0	1	0	3	3	10	10
Unclear		0	1	0	0	1	1	3	3
TOTAL		22	15	12	9	17	19	94	94
'No response'		1	0	1	1	0	1	4	8

Table 4. Apology response head act strategies and formulations types

As Table 5 shows, the supporting move strategies and semantic types are much less frequent than the head act strategies and formulation types, occurring in 19% of all apology exchanges. The most prominent one, 'Comment' accounts for 66% of the supporting moves and 14% of all apology responses.

Means	Forms	Set							
		A	B	C	D	E	F	Pre-total	Tot
'Comment'	*CONTEXT*	2	0	0	2	1	1	6	12
	IMPACT	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	
	NORMS	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	
'Next steps'	*PRE-EMPTING DAMAGE*	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
	OFFER SOLUTION	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	
'Attitude'	*SINCERITY*	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
	REASON	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	
TOTAL		5	3	1	3	3	3	18	18

Table 5. Apology response supporting move strategies and formulation types

The apology responses are mildly elaborate: the single head act structure and the double head act structure are the most frequent organisational patterns, as they are instantiated across all the datasets, and found in 40% vs 21%, respectively, of the apology responses. Other complex structures are infrequent. However, the complex structures collectively account for 60% of the data (see Table 6).

No. of strategies in responses	Set A	Set B	Set C	Set D	Set E	Set F	Total
1 head act	4	2	4	1	6	5	22
2 head acts	2	2	1	2	3	2	12
3 head acts	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
4 head acts	0	0	1	1	0	2	4
1 head act + 1 supporting move	1	1	0	0	1	0	3
1 head act + 2 supporting moves	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
≥ 2 head acts + 1 supporting move	4	2	0	0	1	0	7
TOTAL	13	8	7	5	12	10	55

Table 6. Apology response structure types

Discussion and conclusion

Apology responses are very frequent in the data considered, occurring in 93% of the apology exchanges identified. This may be ascribed to the data collection method and the magnitude of the object of the apologies. On the one hand, an elicitation procedure may induce study participants to produce more of the 'targeted' communicative behavior than would be the case in spontaneous communication (cf. Holmes 1989:207), who reported 74% of apology exchanges including some verbal reply). On the other, the apologies were about relatively high infractions; these may require both parties' harmony–restoring contributions to discourse, while minor infractions may be satisfactorily settled by minimal remedial action with no further response (Owen 1983:102).

The highest concentration of apology responses (i.e. 23%) is found in exchanges where the victims are =P and –D. This finding appears to be in line with Holmes (1990), who found that elaborate apology responses tend to occur with friends of equal status. However, the data is too limited to predict reliable correlations between encoding options and situational variables, and cannot be directly compared with previous studies, which did not explore social distance and power differential as relevant situational variables.

The apology responses identified in my data are comparable in their realisation and frequency patterns to those presented in previous studies, but with some distinctive traits. First, the apology response head acts are mostly realised through a few strategies and formulation types, all favourable, or not unfavourable, to the offender. Studies on DCT data (Adrefiza and Jones 2013) and spontaneous discourse (Holmes 1995, Robinson 2004) show the prominence of favourable apology responses, but also report unfavourable or non–cooperative responses. This suggests that in role plays, participants may be acting on their best behaviour.

Second, the frequency hierarchy of the head act strategies (i.e. "Reassuring the offender", "Acknowledging the apology", "Replying to a supporting move") does not match those in Holmes (1989) or Adrefiza and Jones (2013), except for their most frequent strategy, labelled *Accept*, which corresponds to my "Reassuring the apologiser". (No comparison is possible regarding the formulation types of the supporting move

strategies, since other studies do not discuss these aspects of apology responses). Such discrepancies may be due to the different data collection procedures, the apology situations considered, and the classification parameters adopted across the studies.

Third, the apology responses may be structurally elaborate – combining head acts and/or including supporting moves – and also semantically varied – focusing on the damage, its circumstances/effects, or the apology – as previously shown. This suggests that apology responses are highly conventionalised, but not fully routinised speech acts, with both prototypical and original instantiations, and that role plays are a reliable source of data for conventionalised speech behaviour which is probably produced below the level of consciousness.

A more profitable understanding of apology responses can be achieved, if findings across studies can be compared by checking their validity (i.e. accuracy) and scope (i.e. domain of applicability). This requires explicit indications of methodological parameters. The classification scheme used in this study, although context–specific, satisfies this requirement and can thus be subjected to verification in further analyses. Preliminary evidence of its suitability comes from two sources. First, under its strategies and semantic types it could easily fit apology responses listed in other studies; for example, 'These things happen' (Clyne, Ball and Neill 1991:262) would instantiate the *IT HAPPENS* semantic type under the "Reassuring the offender" strategy. Also, 'You should watch where you're going' (Holmes 1990:179) would realise the "Reprimanding" strategy and its *REFERRING TO THE FAILURE TO ACT PROPERLY* semantic type. 'Oh well that's a good way of putting it' instantiates the "Replying to a supporting move" strategy (Holmes 1995:183) Similarly, "I wasn't really upset" (Fraser 1981:265) would be a supporting move of the *IMPACT* semantic type under the "Commenting on the damage" strategy. Second, the classification scheme is adaptable to varying interactional contexts, in the sense that it could accommodate *additional* semantic types under the present strategies so as to account for more apology responses. For example, the "Denying/Minimising the damage" head act strategy could encompass a *NO RESPONSIBILITY* semantic type, exemplified in *It wasn't your doing* (Holmes 1990:165) or *It's not your fault* (Owen 1983:102) or 'Well, you really couldn't help it' (Fraser 1981:265). The "Reassuring the offender" strategy could include a *FORGIVING* semantic type, as exemplified in *Apologies accepted* (Owen 1983:101); the "Requesting compensation" strategy could comprise a *REJECT/CHALLENGE* semantic type as in 'That won't do' (Ely and Gleason 2006 607). The "Acknowledging the apology" strategy could also list an *INTERACTION–CLOSING* semantic type, as in 'Ok' and (Owen 1983:99).

Apology responses need to be explored further with regard to how (frequently) they correlate with the varying magnitude of the damage, different types of apology strategies – a topic touched on by Owen (1983: 99) – or different contexts of interaction (cf. Aijmer 1996 on the higher concentration of apology responses in phone conversations). Corpus–based investigations can reveal what contexts of production different types of apology responses correlate with. A search for apology exchanges I carried out in the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English* showed that out of 25 including a «sorry» apologetic formula, only 4 comprised apology responses, namely *Nope* (a reply to a supporting move of the apology), *You're doing all right*, *Yeah* and *Ok cool*. Similarly, a search for 'it's ok' in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* shows that out of 1,186

tokens in the SPOKEN component and out of 369 tokens in the FICTION component, only 8 vs 5 instances, respectively, occur after an apology. Clearly, better insights into apology responses may come from a consideration of complementary types of data.

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OBAMA'S WINNING 'CHANGE' STRATEGY: TRANSLATION, RHETORIC AND INTERTEXTUALITY IN THE 2008 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Giusy Piatto

Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II"

Introduction

The linguistic strategies adopted by Barack Obama in his first Presidential Campaign cannot be investigated without considering the fact that the former Senator of Illinois belongs to the Afro–American community. An ethnic affiliation is closely in agreement with its cultural elements, and Obama's ethnic background is in fact to be seen as an important transcultural stance, which needs further investigation since it has certainly contributed to Black People's history, culture and politics in the US. As a matter of fact, it is very interesting to notice how this ethnic cue may have emerged within the political speeches Obama delivered when running for the White House, taking into account that Obama's main function was to speak to the White majority of his country, therefore always having a neutral approach in order to persuade all voters.

The current paper has the objective to show a range of discursive plans in a political discourse in this case represented by the *stump speech*[1], an audio–medial text written to be read by a (supposed) psychologically predisposed audience on a campaign tour. In particular, multicultural intertextual references in a hybrid speech, which different ethnic groups could personally identify with, are examined here as the fundamental key of success for 'winning' the official race to the White House.

Data analysed will show that Obama's discourse strategy can be defined as a summary of the new millennium rhetoric, which seems to combine tradition (leitmotifs like 'hope', 'chance' and 'dream') and innovation through commercial devices and noble recollections. This being the apex of a globalising process begun in the second part of 20th century, when US right think–thank discovered that electors are more emotionally than rationally influenced when voting.

[1] See http://definitions.uslegal.com/s/stump-speech/

The language of Obama and the rhetoric of power

The main objective of this work is to investigate how Barack Obama managed to persuade a variety of ethnic audiences to identify with his 2008 presidential campaign through the use of intertextual references and by combining or hybridising previous important speeches: the speech of Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights movement, above all. If we start from the assumption that «Politics cannot be conducted without language» (Chilton and Schaffner 1997), Obama's classic speech is filled with metaphors, idioms and personal facts that he has popularised discourse to return it understandable and not simply didactic. According to Miller (1993:159), this «written–to–be–spoken mode […] is exacted by the conventional applause–getting/giving expectations intrinsic to the event». Obama's discursive style is noteworthy for both its strategic textual and contextual effectiveness, particularly the way it blends different genres, includes and responds to a large number of voices, and facilitates the semantic difficulties of creating a post–racial discourse in US electoral politics. Johnson and Johnson (2002:4) call people living in such multicultural settings 'multicultural individuals', i.e. people who have internalised several cultures, which then coexist. The concepts of intertextuality, interdiscursivity, and recontextualisation, reveal the mediated connections between properties of text on the one hand, and socio–political–cultural processes on the other.

Needless to say, Obama is a master of the personal anecdote and the telling example. Not only a speech event, his is a precise model of how an oratory discourse is employed in the art of persuasion and has a significant role within discursive struggle over meaning and truth attempting to affirm and challenge relations of power and control in society.

It is possible to appreciate Obama's rhetorical strategies through an Aristotelian interpretation, an art whose basic grounds have remained rather unaltered throughout the centuries with its triad of *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*. A persuading statement is customised to the needs of the audience in all three domains, and Obama's oral speech proves clear superiority in attracting to each area of interest. The aspiring President also used the principles conferred by Aristotle to create a speech that would calm his critics and supporters alike. The final feature about the theory of rhetoric is the Golden Mean (or the virtue of moderation) in order to persuade people. The President–in–Office has been in his first Presidential Campaign highly successful at finding a golden mean in his public rhetoric: for example, he specifically stresses in each of his speeches that *change will not be easy* (straightforward talk) when addressing the audience. On the other hand, this verbal strategy permits him to remain in a moderate position since he speaks about his faith to American people, especially if they all work together. Moreover, he establishes his connection to the audience sharing stories about his families 'not revealing too much' at a certain point of his 'remarks'so that the spectators could personally empathise with him.

Methodology

From a methodological point of view, the paper is centered on an integrated approach to discourse analysis, from the study of classic formulas on communication and persua-

sion in Aristotle's theory of rhetoric, whose rules seem still to fit the needs of political discourses, to Critical Discourse Analysis consistent with van Dijk's (1997) and Norman Fairclough's (1995) contributions (e.g. discourses influence social relation and knowledge systems through language) which provide elements to examine some of Obama's speeches.

Critical Discourse Analysis is certainly a precious tool to investigate the connections among language, ideology and power. Therefore, speakers gifted with *power* in discourse are able to control all levels in a written or spoken text, from the context where it develops to lexical choices and its linguistic pattern. The concept of 'control' entails the supervision of the communicative situation, of time and space where it takes place, of participants who must or can become involved, of opinions they have and actions that can originate from the speech. The effect the speech could arise in the minds of the addressees, in relation not only to contextual components but to *discursive* ones in particular, is proved to be essential: carried out inner mechanisms constitute 'the power of persuasion', that is base rhetoric since its outset. Moreover, an intriguing characteristic of this *manipulation* realised by the speaker is the fact it is not manifested, that is the reason why a possible criticism of enunciated ideas 'hidden' behind the explicit text becomes more difficult. Noteworthy is indeed the fact that in speeches delivered in academic, political and media contexts, professors, politicians and journalists respectively have the discretion to control their listening audience through cautious choices in the words and expedients to be used in a speech.

Myriad statements by Obama are directed to the nation as a whole. Thanks to the collaboration of a young and talented Jon Favreau, the spin doctor and mind–reader of the 2008 Campaign, Obama shaped a positive image of himself and symbolised the significance of national identity (Duffy 2010). This way, it proved to be advantageous for Obama to emphasise national identity over racial identity in his campaign, particularly given that he belongs to a minority group (the Black Community). The premise was consequently necessary as a first step for Obama during the Primary Campaign in order to realise a consistent discursive environment that could work in his favour when speaking to racial majority potential voters. A first hypothesis is therefore offered: rhetorical and linguistic strategies seem to emerge thanks to transcultural elements and idiomatic expressions, rhetorical figures, Biblical parables or intertextual references recalling recent American History to Black collective memory. Obama's new political scenario may eventually have a future in political speeches on national–level planning.

The Corpus

The corpus selected for this research study consists of three transcripts of stump speeches (totalling 8.512 words) observed in the time span from January to November 2008 through the lens of a Critical Discourse Analysis procedure.

The transcripts downloaded by the White House website reflect the typical features of oral speech (e.g. false starts, self corrections, etc.). Some of the most representative examples are taken from three speeches which cover the Presidential Campaign from the Primary until the Election Victory Night. The first one is the speech delivered in

Dayton, Ohio (2008), where Barack Obama discussed his plans to change the educational system in America. His intent was to fix George Bush's controversial No Child Left Behind (then replaced by the Every Student Succeeds Act in 2015, ndr) described by the former Senator as a system of punishing poor schools for poor results by cutting funding. It substantially consisted in "Title I schools", that is the ones with low–income students. So, if a Title I school failed to bring all students to a proficient level, NCLB allowed the state to change the leadership team of the whole school or even act for a closure. Several important questions were debated: the gap between those students who have technological facilities and those ones who do not; the disparity between poor urban and wealthy suburban educational institutes; the status of teachers in the country and a high discrepancy in benefits; the poor teacher education programmes, which do not adequately prepare teachers for the classroom and the way society continuously blames schools for all of its ills. A clear disapproval of "No Child Left Behind", the idea of punishing poor schools for low results by cutting funding, does not help them improve. The second cluster of examples belongs to "The Great Need of The Hour" held in January 2008 in the Ebenezer Church, Atlanta. This speech is an instant classic in modern history, and a tide–turner. It seems, at first, addressed mainly to African–American citizens, a discourse on race in the bastion of Black Community and a deeply inspired rewriting of Martin Luther King's popular "I've been on the mountaintop"[2]. On a more general consideration, this peculiar stump speech can be read as a role model of a hybridised genre which draws on mixed race, diasporic blackness, and second–generation immigrant identities which would surely deserve an in–depth investigation here reduced for space limitations.

Last but not least, the Victory Speech held the night he was elected President of the USA, on Wednesday 5 November 2008 in Chicago is here included. The overall approach is to create an inclusive sense of history where individuals make personal sacrifices in order to be a part of a great revival. History, as previously stated, includes the longer American history but with particular leverage on African American history, where poverty was and is well known, and where struggles in living memory have led to significant changes. Inclusion reaches out to all Americans involving Republicans and diverse minority parts. The story is cast as individual action towards a common purpose, creating a strong sense of belonging.

It is important to highlight that North American citizens, in many cases, live in a sort of melting pot and idolise sports, music or film stars of all races. This has of course elicited an everyday sense of open–mindedness across perceived racial limits. In 2008, part of US licensed press reported that even younger Christians have become more accepting of ethnocultural diversities than their parents and relatives (Bloemraad 2015:60). This situation diverges from older generations especially on social issues.

[2] You can read a full transcript at http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkivebeentothemountaintop.htm

Speech Analysis

Inspirational mottos, such as the famous catch–phrase "Yes we can", serve as an exemplar proof of the existence of a strategy aimed at developing a specific sentence–semantics, a science of meaning in language that has been fundamental for the (also rhetorical) victory of Barack Obama in his first race for the White House. A few examples have been picked from the corpus so to briefly analyse how God, the history of Civil Rights Movement and the leitmotif hope–chance–dream, and the choice of inclusive pronominals 'we', 'our', and 'us', have been essential to transport the voters and transform the social heterogeneous system to one of apparent equals.

The rules and processes analysed in the corpus have been divided into two separate sub–corpora: the first one focuses on remarks merely from the campaign since 2008 Democratic Party presidential primaries; the second section observes intertextual cross–references and persuasive linguistic strategies on Obama's first address as the President of the United States. In the three transcripts under close examination it will be possible to observe how political language is not just used because employed by politicians, but as a discursive method provided with specific properties in establishing a relation of power among the three political actors: politicians, media politics and citizens.

First section: analysis

"Change" for Obama's campaign was not simply a slogan but it became a sort of a 'state of mind'. If we make changes on a discursive level, we help to change and reproduce social reality (Philips and Jørgensen 2002:9). In the history of American speeches, tradition demands some God talk, and the following example confirms Obama is conforms to this implicit rule:

> They will help determine not only whether our children have the chance to fulfil their God–given potential or whether our workers have the chance to build a better life for their families.
>
> (July 11, 2008, *Remarks in Dayton, Ohio*)

God–given definition refers to something, usually a talent or ability that is either innate or so extraordinary that it could come from a higher power. To this end, God talk is not strictly connected with conservative evangelicals: political religion has long been used as a political weapon in America which affects cross creed. Purpose–built to maintain their power, politicians and other influential groups try to persuade people that what those *powers* want/need is *also* what people want/need. Therefore, God's issues, religion and beliefs are some themes that most people recognise and accept.

Still from the Dayton transcript, there is the chance to value how Barack Obama introduces his way of acting as a spokesman for the people:

> I want it to be said that we rose to meet this challenge.
>
> (July 11, 2008, *Remarks in Dayton, Ohio*)

The two idiomatic expressions [to rise + to meet a challenge] are united by an *integrative use* of inclusive pronoun *we*, appointed to confidence building with the audience in order to let it value, not in a sceptical view, the ideology and political agenda of the nominee. The use of first person pronoun 'we' reduces the distance between the speaker and his listeners, no matter their disparity in age, position in society and professions. It may bring both the speaker and the audience into the same space, and as a result, make the latter feel close to the speaker and his/her reasons. Eventually, the first person pronoun 'I' is employed when Obama is sure on some specific cases or to instil self–confidence, so he states his words with all his emphasis and authority.

As typical in his first period speeches, the aspiring President is generous with the use of 1st person plural pronoun. For instance, in:

> Take meaningful, practical steps to build an education system worthy of our children and our future.
>
> (July 11, 2008, *Remarks in Dayton, Ohio*)

the use of the possessive pronoun 'our' integrates Obama's administration with the people of America, and it can really have a strong impact on the listeners and on the nation as a whole. Plus, the sum of 190 'we' and 163 'our' occurrences have been spot in the entire corpus by virtue of a concordance program to see words in their context (AntConc).

It is important to note that while a typical campaign speech is comprehensively a persuasive text type, and it might probably be categorised as argumentative, Obama's speech opts for a narrative mode. Narrative, it is well known, plays a prominent role in the construction of social relations, and meaning and narrative texts are pervading in today's intensive, multi–mediated and multi–cultural culture (Kellner 2002:8). Persuading as a main purpose of stump speeches supports their ability for major changes. The challenge is therefore how to bring the audience into the story in order for them to become emotionally involved and more inclined to banish doubt and accept the world guaranteed by the speaker as natural.

In the forthcoming example, former Senator of Illinois presented his candidacy at Ebenezer Church as that lucky occasion to continue the racial unity Dr. King spoke (and dreamt) about:

> Because before Memphis and the mountaintop; before the bridge in Selma and the march on Washington; before Birmingham and the beatings.
>
> (January 20, 2008, *The Great Need of the Hour, Atlanta*)

The first historical reference comes from last Martin Luther King's speech held in Tennessee on April 3rd, 1968, the day before he was murdered. He spoke about Memphis Sanitation Strike and invited people to boycott white goods as a means of non–violent protest. The second mention was crucial for the American Rights Movements in the 1960s. It was a number of three protest marches walks along the 54–mile highway from Selma to Alabama State Capital Montgomery exhibiting the desire of African American citizens to employ their constitutional right to vote, in clear provocation against

segregationist repression[3]. Moreover, the 1963's March of Freedom and Jobs (place of the famous "I have a dream" speech) and the beatings in Alabama, where Birmingham used to be the most segregated city in America and one of the main places where Martin Luther King resisted nonviolently.

> before King was the Icon […] We in the African–American community have been at the receiving end of man's inhumanity to man.
> (January 20, 2008, *The Great Need of the Hour, Atlanta*)

Obama of course praised King for inspiring a nation "to begin to live up to its creed". Anyway, his concept of 'change' is not the coming of Paradise that King dreamt of. It was actually in his first campaign the slow, long political process of walking together with his public in a step by step inspirational process. In a certain way Obama's gradual change is what King asked for caution, yet Obama quotes King on "the fierce urgency of now".

Second section: analysis

In this last section we will briefly illustrate how the "Election Night Victory Speech" can undoubtedly be defined as a pillar of early 21st century representation of identity and hybridity by intertwining the white myth of American History and the black narrative of the American Dream. First of all, the application of repetition as a rhetorical device is a classic technique to hammer on certain issues:

> who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible,
> who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time,
> who still questions the power of our democracy
> (*Sen. Barack Obama's Acceptance Speech in Chicago*, November 5, 2008)

The extract above recalls repetition in persuasive strategy, and a – 7 + 0 – 2 rhetoric's 'magic' rule in particular (Shiffrin and Nosofsky 1994:357-361). To clarify, some research on short–term memory revealed that memory span is not a constant even when measured in a number of elements. Usually people cannot remember more than five words in a row, so the 'who still' clause has been elected as *trait d'union* among the three sentences to keep the attention of the audience all over the world.

> It's the answer told by lines that stretched around schools and churches in numbers this nation has never seen, by people who waited three hours and four hours…
> (*Sen. Barack Obama's Acceptance Speech in Chicago*, November 5, 2008)

This is an example where pairs do not necessarily have the same semantic connotation. Speakers often believe their listeners will think they will mark them as not eloquent if they pause to think of what to say next, that is the reason they use filler

[3] R. Reed, *Bloody Sunday Was Year Ago,* «The New York Times», 76, March 6, 1966, retrieved March 9, 2015.

words to avoid the silence. However, these so–called fillers are more than dead space in the Night Victory Speech. They actually prepare the public to the climax in a gradual and continuous crescendo of semantically full words:

> It's the answer spoken by young and old, rich and poor, Democrat and Republican, black, white, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, gay, straight, disabled and not disabled.
>
> (*Sen. Barack Obama's Acceptance Speech in Chicago*, November 5, 2008)

Viceversa, the list above presents no conjunction in ethnic and sexual group list. This is an inclusive operation in order to avoid stressing accidental distinction. The conjunction 'and' is crucial here to unite opposite lifestyles and choices that usually do not share the same point of view (rich 'and' poor, Democrat 'and' Republican). Discrimination is furthermore avoided when the choice of 'not disabled' has been preferred to reduce the physical and social distance with the able–bodied people's term.

The difference between Martin Luther King and Obama's privileged figure should not be considered merely as a question of taste, technique or style. Likewise, contrasts and so–called triples express different views of the world. Contrasts also reveal binaries and present choices; multiples enhance evidence for a single case. In addition, Obama reveals more than any other figure in US politics a peculiar ability in melding sacred and secular. A clear view is given by the underlying table containing a comparison between MLK and Obama most famous speeches, respectively:

MLK: I just want to do God's will. CROWD: Yeah – MLK: And he's allowed me to go up to the mountain CROWD: Go ahead – MLK: And I've looked over, CROWD: Yeah- MLK: And I've seen the promised land CROWD: Holy, Holy, Holy. CROWD: Amen. MLK: I may not get there with you. CROWD: Yeah – holy. MLK: But I want you to know tonight CROWD: Yeah – MLK: that we as people CROWD: Yeah – MLK: will get to the promised land. CROWD: Holy, holy.	OBAMA: The road ahead will be long. Our climb will be steep. We may not get there in one year or even in one term, but America – I have never been more hopeful than I am tonight that we will get there. I promise you – we as a people will get there. CROWD: Yes we can, yes we can, yes we can...

Table 1. *I've been on the Mountaintop* vs. *Address in Chicago Accepting Election*

This excerpt is likely to represent a secularised version of the last speech by King *I've been on the Mountaintop*: "Our climb will be steep" and "we might not get *there* in one year or even in one term" is referred to King's "and (God) he's allowed me (instead of Obama's *we*) to go up *to the mountain*" but particularly the *promised land* seen by MLK that prophetic night. The use of the negative epistemic modal MAY NOT can be reconnected to the virtue of moderation mentioned in 1. It is well balanced by

means of summoning and exhortatory strategies in back and forth within invisible waves of intertextuality references: I, as a concrete President and as an American citizen, will reach the *promised land. That* dream will become *real* and "there is an accepted need to give the audience their expected "participation time" (Miller 1993:159) blown–up in a slogan which has become worldwide a paraphrase for rebirth in politics.

And here the opposition is clear. Obama means the strong necessity of beginning and enduring, King meant the strong necessity of getting there and reaching the goal. As the latter said, «we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream». Obama's change is gradual, inherently political and reformist; King's change is absolute, God–given and revolutionary. King proved to be a leading political mobiliser in his era, characterised by a frontline activism during the brave years of Civil Rights Movements.

Conclusions

In any event, as it is a political speech addressed to potential voters, it is crucial that it does not contain incomprehensible special language or too many obscure literary elements. What it comes out from my multifaceted analysis is that Obama employs substantial multiplicity persuasive plans in the speech to arrive at a joint identity representing all Americans: the pronouns used to realise mainly inclusionary rhetoric are outstanding outcomes and, most significantly, the first person plural pronoun *we* is most of the times employed in an all–inclusive meaning. As a result of the argument applicable to American political discourse, it is certainly appropriate to point out the linguistic revolution generated by the current President of the United Sates, who has appointed himself to conduct a "Word Mission" throughout the 2008 Presidential Campaign. In his speeches/remarks, Barack Obama donates enthusiasm thanks to a 'universal language' (inclusive language) and the use of metaphors for equal rights. It follows a renewal in electoral communication via a successful plan that contributed to persuade even the *values voters*. His keywords concern concepts of collective identity, time, family, union and progress for America. There is an 'American dream' that lives within the very own origins of US as land of liberty, of work, of individual sovereignty and not of caste, where law and ethics merge to grant common good of cohabitation among diversity.

For what concerns his intertextual connections/homages with MLK's 'dream' project, I would like to conclude this paper on Obama's first successful campaign strategy with what Gary Younge (2013) states, that is «both King's speeches and Obama's triumph have been celebrated for arguing that, at this historical time, African–Americans are now evaluated by the content of their character, and can succeed on their own». He obviously also observed how deeply race affects white people, whose action is necessary, because the difficult relationship among races is a problem for all of America, and not just for some sections of the country. According to the selected samples from the analysed corpus, it follows that Obama withdraws and, for this reason, de–constructs racist customs still common in some contexts of American society especially in his first telling speech as President. At the end of this case study, rhetoric seems to be again the only means through which communication with a mass public is conceivable. However,

rhetoric appears to be necessary not only for the inevitable pragmatic limits of mass communication but also, as Aristotle taught, because it is the art and heart of democratic persuasion. Barack Obama's *stump speeches* resulted to be a reflection of social practice in contemporary US politics and society.

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PART FOUR

ENGLISH AND TRANSLATION

TRANSLATING TOURISM, TRANSLATING TOURIST MEMORY

Mirella Agorni

Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore (Brescia)

Introduction

Similarly to Translation Studies, the academic field of Tourism Studies has been growing fast since the early 1960s, registering a sensational rise in the last twenty years (cfr. Hsu and Gatner 2012, Jamal and Robinson 2009). The interdisciplinary nature of this field has always been highlighted, fragmented as it is in an array of different perspectives connected with several disciplinary areas – such as sociology, ethnography, geography, economics and management, linguistics, etc. Linguistics should not be considered as a secondary, or minor component of this list: in fact language plays a fundamental role in any project concerning tourism, being one of the most important elements in tourism communication and promotion. And yet, the importance of the language of tourism has emerged very slowly in recent years, thanks to the long–term success of Dann's seminal study (1996). Nowadays the field of tourism is being explored from a number of different perspectives, and it has received special attention in Italy, particularly in the field of specialised discourse. (Agorni 2012a, Calvi 2000, Fodde and Denti 2012, Gotti 2006, Maci 2010, Nigro 2006).

An area which is being increasingly brought to the fore is that of specialised translation applied to the field of tourism: tourism text types have attracted the attention of both translation scholars and translators' trainers (Agorni 2012b, 2012c, Manca 2004, Stewart 2012), but such a concern does not yet appear to be commensurate with the fundamental role of translation in tourism communication. The translation of tourism discourse is the subject of this paper, and it will be explored by means of a parallel between the specific knowledge tourists are supposed to have and the concept of cultural memory as developed in the field of Cultural Memory Studies, which will be described in the following sections.

Translating the Language of Tourism

One of the most debated issues of the language of tourism, that has probably hindered the development of the whole area, is whether or not it can be considered as

a specialised type of discourse (cf. Agorni 2012a, Calvi 2000). Traditional lexical or terminological approaches have not proved to be fruitful for this type of language, whereas analyses based on the textual and pragmatic dimensions have appeared more appropriate. Recent studies have demonstrated that the specificity of this language is to be found mainly at the communicative level (cf. Calvi 2000, Castello 2002, Nigro 2006): tourist phenomena take shape in a specific but rather heterogeneous community of practice, that includes both professionals active in the tourist industry and "common" tourists (cfr. Agorni 2012b).

However, if the field of tourism consists in such a specialised, though diversified, community, the same degree of specificity cannot be ascribed to the actors of this community, that is tourists themselves. In spite of the fact that the activity they all practice can be brought under the umbrella of 'tourism', it seems difficult to identify their specialised, or 'epistemic' knowledge (Riley 2002:47), that is the specific kind of knowledge required in order for a person to be classified as a tourist. Specialised knowledge normally requires a distinctive kind of training; furthermore, it is acquired and shared among members of a specialised community, who eventually acquire a more extensive knowledge about their specific fields than laymen. However, this does not seem to be the case of tourists, as the degree of expertise necessary to be defined as such is hard to conceive: virtually any human being may become a tourist at any stage of life, regardless of social or economic situation, degree of literacy or knowledge (cfr. Agorni 2012b). As a consequence, it seems to be arduous to find a common ground, or specialised knowledge, shared by all tourists.

This aspect becomes a primary concern in cross–cultural communication, that is when communication goes beyond linguistic and cultural borders. The translation of tourist texts is a case in point because translators are asked to produce, or create, the identity of those tourists who are positioned at the receiving pole of their work, and at the same time they have to negotiate the amount of (new) information, which needs to be channelled through translation. Probably the most important problem is represented by the definition of the recipients of tourist texts. The notion of (tourist) identity I am going to refer to in this article has to be understood as a social and situational concept, as it consists in the limited number of subject positions available in the authentic communicative situations tourists are normally involved in.

For example, translators commissioned to produce a tourist brochure about the castle of Brescia[1] in several languages must not only be proficient in the language assigned to them, but they should also be familiar with subjects such as arts, history and architecture, as well as with the techniques of promotional writing. It would be more difficult to define the recipients of such a brochure, namely those tourists interested in visiting Brescia and its castle, as their specialised knowledge in the same fields may vary considerably. As a consequence, translators should pay special attention to the transmission of a knowledge fragmented in a series of specific areas, which has to be made accessible to a readership whose 'epistemic' identity is extremely difficult to define.

In the case of the translation of tourist discourse, furthermore, an obvious issue

[1] A Venetian-Visconti stronghold, built between the XIII and the XVI century, situated on the hill overlooking the town centre.

has to be taken into consideration, that is the difference between source–text (henceforward ST) and target–text (henceforward TT) intended readerships. The translators are required twice as much the effort the ST's authors are: not only do they have to deal with the task of determining the tourist's degree of specialised or extra linguistic knowledge, but they also need to mediate the information specifically linked with the ST culture, in order to make it available to a readership which may not be familiar with it.

The Concept of Mediation in the Cross–Cultural Context of Tourist Discourse

The concept of mediation, in the field of translation, is extremely complex, meaning broadly any activity of linguistic facilitation conducted between different parties. As Rudvin and Spinzi have put it, from a historical point of view «'mediation' emerged as a process in which a third party was commissioned to resolve communication obstacles between migrants and institutions and more broadly to facilitate integration» (2014:58), especially in our country, where the phenomenon of immigration has been on the political agenda since the early '90s. However, the way in which the word 'mediation' is used nowadays does not appear to be strictly related with the historical origin of the concept as explained above. In fact it seems to include all types of translation and interpreting endeavours, albeit in an admittedly vague way (65-9). The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (henceforward CEFR) has identified a series of interrelated activities to be classified as 'mediation' forms: «In both the receptive and productive modes, the written and/or oral activities of *mediation* make communication possible between persons who are unable, for whatever reason, to communicate with each other directly» (Council of Europe 2001:14, emphasis in the original).

The kind of communication characterising this type of mediation is distinctly intercultural, that is a form of communication in which language competence and cultural knowledge are equally represented. The general shift in the Humanities towards an investigation of the notion of 'culture', at the basis of the 'intercultural communication' concept, is a development dating back to the late '70s, when new academic disciplines, such as Cultural Studies (and Translation Studies, too), came to the fore. Such a development, too ample to be given proper attention in a short paragraph in the present paper, was not only acknowledged by the CEFR itself, but exerted a strong influence on the definition of the criteria for language teaching and learning, and intercultural competence eventually featured as one of the most important goals for language learners (102-103).

It would be hard not to see the implications of this state of affairs for any translation activity. The large majority of translation scholars accepted 'culture' as a fundamental parameter for translation, irrespectively of their adoption of a literary– or linguistic–oriented approach and in 1998 Genzler claimed that «the study of translation *is* the study of cultural interaction» (Bassnett and Lefevere 1998:ix, emphasis in the original).

House, who is one of the most important representatives of the linguistic–oriented translation scholars group, has highlighted the fundamental role played by 'cultural knowledge' in any form of translation, considering it from a linguistic–pragmatic point of view as knowledge of the ways in which linguistic units can be applied to specific situational and socio–cultural contexts.

The notion of 'cultural filter' (1977, 1997), developed by the same scholar, has been proposed to emphasise the need for an empirical basis to evaluate the translators' degree of intervention in their mediation of cultural difference. As she has put it herself: «the translator has to take different cultural presuppositions in the two language communities into account in order to meet the needs of the TL addressees in their cultural setting, and in order to keep the textual function equivalent in S and T cultures» (1997:70). Hence, House aims at providing translators with a rigorous frame of reference to help them recreate the function of the ST in a new TT environment so as to adjust texts to new communicative situations.

Going from a minimal to a maximal degree, translators' intervention – or mediation – can be figured out as a line, or a continuum between two poles, whose extremities can be represented in terms of Venuti's well–known opposing approaches to translating, i.e. domesticating and foreignising strategies (Venuti 1995). In the first case translators are asked to produce a domestic or naturalised version of a ST, which usually does not reproduce instances of cultural difference. An extreme consequence of such a domesticating approach may result in the loss of the ST's exotic flavour – which is the basic principle of most tourist experiences. In all the cases in which foreignising strategies are employed, on the other hand, cultural difference is preserved, and even highlighted, but the risk it to disrupt communication, as tourists may not be able to decode information about subjects they are not familiar with. Translators' main task is that of finding a balance between these two strategies by positioning their intervention on a specific point of the line drawn between the two extremes. As a consequence, they will devise strategies to improve tourists' accessibility to cultural difference or, on the other hand, reduce or even erase it, according to specific situations.

Translating and/or Transferring Cultural Difference and Cultural Memory

Tourist translation deals with the transfer of the cultural markers characterising tourist destinations in their specific historical, geographic, social and cultural aspects. Knowledge and information generally linked with these more or less specialised domains have been defined as culture–bound or culture–specific information and have attracted the attention of several translation theorists, who have observed these elements from socio–cultural, linguistic and even ethnographic perspectives (cfr. Baker 1992, Franco–Aixelà 1996, Katan 2009, Leppihalme 1997, Newmark 1988).

The translators' task is extremely delicate, as their mediation activity takes place both at textual and cross–cultural level. For example, in the case of a tourist brochure to be translated into different languages, translators must exercise a choice amongst a variety of strategies, such as supplying extra explanations in the text or in footnotes, glossing, bridging cultural voids or gaps by means of associations with the T culture, deleting redundant information, transcribing the original terms or borrowing and adapting them into the T language, etc. The way in which these strategies will be employed will depend on the specific context of single translation projects and requires a complex assessment of foreign tourists' extra–linguistic knowledge. The latter is an extremely complex task, since, as pointed out earlier in this article, tourists' 'specialised' knowledge is very difficult to define.

Hence, I would like to employ a heuristic strategy by establishing a connection between the knowledge of the 'common tourist' and the concept of memory, or, rather, of a specific kind of memory, which is cultural memory.

Memory is also an extremely complex concept that can be defined in several ways: individual, collective, social and cultural, to mention only a few distinctions in this area (cf. Assmann 1992, 1995, Halbwachs 1950). However, it would be beyond the scope of this article to get into the details of such classifications, as the parallel I would like to draw with the field of tourism will concentrate only on the notion of cultural memory. This concept has been derived from that of individual memory, a sort of biological memory, which is not purely personal, being the result of the pressures exercised on individuals by their environment. By contrast, cultural memory has more to do with a pluralistic or collective dimension, because it results from the way a society produces cultural continuity. From a theoretical point of view, cultural memory is the process through which a society makes meaningful statements about the past in a given cultural context of the present. Thus, the past is re–constructed at certain sites and occasions, and this normally involves rituals and ceremonies. Rigney has laid special emphasis on the figurative nature of cultural memory that has to be understood in the metaphorical terms and practices of the symbolic order:

> cultural memory refers to the symbolic order, the media, institutions, and practices by which social groups construct a shared past. "Memory", here, is used metaphorically. Societies do not remember literally; but much of what is done to reconstruct a shared past bears some resemblance to the processes of individual memory, such as the selectivity and perspectivity inherent in the creation of versions of the past according to present knowledge and needs. (Erll 2008:5)

Translation phenomena appear to have a lot in common with this definition of cultural memory: the past can be considered as a sort of original, which comes before a translation (in terms of time, place, rank, etc.). But what seems to be particularly interesting for the purpose of the parallel I am attempting to draw between tourists' knowledge and cultural memory is the idea of construction. In cultural memory the past is not given, but reconstructed according to present–day knowledge, interests and needs. It seems possible to apply the same criteria to translation, as any translation process is subject to contingent assumptions. The term 'contingent' here is to be understood both in its diachronic and cultural dimension – the latter being more pertinent in the case of tourist texts.

Another interesting analogy between tourists' knowledge and cultural memory can be inferred from the fact that no mimetic strategy seems to be at work in the reconstruction of the past illustrated by Rigney, as she refers instead to a process regulated by the criteria of selectivity and perspectivity. Brownlie applies the selectivity principle to both translation and cultural memory when she claims that «it is a necessary part of the act of translation, since in opting for one interpretation or one choice of expression, other possibilities are repressed» (2016:11). Thus, translation is a means of forgetting memory (or the ST) as well as of transmitting it.

The dynamics of memory are not only diachronic, but also cultural, as has been pointed out earlier: in other words there are two fundamental dimensions, i.e. time and

(cultural) space. Memories, just like translations, are not fixed and permanent but seem to be constituted first of all through movement. This insight has been especially highlighted by Erll, who has gone as far as to propose a new approach to the study of cultural memory, that is "Transcultural Memory Studies" (2011)[2]. Her focus on movement allows her to go beyond traditional parameters such as national borders or cultural boundaries, in order to concentrate on the process of transmission. Since transmission cannot be equated with the repetition of the same, it generates a fundamental form of difference.

As a matter of fact, memory sites (i.e. those places and events carrying cultural memory) have continuously to be invested with new interpretations. In the course of this process they are constantly given new meanings and, to paraphrase Benjamin, it would seem possible to say that they live on in an ongoing process of transmutation (1923). Thus, the instability at the basis of any transmission process appears to ensure the survival of cultural memory. In translation studies' terms it seems possible to say that the impossibility to achieve a perfect equivalence gives rise to those cultural dynamics that promote the circulation and distribution of meaning.

Cultural Mediation in the Practice of Translating Tourist Texts

Both Cultural Memory Studies and Translation Studies (rather, the more specific area of tourism discourse translation) have to do with the transfer (in terms of time, space, language and culture) of abstract, that is incorporeal, cultural tokens. However, what is striking is that both fields do so, paradoxically, in a very concrete way, as the end results are present knowledge and needs, as scholars in the field of Cultural Memory Studies would put it. Degrees of adaptations will vary, depending on a series of factors, such as the communicative situations in which the TT will be used, the commissioner's promotional intention, and particularly the cultural density of the references characterising a given tourist destination.

Language and culture are so strictly intertwined in tourism discourse and in its translation as to compel translators to go well beyond linguistic and pragmatic considerations. They will be asked to choose which aspects of the destination's cultural identity should be promoted and which should be reduced or even omitted, according to the selectivity and perspectivity axes examined in the section dedicated to the dynamics of cultural memory. In the practice of translating tourist texts, in fact, cultural difference may be appropriately highlighted or diluted, and in either case the result will be a contingent exercise of cultural mediation. This applies to monuments and translated texts.

In her pioneering work on the translation of tourism texts, Kelly argued that this activity reveals the «nebulous border existing in theory between translation and rewriting» (1997:35), which is the main constitutional element of any translation exercise. She concluded that, in practice, «the debate about the exact situation of that border is probably basically irrelevant» (ibid.), as any translation of this type of text necessarily consists of a

[2] Erll argues that: «Such an approach means moving away from site-bound, nation-bound, and, in a naïve sense, *cultures*-bound research and displaying an interest in the mnemonic unfolding across and beyond boundaries» (2011:15).

mediated version accommodating its recipients' expectations – or their section I would like to analyse a series of extracts from translations of English tourist texts produced by students attending a translation course at the level of Laurea Magistrale at Università Cattolica in Brescia, Italy. These students are enrolled in a degree course in Scienze Linguistiche, and therefore are less specialised in translation – let alone in professional translation – than their colleagues majoring in Mediazione Linguistica or Traduzione, but cultural mediation and contrastive text analysis are fundamental concerns in their course of study, too. Their samples are to be considered as works in progress and will be used as preliminary experiments to investigate the ways in which the concept discussed at theoretical level, particularly the 'nebulous' distinction between translation and adaptation and the mediation of cultural references, may affect translation in practice. Translation pedagogy is beyond the scope of the present article, although a more detailed contexualisation of these experiments would be necessary to have a thorough understanding of the crucial role played in translators' training by the central issues discussed here.

The extracts discussed below, taken either from tourist brochures or magazines, display varying degrees of translator's intervention. Because of space constraints, I shall not take into account those contextual factors that are fundamental in the analysis of any translation commission, nor any specific lexical or morpho–syntactic aspect. I shall concentrate instead on those instances in which translators have felt the necessity to clarify the cultural aspects more or less implicit in the ST by adding extra textual information, expanding references to specific aspects of the source culture, or substituting and omitting them.

The first example I would like to show is taken from a brochure about Stonehenge published by the English Heritage:

> ST:
> *The larger stones you see in the circle are Sarsen stones, brought from the Marlborough Downs 19 miles away and the smaller stones, known as the Bluestones, are from the mystical Preseli Mountains in Wales.*
> TT:
> *Le pietre più grandi disposte a cerchio, denominate Sarsen, sono costituite da grossi blocchi del Terziario Eocene provenienti dalle colline di Marlborough, a trenta chilometri di distanza dal monumento. All'interno sono collocate le più piccole pietre azzurre, o Bluestones, ricavate da materiale roccioso proveniente dalle misteriose Preseli Mountains, nel Galles meridionale, che distano più di 300 chilometri.*

The phrases, which make the content more explicit for an Italian readership, have been underlined. First of all, the translator has decided to qualify the Sarsen stones by highlighting their remote historical origin. The smaller Bluestones have been defined simply as 'materiale roccioso'. However, in this case, the proper name has been glossed: 'pietre azzurre' seems to be a rather evocative addition for Italian readers, in the context of the magic atmosphere of Stonehenge.

Probably the most interesting intervention is a geographical clarification. If the British ST can take the distance between the Salisbury plain and the Preseli Mountains in Wales for granted, the same cannot be said about the translation. Italian readers need to be given more specific information in terms of kilometres, to be able to understand

the effort such a large distance must have required for transporting heavy stones at that time. This addition creates further textual cohesion, as it is symmetrical with the data provided about the distance of the Marlborough hills.

The second extract has been taken from a popular British travel magazine, Condé Nast Traveller, and the article is about a small village in Northumberland, Beltingham:

> ST:
> *You can walk to Beltingham (estate village of the Bowes–Lyons) and see a thousand–year–old yew tree from which, or so the story goes, the local archers cut the bows that harvested the flower of Scottish chivalry further to the north of Flodden Field.* (Condè Nast Traveller, January 2013).
> TT:
> *Proseguendo a piedi raggiungerete Beltingham, un piccolo villaggio che sorge sul fiume South Tyne, rinomato per una tenuta appartenuta a membri della famiglia della Regina Madre. Una leggenda narra che dal millenario albero di tasso, oggi ancora visibile, gli arcieri inglesi ricavarono gli archi con cui sterminarono il fiore della cavalleria degli invasori scozzesi nella battaglia di Flodden Field (1513).*

In this case there are a series of translator's interventions, mostly dealing with geographic references. For example, Beltingham has been described as a small village, situated on the river South Tyne. General knowledge aspects have also been illustrated by means of explanation, as in the case of the reference to the Bowes–Lyons. The fact that they were relatives of the Queen Mother would not have been comprehensible for an Italian readership: as a consequence, the translator has decided to make the family connection explicit. Finally, the most important intervention concerns historic references. "Flodden Field" has been qualified as a battlefield and provided with a date. Furthermore, references to the two parties involved have been made more explicit, specifying that the English were on the one side, and the Scottish 'invaders' on the other. Such a reference would have been common knowledge for the ST readers, but not for the Italian ones. As a result, the TT appears to be more coherent, as the translator has managed to enhance its persuasive force.

The final extract is about Northumberland again. In this case, I have underlined those elements in the ST that have been omitted in translation.

> ST:
> *This is a country where the Barbour jacket invented and made on Tyneside is workwear, not a fashion statement, and whose greatest contribution to the world of high–end accessories is the Hardy split–cane fishing–rod made in Alnwick. No one is ever going to mistake Seahouses for Rock, and if you're looking for a north–eastern Ludlow, you will be sorely disappointed. Northumberland aspires to neither refinement nor sophistication. It is a place of good, robust pleasure.* (Condè Nast Traveller, January 2013).
> TT:
> *Questa è la terra del Barbour, giaccone invernale che non è nato come indumento alla moda, ma come strumento di lavoro, poiché l'unico contributo del Northumberland agli accessori di lusso è la Hardy split–cane fishing–rod, una particolare canna da pesca in bambù ancora realizzata artigianalmente. Questa regione non aspira ad essere una meta turistica esclusiva o raffinata, ma offre i piaceri della vita più genuini e autentici.*

This example demonstrates an even higher degree of translator's mediation. The two local products mentioned in the ST, the Barbour jacket and the Hardy fishing rod, are illustrated by means of additional information. In the case of the fishing rod, the translator has decided to employ a strategy of apposition, reproducing the original English name, which yields an unmistakeable British flavour. On the other hand, however, information which has been deemed too specific for the Italian tourists, has been omitted, as in the case of the references to British well–known tourist sites or the names of small villages. An excessive supply of information may not only be redundant in the TT, but may even jeopardise the promotional function of this text type. Kelly made this point clear when she argued that recipients of tourist texts do not simply need more, or more explicit, information, but they rather require «that information to be dosified in some way to prevent an overload which could lead to a breakdown in communication» (1997:35).

Conclusions

In one of her latest works on cultural memory, Brownlie has claimed that «the translation/memory nexus is a rich vein for investigation, but so far the research concerning translation and memory has been undertaken in isolated disciplinary areas, and has not been conceptualized as a whole» (2016:12).

The present article is an attempt at adding a further layer to research in that area, by bringing together aspects related to the two fields and examining the possibility of applying them to the translation of tourist texts. This kind of texts has been selected because of its dependence on cultural issues: its cultural specificity is apparent either at referential level or in terms of its promotional function. As a consequence, the translators' task is rather complex, as mediation has to be carried out not only from a textual, but also from a cross–cultural point of view. Hence, a variety of strategies will be employed to ensure text adaptation to specific readerships, and the translators' degree of intervention will be placed on a continuum going from a minimum to a maximum grade, depending on their propensity for either domesticating or foreignising approaches.

One of the most important challenges in the translation of this text type is that of assessing the tourists' degree of (cultural) knowledge, so as to lay the foundations for the transfer of specific information (especially the so–called cultural specific references) from ST to TT recipients. It is precisely at this point that the connection between tourist knowledge and cultural memory becomes instrumental as a heuristic tool, generating a series of parallels developed at methodological level.

In spite of the fact that memory itself is a concept difficult to define, owing to the variety of meanings and fields this notion has been applied to, insights from the field of cultural memory appear to be applicable to my tentative representation of tourist knowledge in the domain of translation, or at least to be potentially extended to it.

The analogies involve the principles of transfer, interpretation and transformation through time, space and hence culture. Surprisingly, the notion of 'instability', normally associated with a negative connotation, takes on a positive value when it is used to counter mimetic strategies of reproduction – both in the case of translation processes and in the reproductions of cultural memory. In fact instability ensures that the process

of reproduction does not engender copies or clones, but rather generates instances of difference, that is, new interpretations and meanings.

Both in the case of cultural memory and tourist translation, it has proved difficult to go beyond a broad definition of the process of mediation involved in cross–cultural transfer at the present stage of this research. What has been repeatedly claimed is that both the transmission of cultural memory and the translation of tourism discourse are not passive exercises of reproduction, but rather 'active' processes in which cultural meanings are transformed, exchanged, and adapted according to contingent assumptions.

The way in which these principles are applied to extracts taken from the translating practice of a class of postgraduate students is meant only to provide a first, rough picture of the degrees of adaptation, or cultural mediation this type of translation may involve. As pointed out earlier, translators may employ a variety of strategies to accommodate texts to specific readerships and adapt them to contingent situations. Best practices will be chosen according to the specificity of each context and the aim, or skopos, translators will decide to adhere to in each translation commission.

Further research is necessary in order to get to any preliminary conclusion, together with a more accurate description of the pedagogical setting of these experiments. Yet, these applications demonstrate that the central topics discussed by this article have to be dealt with even at the early stages of translator training, and consequently research on them is well worth the effort.

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CONSTRUCTING TRANSCULTURAL IDENTITIES: THE CASE OF *GOMORRAH – THE SERIES*

Antonio Fruttaldo

University of Naples "Federico II"

Introduction

Culture has been traditionally seen as the by–product of a particular society in a clearly defined territory (Yengoyan 1986). However, the elusive concept of culture, seen as both a merging and dichotomising force, has been called into question due to the increasing entanglement of contemporary societies (Welsch 1999). Indeed, territories can no longer be seen as containing cultures, since people move with their meanings, and meanings find ways of travelling and flourishing even when people stay in their territories (Hannerz 1996). The increasing development of communications systems (Hepp 2009) and economic interdependencies and dependencies play a significant role in challenging the traditional view of culture. Thus, the concept of transculturality can better characterise contemporary cultures and their ability to move beyond material and immaterial borders.

One of the ways through which cultural–specific phenomena cross borders and find a new life in a different environment is represented by forms of hybridisation (Bhatia 2004), seen as vehicles which can help popularise given genres. The hybridisation of broadcast news, for instance, has produced forms of docu–fictions, which can be placed in the blurred generic area of story–telling and news reporting, mixing together facts and fictions (Baym 2009). However, as vessels, these hybrid narrative forms bring together with them cultural–specific elements, which are difficult to re–enact in a new context. This is the case, for instance, of the TV series *Gomorrah*, which is based on the Italian novel *Gomorra* written in 2006 by the Neapolitan author Roberto Saviano.

As Saviano has repeatedly underlined (Caliendo 2012), most of the news stories linked to the Neapolitan Mafia, known as Camorra, stay local and remain largely unknown to most Italians. Further, as Cavaliere (2010) states, international books and movies generally focus on the Sicilian Mafia, while little has been written about the Camorra. Saviano's exposé, first, and its popularised adaptations have shed light on the criminal activities of the Camorra and, while some elements of fiction are undeniably present in both the book and its adaptations, they succeeded in raising awareness on the problems linked to the Neapolitan context, something that journalism has failed to highlight from a national and an international point of view.

In order to achieve this, from a national perspective, the TV series, for instance, premiered in Italy with Italian subtitles, since the language of *Gomorrah – The Series* (from now on referred to as GTS) is a mix of both Italian and Neapolitan dialogues. While representing a third step in the translation of the original script, the UK subtitles of the TV series, on the other hand, have helped draw attention to the criminal activities plaguing Naples's hinterland from an international point of view. However, since translation is central to the process of identity formation (Gentzler 2008), the aim of this contribution is to focus on the transcultural reception of *Gomorrah – The Series* (Season 1; at the time of writing (April 29, 2016), only Season 1 of the TV series was broadcasted by Sky Atlantic). In particular, based on the concept of translation repercussion (Chesterman 2007), the proposed analysis will firstly focus on a particular aspect of the TV series, that is, how the producers of the series have created their target audience in the Italian and English versions of the DVD blurbs. Based on the work of Bednarek (2010, 2014), this preliminary analysis of the TV series will help us see how this particular type of advertising discourse construes its target audience. Since these texts «must take care to engage with what can be a diverse audience in an appropriate way» (Baker 2006:50) by, for instance, «deciding what aspects [...] are foregrounded (or backgrounded) and what assumptions are made about the interests and lifestyles of the target audience» (Baker 2006:50), the analysis of DVD blurbs can help us better understand what values are constructed in discourse, thus, highlighting the type of universe that producers want to create when addressing their target audience. Additionally, since this kind of persuasive discourse will eventually result in a financial exchange, language plays a fundamental role in the representation of the TV series as a whole and, thus, how it should be interpreted by its viewers.

The second part of our investigation will focus on how the main characters linguistically construct themselves in the context of the Italian and English subtitles of the TV series. We have decided to focus specifically on the subtitles of the TV show since, in the English adaptation, GTS was not dubbed and, thus, in order to make the comparison between the original and its re–adaptation more productive, we have decided to avoid taking into consideration also the original script of the TV series, since this would have insulated given differences that were not strictly linked to the translation process but due to the different media. The analysis was carried out thanks to corpus linguistic methodologies, and these have allowed us to see how the «individual linguistic thumbprint» (Culpeper 2014:166) of each character in the source text was construed in the target text. As we will see, given characteristics of specific characters seem to be stereotyped in the target text, while others appear to highlight given peculiarities in the target texts that were not particularly underlined in the source texts, thus, offering the audience new personas in the translation of the original text.

Methodological framework

The methodology used to carry out our investigation combines different tools and approaches. In particular, as for the analysis of the DVD blurbs of the Italian and English series, we have used a qualitative approach (Bednarek 2010, 2014) to the corpus collected, in line with Martin and White' (2005) and White's (2011) appraisal theory. Emerging from

within the systemic functional linguistic tradition (Halliday 1985; Halliday and Hasan 1989; Martin 1992; Matthiessen 1995), appraisal theory is concerned with the social function of the systemic analysis of evaluation and stance. In particular, the resources used to convey given representations in discourse are seen as «he means by which individual speakers/writers [...] engage with socially–determined value positions and thereby align and dis–align themselves with the social subjects who hold to these positions» (White 2011:14). Thus, in the particular case of the DVD blurbs of GTS, by highlighting given linguistic cues as indicative of specific strategies of evaluation, we can uncover which socially–determined value positions are constructed in discourse and, thus, see how the TV series has been represented in the two different cultures to their target audience.

As for the analysis of the way given characters in GTS are specifically constructed, we will adopt a more quantitative approach, thus, using corpus linguistic methodologies (Baker 2006, 2014; McEnery et al. 2006; McEnery and Hardie 2012) in order to highlight the linguistic peculiarities of each character in both the Italian and English subtitles. In particular, we will adopt the framework of analysis on the construction of fictional TV characters' identities as illustrated by Bednarek (2010).

Construing a target audience for GTS

As previously underlined, our investigation starts with a preliminary analysis of the way the TV series has discursively constructed its target audience in the blurbs found on the back cover of the Italian and English DVD sets. In order to do this, we have manually annotated the two texts with information regarding the evaluation strategies used, in line with Martin and White' (2005) and White's (2011) appraisal theory.

Thanks to the manual codification of this information in the two corpora created from the Italian (i.e., GTS_bit corpus) and English (i.e., GTS_ben corpus) DVD blurbs, we have noticed some interesting phenomena occurring in the two discourses advertising the TV series, which will be commented in the following Sections.

Construing a target audience for GTS_bit

As for the codification of the evaluative strategies in the GTS_bit corpus, the following pointers to evaluation have been highlighted in the text, summarised in Table 1:

Evaluative strategies in the GTS_bit corpus	N. of occurrences
[AFFECT: INSECURITY (disquiet) (neg –)]	2
[AFFECT: INSECURITY [disquiet (surge)] (neg –)]	1
[APPRECIATION: COMPOSITION (balance) (neg –)]	1
[APPRECIATION: REACTION (impact) (pos +)]	2
[APPRECIATION: REACTION (quality) (pos +)]	2
[APPRECIATION: VALUATION (pos +)]	2
[JUDGEMENT: SOCIAL ESTEEM (capacity) (pos +)]	2
[JUDGEMENT: SOCIAL ESTEEM (normality) (neg –)]	1

Evaluative strategies in the GTS_bit corpus	N. of occurrences
[JUDGEMENT: SOCIAL ESTEEM (normality) (pos +)]	1
[JUDGEMENT: SOCIAL SANCTION (propriety) (neg –)]	2
[JUDGEMENT: SOCIAL SANCTION (veracity) (neg –)]	2

Table 1. Pointers to evaluation highlighted in GTS_bit

This analysis has, thus, shown that, in the Italian DVD, the so–called product placement of GTS is realised in the last paragraph of the text, where expressions linked to its success and, thus, its positive impact, are strictly intertwined with evaluative expressions highlighting its faithful representation of the Neapolitan reality. Additionally, the blurb seems to particularly focus on the characters of Don Pietro Savastano and Salvatore Conte, and on their fight over control of the Neapolitan crime scene.

However, going back to the representation of the Neapolitan reality, GTS has been at the centre of heated arguments and debates, since the representation of the reality linked to the Camorra might have led to forms of emulation but, more importantly, GTS has been accused of misrepresenting Neapolitan society. Thus, Saviano has repeatedly defended GTS as a work of fiction, in line with the genre of crime TV series (Tozzi 2015). However, this defence of the series as a work of art clashes with the way the series has been advertised in the Italian DVD blurb, where an adverse reaction in the readers is construed by appealing to a faithful representation of the Neapolitan reality in GTS, repurposed to create a morbid fascination for despicable personas and/or situations. This morbid fascination is, consequently, used to place this product, whose target audience is thus presented with a series that is represented as leaning more towards the genre of docu–fiction rather than the genre of crime TV show.

Construing a target audience for GTS_ben

As for the codification of the evaluative strategies in the GTS_ben corpus, the following pointers to evaluation have been highlighted in the text, summarised in Table 2:

Evaluative strategies in the GTS_bit corpus	N. of occurrences
[AFFECT: INSECURITY [disquiet (surge)] (neg –)]	1
[AFFECT: SECURITY (disposition) (pos +)]	1
[AFFECT: SECURITY [trust (disposition)] (pos +)]	2
[AFFECT: UNHAPPINESS (neg –)]	1
[APPRECIATION: COMPOSITION (balance) (neg –)]	1
[APPRECIATION: REACTION (impact) (pos +)]	1
[APPRECIATION: REACTION (quality) (pos +)]	1
[APPRECIATION: VALUATION (pos +)]	2
[JUDGEMENT: SOCIAL ESTEEM (normality) (pos +)]	1
[JUDGEMENT: SOCIAL ESTEEM (tenacity) (pos +)]	5
[JUDGEMENT: SOCIAL SANCTION (propriety) (neg –)]	6

Table 2. Pointers to evaluation highlighted in GTS_ben

As for the English DVD blurb, the product placement of the DVD is realised in the very first paragraph of the text, and it construes the series as a dichotomy between the values of loyalty and disloyalty. Thus, the Italian and English DVD blurbs realise moves (Swales 1990) in different places of the texts and focus on different sets of values (Bednarek 2014), that is, while the Italian DVD creates a narrative of a reality governed by moral deviation, the English DVD focuses on a narrative of the good guy vs. the bad guy in the context of a Camorra clan. In this specific context, the focus is mainly stressed on the characters of Ciro, portrayed through the use of positive evaluative strategies underlining his loyalty, and Don Pietro Savastano, whose constant reference in the blurb through negative evaluative strategies makes him the embodiment of moral deviation. Thus, while the Italian DVD blurb highlights features linked to the faithful portrayal of the Neapolitan reality, a narrative of a reality governed by moral deviation, in order to attract its target audience, the English DVD blurb prefers to opt for the creation of a narrative where negative values of moral deviation and positive values of loyalty and rectitude are embodied by specific characters in the context of a Camorra clan.

Collecting and building the GTS corpora

Moving on to the analysis of the identity construction of the main characters of GTS, in order to do this, a corpus has been collected of the Italian (i.e., GTS_it) and English (i.e., GTS_en) subtitles of the TV series. Table 3 below offers an overview of the data collected in the two corpora:

	Number of tokens	Number of speakers	Number of sentences	Number of tokens (gender)		Number of speakers (gender)	Number of sentences (gender)
GTS_it	42,071	233	3,154	Male	35,453	190	2,621
				Female	6,429	47	520
				Indistinct	189	*	13
GTS_en	35,380	222	2,850	Male	29,652	182	2,361
				Female	5,632	44	484
				Indistinct	96	*	16

Table 3. An overview of the GTS_it and GTS_en corpora

Amongst the various 'voices' represented in GTS_it and GTS_en, we are going to focus only on the main characters (for reasons that will be explained in the next Section), whose subtitles token distribution can be seen in the following figures (*Figure 1* and *Figure 2*):

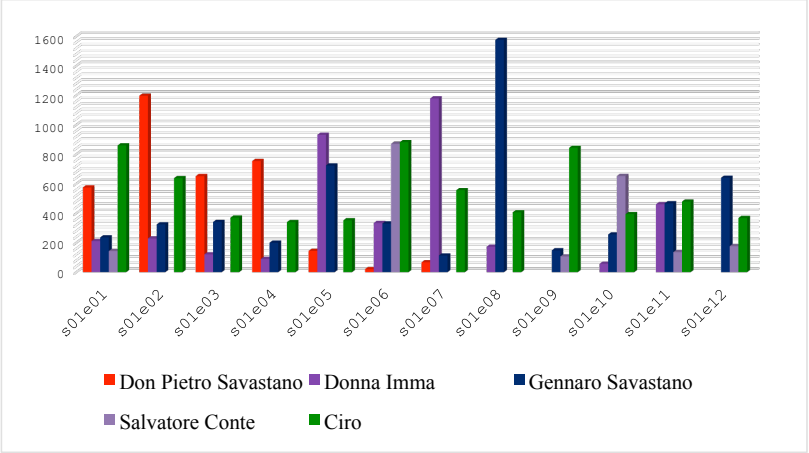

Figure 1. Main characters' subtitles token distribution in the Italian corpus of *Gomorrah – The Series* (GTS_it)

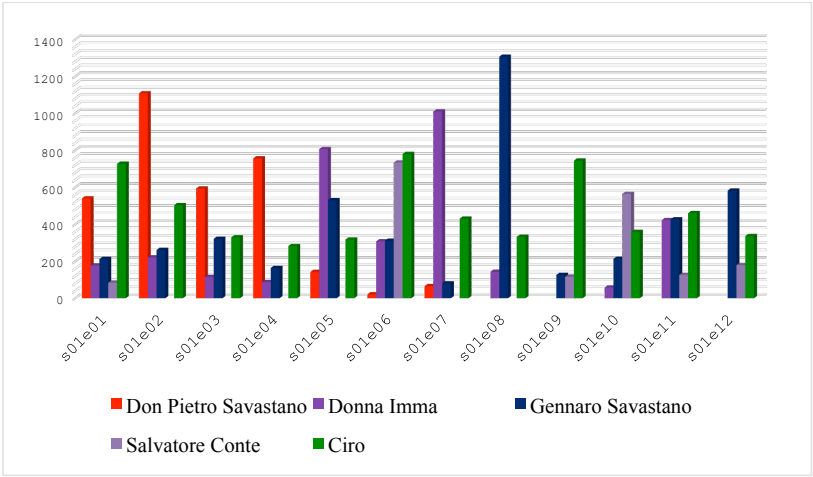

Figure 2. Main characters' subtitles token distribution in the English corpus of *Gomorrah – The Series* (GTS_en)

As we can see from *Figure 1* and *2*, the main characters' token distribution in two corpora is not that different and only slightly lower for GTS_en due to typological differences between the two languages. The corpora, thus, are perfectly comparable from a statistical point of view.

As we can further see from *Figure 1* and *Figure 2*, Ciro can be regarded as our 'tour guide', given his constant presence on the scene, allowing us to enter the world of GTS. Thus, from this point of view, we would be tempted to focus on his character, since his regular linguistic contributions may be seen as indicative of a linguistic centrality in the storyline. However, in order to see if his contributions are actually representative of a distinct idiolect, we have decided to introduce a particular statistical measure, which has allowed us to identify which characters show the highest degree of lexical prototypicality (Baker 2014) in GTS.

Lexical prototypicality in GTS_it and GTS_en

As previously argued, amongst the various voices represented in GTS_it and GTS_en, we might be tempted to analyse only the most occurring on the scene, because their contributions might be seen as more significant given their constant presence. But, by using the Manhattan Distance (MD), we can see which characters in GTS show the highest lexical prototypicality. In order to do this, for each character we have built their own personal corpus containing all their utterances and compared it with a reference corpus made of all the utterances of the other characters. We have then proceeded to the calculation of the MD, as explained by Baker (2014).

Thanks to this measure, we have statistically proven that the main characters do show the highest degree of lexical prototypicality (and this explains our focus on them) both in GTS_it and in GTS_en, as we can see in the following figures (*Figure 3* and *Figure 4*):

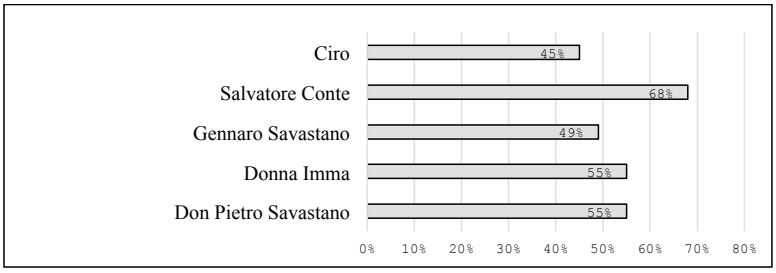

Figure 3. The MD of the main characters in GTS_it

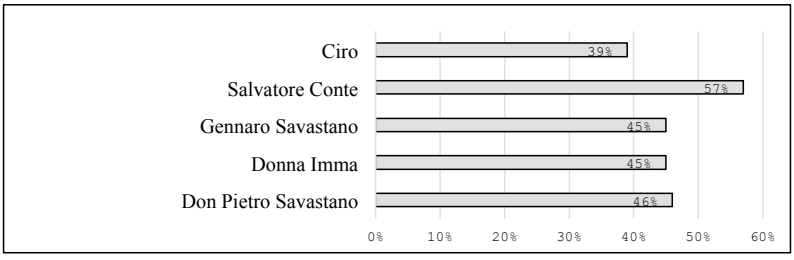

Figure 4. The MD of the main characters in GTS_en

As we can see from *Figure 3* and *4*, the MD in GTS_en for the main characters is quite similar to the one calculated for GTS_it, a little bit lower given typological differences between the two languages. Amongst the main characters, however, a pivotal role seems to be played both in GTS_it and in GTS_en by the character of Salvatore Conte, who shows the highest MD, followed by Don Pietro and Donna Imma. Thus, in the following Sections, we are going to focus on them, in order to better understand their specific idiolects. But, before turning our attention to them, we would like to further underline the importance of introducing the MD in our investigation. Indeed, the character of Salvatore Conte, for instance, might have been overlooked since his linguistic contributions (total number of tokens in GTS_it: 1,666; total number of tokens in GTS_en: 1,400) are lower when compared to those of other characters. However, thanks to this statistical measure, we have seen that his contributions are indicative of a specific idiolect.

Characterising Salvatore Conte in GTS_it and GTS_en

Focusing on the character of Salvatore Conte, a keyword analysis of the GTS_it and GTS_en was performed by using a corpus of all his utterances and a reference corpus of the utterances of all the other characters. WordSmith Tools (Scott 2015) was used to perform this analysis, which has allowed us to come up with some interesting generalisations on the «linguistic thumbprint» (Culpeper 2014) left behind by this character.

Character comparison	Key words in GTS_it
Salvatore Conte vs. all other characters	russi, calma, a me / a loro, vieni/vengono a (*), e, fede, ragazzo, fratello, futuro, dovremo, pari, compro, gennarino, tuo, tutto, dividere, savastano, madre, mio, mamma, tu, pezzente, salvargli, vorrebbero, vizio, spartirci, scornarci, territorio, master, mediazioni, cercatelo, mandamelo, impulsivi, grassone, barcellona, dovresti, perdono, comprarselo, patto, negoziare, negoziato, minacciarmi, monopolio, fedele, cattiveria, affari, pietro, dobbiamo, oh

Table 4. Key words extracted in the comparison between the character of Salvatore Conte and all other characters in GTS_it.

Character comparison	Key words in GTS_en
Salvatore Conte vs. all other characters	russians, faith, brother, and, every, pray, amen, send, assholes, hurtin, savastanos, mother, house, relax, my, wipe, blessed, mine, prayer, negotiating, monopoly, nourish, paying, pact, trash, threatenin, vicious, underestimate, underestimated, sacred, wiped, wearin, dicks, fatboy, faithful, barcelona, forgiveness, hashish, hash, future, fuckin, lord, spain, should, shits, their, tonight, mary, split

Table 5. Key words extracted in the comparison between the character of Salvatore Conte and all other characters in GTS_en

As for the key words extracted in the GTS_it (Table 4), we can see that Salvatore Conte is presented as a character whose power is linked to the international drug car-

tel; who tends to create oppositions with other entities by relying on the invasion of private spaces; he is rarely the initiator of a given speech: people talk to him and he answers them; and, finally, he is extremely religious: he seems to be affected by a sort of Messiah complex.

Moving to the GTS_en (Table 5), the keyword analysis shows interesting shifts in the construction of the character of Salvatore Conte. Indeed, Salvatore Conte's peculiarities are almost stereotyped. Therefore, the constant display of his faith becomes one of his main linguistic traits, while new entries, such as the use of his own set of swear words and a different kind of representation of the invasion of his private spaces and opposition to others is highlighted.

A house is not a turf: Clan territorial representation

In the case of the invasion of Salvatore Conte's private spaces, in GTS_en, this is conveyed through the use of the word 'house', which seems a literal translation of the Italian word 'casa' found in the same contexts in GTS_it. However, Don Pietro and his men in GTS_en usually use the word 'turf' in the contexts where the Italian subtitles use the word 'casa'. We are, thus, faced with two different translations in the target text of the same term in the source text, which may be indicative of a different linguistic construction of the personalities of the two characters in the target text.

Indeed, the word 'turf' usually means an area or sphere of activity regarded as someone's personal territory, and the collocate analysis done thanks to the Corpus of Contemporary American English (Davies 2010) reveals that the territory is usually linked to illegal activities.

Thus, the different translations of the word 'casa' show a different representation of Salvatore Conte and Don Pietro Savastano in GTS_en. Indeed, in the case of Salvatore Conte, the literal translation 'house' seems to entail that his own persona and his personality are his own territory, projecting them outside of his body in the places and people under his control, thus, creating a dynamic identity: he brings along with him his own territory and the attacks to it are represented as attacks to his own persona. In the case of Don Pietro, on the other hand, by translating the word 'casa' with 'turf', this entails that his power is strictly linked to the territory under his control, and people entering it are a menace to his own persona and his power. In this way, attacks to his territory are represented as attacks to his own persona.

Characterising Don Pietro in GTS_it and GTS_en

Don Pietro, in GTS_it (Table 6), typically uses names and nicknames to refer to others; he usually uses metaphors linked to the animal world (sometimes used to code messages when he is in prison); he has his very own set of swear words; he linguistically creates the idea of a clan by using the plural pronoun 'we', also used in the case of obligations (thus, the combination of the inclusive pronoun 'we' with expressions conveying deontic

modality is used to create a sense of community: the members of the Savastano clan act together just like a pack); and, finally, he is obsessed with the absence of time, which is almost pathologised and, thus, his character can rightfully be regarded as affected by some sort of chronophobia.

Character comparison	Key words in GTS_it
Don Pietro vs. all other characters	pasqualino, comandante, bolletta, scimmie, figlio, parisi, adesso, cazzo, dobbiamo, antonio, tempo, stronzate, malamò, nunziata, roma, mio (*), raccontato, racconta, filtro, trent'anni, microspie, pisciata, immacolata, risolvere, vogliono, ragazze, allargarci, arzano, bocchinara, caivano, lazio, incazzo, l'immortale, africano, leonessa, leoni, gallina, cesso

Table 6. Key words extracted in the comparison between the character of Don Pietro and all other characters in GTS_it.

The keyword analysis of the GTS_en in the case of Don Pietro does not show particular differences from the Italian subtitles, as we can see from the following table (Table 7):

Character comparison	Key words in GTS_en
Don Pietro vs. all other characters	pasqualino, warden, bookie, resolve, monkeys, (have) to / (tell someone) to, son, parisi, asshole, time, problems, tipped, immortal, forget, rome, animals, shithole, shit, job, antonio, had, does, malamò, balls, nunziata, tell, keep, change, happens, obey, motherfucker, pregnancy, thirty, wilder, shove, fuck, asses, arzano, caivano, breakin, bugs, lazio, learned, lack, magnificence, lions, lioness, guess, girlfriends, hen, gennarino, fucking, owe, could

Table 7. Key words extracted in the comparison between the character of Don Pietro and all other characters in the GTS_en corpus.

From Table 7, however, we can notice that the use of the personal pronoun 'we' with its previously highlighted meaning is lost in translation.

Characterising Donna Imma in GTS_it and GTS_en

Donna Imma, in GTS_it (Table 8), shows a particular tendency towards the use of appellatives, re–purposed in order to manipulate people (especially, to mock the social position of a given person and, by doing so, asserting her power); she is quite concerned about her family and the household fittings; she uses her husband as an invisible entity to increase her power; she uses strong obligations but without creating a sense of community (this is particularly evident in the comparison between her use of the pronoun 'you' compared to the use of the pronoun 'we' of Don Pietro); she is frequently asserting her power as a woman; Ciro is one of her primary interlocutors or one of her main concerns; and, finally, she is always trying to solve given problems through peaceful negotiations.

Character comparison	Key words in GTS_it
Donna Imma vs. all other characters	dottore, te, galera, divano, devi, solamente, (mio) marito, sentimi, uccidono, ciro, avvocato, bel(*), riunione, colloquio, tuo padre, allora, deve, né, genny, mh, perdonare, calmi, preoccupare, occuparti, occupare, preoccupazioni, piacerà, piaciuti, trattare, dovevano, rischio, dovevi, giusta, proposta, compra, nuova, pace, mille e una notte

Table 8. Key words extracted in the comparison between the character of Donna Imma and all other characters in GTS_it.

Fear cuts deeper than swords: Becoming a boss

As for the keyword analysis of the character of Donna Imma in GTS_en, while given linguistic cues indicative of the identity of the character of Donna Imma in the source text are again particularly significant in the target text, we can, however, notice some interesting new entries, linked to expressions of fear (Table 9).

Character comparison	Key words in GTS_en
Donna Imma vs. all other characters	meeting, lawyer, ciro, do, husband, dealing, couch, new, tricks, relative, less, buildings, buddy, baptize, you, to, spot, must, have, son, risk, fine, 've, strongest, saw, puts, nights, exactly, peace, thousand, news, afraid

Table 9. Key words extracted in the comparison between the character of Donna Imma and all other characters in GTS_en.

In the TV series, fear is judged as something that a person in command should not display. Thus, Donna Imma will be ready to take her husband's place when she proclaims herself as a fearless persona. While this particular linguistic trait was lost in the source text, the analysis of the key words in the target text has highlighted this particular aspect of the character of Donna Imma. However, we can further investigate how she overcomes fear by again using the MD but, this time, we will only focus on the characters of Donna Imma and Don Pietro.

A comparison between Donna Imma and Don Pietro in GTS_it and GTS_en

In the comparison with Don Pietro, the MD displayed by Donna Imma in the entire GTS_it and GTS_en is quite high (61% in the GTS_it and 49% in the GTS_en). Thus, she is quite independent in the vocabulary she uses.

However, if we make a comparison per episode, we can highlight something quite fascinating:

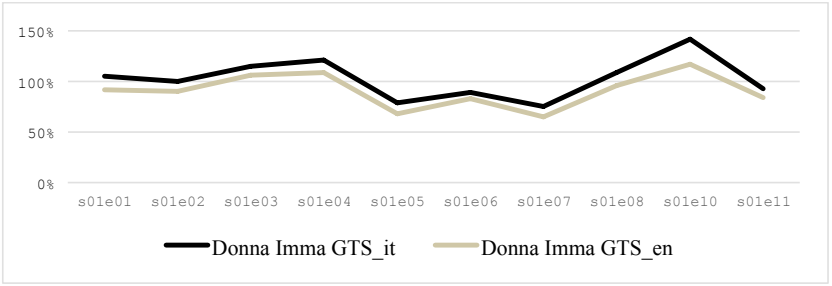

Figure 5. MD comparison per episode between Donna Imma and Don Pietro in GTS_it and GTS_en

As we can see from *Figure 5*, a comparison per episode shows that, when Donna Imma is in a position of power (from Episode 5 to Episode 7; in these episodes, she becomes the head of the Savastano clan), she resorts to the vocabulary used by Don Pietro to assert her authority, and this explains the sudden drop in the MD. Thus, when she finally embraces the role that she has to play as the head of the Savastano clan, she becomes a fearless persona by adopting the vocabulary of her husband. Thus, becoming a boss in the TV series also entails adopting a specific vocabulary, which is representative of the fact that language is always an act of identity performance.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the analysis of the blurbs found in the Italian and English DVD of the TV series has shown us a different construction of a target audience in the two cultures and, thus, a different narrative in representing the places/people in the TV series. On the other hand, a keyword analysis of the English and Italian subtitles has shown us that the comparison between their keyword lists can be a useful tool to underline the linguistic construction of given characters and, more importantly, it has demonstrated how some characteristics of given characters that were not highlighted in the Italian language were stereotyped or enhanced in their English version. The methodology used to highlight this can thus be regarded as a useful tool in translation studies as to better define the idiolect of specific characters and, more importantly, go behind the scene of the translation process to underline given peculiarities.

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HETEROLINGUALISM AND TRANSCULTURALITY IN F. SCOTT FITZGERALD'S *TENDER IS THE NIGHT* AND ITS ITALIAN TRANSLATIONS

Elisa Aurora Pantaleo

University of Milan

In the last two decades, relevant research dealing with heterolingualism in written texts (Grutman 2005:91-93) has begun to emerge, and at present more and more studies are specifically addressing this issue in literature. Although scholarly reflections in this domain are often centred on medieval texts and on works proceeding from multilingual countries (e.g. contemporary Hispanic literature in the USA, Gardner-Chloros and Weston 2015:88), other literary periods are now being taken into consideration. As a matter of fact, in her 2013 study, Juliette Taylor–Batty focuses on linguistic plurality in modernist fiction, analysing the works of Lawrence, Richardson, Mansfield, Rhys, Joyce and Beckett (Taylor-Batty 2013).

There is a multitude of possible reasons why code–switching occurs in literature: different languages can be used to represent a certain socio–cultural reality; for creative needs, such as drawing attention to particular characters or voices; but also for a deliberate humorous or satirical effect, or with a purely aesthetic purpose (Grutman 2002:329-349). However, according to Taylor–Batty, the «multilingual turn» in Modernism «arises from the context of world conflict, the subsequent redrawing of national boundaries, and rising nationalism, as well as from the increased mobility of populations – in the forms of travel, emigration and mass levels of migration», and it is mostly meant to have a defamiliarising effect, reflecting fragmentation and incommunicability in post–war society (Taylor-Batty 2013:23).

Even though F. Scott Fitzgerald has often been considered more a romantic than a modernist writer, in *Tender is the Night* (1934) he makes a special use of linguistic diversity, which is akin to the defamiliarising heterolinguistic strategy adopted by the writers examined in Taylor–Batty study. More particularly, as the analysis of the multilingual passages of the novel will show, different European languages – especially French – are inserted in critical pages of the novel to undermine Dick Diver's pristine American identity.

Heterolingualism and Transculturality in "Tender is the Night"

From April 1924 to September 1931, F. Scott Fitzgerald and his family settled in Europe[1], spending most of their time on the French Riviera and in Paris, but also travelling to Italy (October 1924–April 1925), and staying in Switzerland (May 1930–September 1931). As some scholars have pointed out (Weston 1995; Kennedy 2005:118-142), the rich and diverse artistic world of Paris in the Twenties and the multicultural tourist environment of the French Riviera clearly affected Fitzgerald's literary production, which underwent a 'European turn' between 1924 and 1931, affecting the setting of his stories and the characters' identity.

It is especially in *Tender is the Night* that Fitzgerald critically reflects on the irreversible consequences of the Americans' life in Europe. Like *The Great Gatsby*, *Tender* is a novel about the American dream (Callahan 2006:150), but in Dick Diver's experience, expatriation definitely concurs in bringing about the failure of his American dream and his dying fall. When at the end of the story, he goes back to America, he is actually a fragmented man, a stranger to both Europe and his homeland – a «homeless in spirit who wanders from one Finger Lakes town to another» (Glenday 2007:152). Throughout *Tender* Diver's traditional idealism is persistently compared and contrasted with the legacy of post–war Europe:

> Fitzgerald develops a dualism in the legacy of the fathers, both American and European. The good European fathers leave a legacy of magnificent knowledge and civilization; the bad ones are internationally indistinguishable from the American Warrens. The bad American fathers represent a continuing legacy of "the forces of lust and corruption" in the historical America. […] But the good American fathers, the Divers, represent the legacy of the idea of America, a dream of goodness and transcendent self. (Stern 2002:100)

In *Tender*'s world in transition, the good American fathers die (in chapter nineteen of the second book Dick says at his father's grave: «Goodbye, my father – goodbye, all my fathers» (Scott Fitzgerald 2001:224), as well as the good European fathers – symbolised by the Gross–Münster mausoleum which stands out of Franz Gregorovius's study in chapter four of the second book (147); on the contrary, the affluent and unscrupulous bad fathers, both American and European, finally rule the world.

Tender offers a comprehensive analysis of the transcultural moral chaos and the lack of sound identities that characterise post–war Western societies. The countless metaphors referring to weapons and conflicts clearly emphasise the radical and irreversible change brought by World War I, which destroyed human relationships and the values of manners, honour, courtesy and love that Dick Diver desperately tries to preserve in his own moulded world on the French Rivera. Still, what makes Diver's breakdown even more painful is the fact that there seems to be no place where his redeeming dream can come true – neither in the American upper class perverted society, nor in the old deadly European continent.

[1] His stay in Europe was interrupted for some months – from December 1926 to April 1928 and from October 1928 to March 1929 – when the Fitzgeralds went back to America (Bruccoli 2002:xxiii-xxx).

An ambivalent force underlies the novel: on the one hand, the protagonists try to resist the contamination with Europeans; on the other hand, they are necessarily changed by the contact with the Foreign. Just as the Divers try to take possession of the French Riviera – building their own exclusive beach and a huge villa overlooking Tarmes – so the author assimilates the European territory by translating some names of places and bars into English (e.g. the French Riviera, Marseilles, Luxembourg Gardens, Fouquet's bar, Ciro's menagerie, the Quirinale bar). In addition, at the beginning of the novel, the group of American expatriates is described as «a community upon which it would be presumptuous to intrude» (14), and Europeans are generally kept at arm's length through a process of stereotyping: French people are money–hungry and aggressive, Italians are troublemakers and womanisers, Switzerland is a moribund country, the English are ridiculed for their contrived manners, and the Russian aristocracy is presented in a condition of decadence.

Yet, *Tender* simultaneously highlights the major role played by the cultural encounter with the Foreign through a hybridisation of the characters and of the language. All the American characters in the novel are deep–rooted in Europe: either they were born and raised in the Old Continent, or they have some European ancestors who still affect their identity. Considering the three main characters, for instance, Dick Diver is half–American and half–Irish; Nicole Diver's mother «was born a German citizen» (79); and in Rosemary's case, «sometimes the French manners of her early adolescence and the democratic manners of America, these latter superimposed, made a certain confusion» (16). Furthermore, even the language is occasionally contaminated, creating phonetic hybrids: sometimes French waiters call the Americans 'Meestaire' (109) – a phonological and lexical adaptation of Mister; and while trying to get Dick out of prison, Baby Warren answers the carabinieri's statement «We can't do anything until we are ordered» with «Bay–nay!», which stands for the Italian 'Bene' (248).

Anyhow, the transcultural angle of the novel is especially conveyed by means of heterolingualism. Sometimes German, Spanish and Italian intrude on English: German is preferably used when dealing with academic topics, such as doctor Diver's pamphlets (162) or doctor Dohmler's consultation about Nicole's schizophrenia (140); Spanish appears in small talk (149-150), whereas Italian is used to achieve verisimilitude in the quarrel with the taxi drivers (244), or to speak about culture–specific elements, such as 'mortadella', 'trattoria', 'lire', 'carabinieri', and the military song "Suona fanfara mia" (235-236). Nevertheless, the most interesting linguistic meddling regards the use of French, whose appearance has a prominent narrative function. Indeed, each time the narrative tension peaks, characters switch to French; and the more French steps into the story, the more doctor Diver loses dominance over reality.

When Maria Wallis shoots an Englishman to death at Gare Saint–Lazare, two French speakers comment on the murder in their native language:

> "Tu as vu le revolver? Il était très petit, vraie perle – un jouet."
> "Mais, assez puissant!" said the other porter sagely. "Tu as vu sa chemise? Assez de sang pour se croire à la guerre." (98)

The reference to the War definitely hints at the post–war moral disarray that binds Europe and America together, and it is a crucial allusion to doctor Diver's incipient dy-

ing fall. Indeed, Maria Wallis's shots «have broader implications on the Divers and their friends» (Weston 1995:108): for the first time Dick – who was virtually untouched by the war during his youth – is significantly not able to soothe Nicole's and Rosemary's anxiety. On the whole, the code–switching is apparently intended to distance the reader from American.

Later on, Dick decides to reach Rosemary at the Films Par Excellence Studio for a secret meeting; while he is waiting for his lover, the fast rhythm on narration is beaten by the words 'Papeterie', 'Pâtisserie', 'Solde', 'Réclame', 'Vêtements Ecclésiastiques', 'Déclaration de Décès', 'Pompes Funèbres' – which he reads on the street in an anguished climax ending with «Life and death» (Scott Fitzgerald 2001:103). Dick's concern and restlessness are almost palpable in this passage, and the notes about the French landscape make him feel even more uneasy and estranged in relation to the risky situation he experiences.

Afterwards, Dick is arrested in Rome because of a quarrel with an officer, and the captain of the *carabinieri* also speaks to him in French:

> "Alors. Écoute. Va au Quirinale. Espèce d'endormi. Écoute: vous êtes soûl. Payez ce que le chauffeur demande. Comprenez–vous?"
> Diver shook his head.
> "Non, je ne veux pas. Je paierai quarante lires. C'est bien assez."
> The captain stood up.
> "Écoute!" he cried portentously. "Vous êtes soûl. Vous avez battu le chauffeur. Comme ci, comme ça. […] C'est bon que je vous donne la liberté. Payez ce qu'il a dit – cento lire. Va au Quirinale." (245-246)

In this case, French is used as a *lingua franca* between American English and Italian but, once more, it plunges the reader in an alienating framework that mimics Dick's overwhelming confrontation with a foreign violent culture.

Finally, when the Divers' marriage definitely ends, marking Dick's absolute ruin, Tommy and Dick compete for Nicole's love, mixing English and French:

> Tommy returned to Dick.
> "Elle doit avoir plus avec moi qu'avec vous."
> "Speak English! What do you mean 'doit avoir'?"
> "'Doit avoir?' Would have more happiness with me."
> "You'd be new to each other. But Nicole and I have had much happiness together, Tommy."
> "L'amour de famille," Tommy said, scoffing. (332)

Tommy Barban is half–American and half–French, while Dick mainly speaks English; therefore, the code–switching highlights the cultural hurdle between Tommy and Dick: it describes a different kind of love, a kind of love that Dick feels no more – and that is why he loses his wife.

All these episodes are crucial moments in Dick's collapse – and consequently into the failure of the American dream.

> The French expatriation works as a catalyst that reveals the characters' hidden selves: the fictional French trips are actually mental expeditions that tell of man's inner fears and disenchantments and of his efforts to overcome these impediments to his fulfilment. (Bouzonviller 2013:267)

In *Tender*, doctor Diver is urged to call into question his pristine American identity, and his fragmentation is not facilitated by any translation of the French passages into English, nor it is emphasised by the use of italics. On this regard, it is important to highlight that Fitzgerald deliberately breaks the editorial rules of the time, concerning the use of italics with foreign words. As a matter of fact, in a letter to Mawell Perkins dated 4th March 1934, he wrote:

> Dear Max:
> Confirming our conversation on the phone this morning, I wish you could get some word to the printers that they should not interfere with my use of italics. […] I know exactly what I am doing, and I want to use italics for emphasis, and not waste them on the newspaper convention laid down by Mr. Munsey in 1858. (Scott Fitzgerald 1994:248)

And on the 15th of March 1934 he added in a telegram:

> Pleasant nice thoughts it would break my heart if the proofreaders are sticking back all those italics I twice eliminated stop In the first proof they had all the Frenchmen talking in italics. (Broccoli and Baugham 1996:24)

Thereby, just as the protagonist becomes a stranger to himself while living in a foreign country, so the source text's reader can experience a feeling of estrangement when confronted with the code–switching.

Heterolingualism in the Italian Translations of "Tender is the Night"

Turning now to the Italian translations of *Tender*, heterolingualism entails a twofold challenge in being rendered into another cultural system. At present, there are six Italian translations of the novel: the first appeared in 1949 for Einaudi, by Fernanda Pivano, whereas the latest – Alessio Cupardo's (Baldini Castoldi Dalai 2011), Bruno Armando's (Newton Compton 2011), Flavio Santi's (Rizzoli 2012), Vincenzo Latronico's (Minimum Fax 2013), and my translation (Feltrinelli 2015) – were published in the span of a few years.

In the Einaudi edition, linguistic diversity is generally preserved in substantial narratives passages – such as the dialogues in French – and, surprisingly, no Italian translation is provided to the reader in footnotes. However, foreign words are systematically italicised according to the editorial norms of the time; hence, the feeling of estrangement conveyed by code–switching at narrative peaks is not as abrupt and unexpected as in the source text. Furthermore, English titles of songs and books are translated into Italian (e.g. *Yes! We have no bananas* is translated as *Non ho più banana,* Fitzgerald 2014:72), and the phonetic hybrids «Meestaire» and «Bay–nay» are standardised as «Mister» (117)

and «Bene» (274), thus impoverishing the linguistic patterning of the novel (Berman 2012:249). The same thing happens with the source text sentences «Planning to mix wit de quality» (Scott Fitzgerald 2001:28), «Will you kaindlay stup tucking» (51) and «Rilly, this must stup immejetely» (52), which are rendered through a plain translation as «Sognano di frequentare gente altolocata» (Scott Fitzgerald 2014:25), «Vorreste smettere di parlare» (50) and «Insomma, smettetela immediatamente» (51), so that the irony of the first example and the mimicking aim of the British voice in the other two sentences are completely lost.

As for the phonetic hybrids in more recent translations, the Rizzoli edition opts for a creative translation to safeguard the phonetic interferences: «Meestaire» is translated as «M*iiisteee*» (Scott Fitzgerald 2012:204) and «Bay–nay» is rendered as «*Bey–ney*» (304). Sometimes the translation is supported by a footnote, such as in the case of the «*Gold Star Muzers*» (208), where it is explained that this rendering is intended to mimic the French pronunciation of «Gold Star Mothers», as it appears in the source text. On the contrary, the Newton Compton edition standardises the two expressions with «Il signor» (Scott Fitzgerald 2011:100) and «Bene» (208), producing a qualitative impoverishment of the source text (Berman 2012:247); whereas Baldini Castoldi Dalai and Minimum Fax editions opt for unsystematic strategies: they both smooth «Meestaire» respectively with «Mister» (Scott Fitzgerald 2011:152) and «Il signor» (183), but they keep the English hybrid «*Bay–nay*» (Scott Fitzgerald 2012: 324; Scott Fitgerald 2013:365), though written in italics. Finally, in my translation, I tried to preserve the creative intention of the source text, and I rendered «Meestaire» as «M*i–i–i*ster» (Scott Fitzgerald 2015:115), and «Bay–nay» as «Bei–nei» (259).

Considering now heterolingualism in more critical passages, after a thorough analysis of the author's work, I opted for a foreignising strategy of translation, leaving the code–switching in Roman type with no Italian translation, and adding a footnote at the end of the book in which it is explained that, following Fitzgerald's recommendation, italics is used on purpose only in such cases where the author adopts it for emphasis – not to mark the use of a different language from English. The Rizzoli edition also leaves heterolinguistic passages in Roman type, providing no Italian translation of these paragraphs and no explanation for the deliberate use of Roman type. On the other hand, Minimum Fax edition italicises all French, Spanish, German and Italian intrusions, although it avoids translating them for the Italian reader. In Baldini Castoldi Dalai edition, code–switching is italicised and not translated in conspicuous passages, whereas the lyrics of English songs and small talk in German are translated at the bottom of the page. Finally, the Newton Compton edition facilitates the Italian reader the most, pointing out the code–switching with the use of italics, and providing a translation in footnotes for the crucial narrative episodes of the novel, though small talk is not translated.

Conclusion

While in the source text the link between language diversity and transculturality is made evident by multiple thematic and stylistic strategies that prompt the reader to reflect upon Dick Diver's crisis as a consequence of his stay in Europe, the destruction

of linguistic patterning in some pages of the Italian translations of the novel decreases the inventive power of the book.

More specifically, Fitzgerald's phonetic hybrids cast a certain irony over the source text – they mock the foreigners' attempt to speak another language, and emphasise the linguistic gap between different cultures; therefore, a qualitative impoverishment in translation undermines the creative and humorous effect produced on readers.

In addition, Fitzgerald's conscious use of Roman type when switching to other languages, and the lack of any translation of those passages is a deliberate narrative strategy, aimed to bear a broad reflection on Diver's personal and national identity. In *Tender*, heterolingualism silently camouflages in the text, and then it suddenly pops up – disrupting the apparently consistent flux of narration, and making the reader aware of the function of code–switching in those pages. Therefore, even though some of the translators' choices are probably determined by the publishing houses' habit to write foreign words in italics, any reader–friendly graphic or metatextual facilitation dangerously undermine the psychological implications of the text and its dramatic potential.

All in all, this case study makes evident that heterolingualism in literary texts has an important communicative function, and for this reason, it should be studied both on a stylistic and on a linguistic level in order to grasp the underlying cultural messages it conceals.

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GOMORRAH – THE SERIES FLIES TO THE UK: HOW IS GOMORRAH'S WORLD RENDERED IN ENGLISH SUBTITLES?

Francesca Raffi

University of Macerata

Introduction: The Italian taste of "Gomorrah – The Series"

Gomorrah – The Series (2014) is the third transposition of Roberto Saviano's (2006) book *Gomorra. Viaggio nell'Impero Economico e nel Sogno di Dominio della Camorra.* After its phenomenal success in Italy, with more than one million viewers per episode (Roxborough 2014), the first season of the TV Series directed by Stefano Sollima was distributed in nearly fifty countries: as for the Anglophone market, in the UK it was broadcasted on SKY Atlantic, with 700,000 viewers for its pilot episode, and in the USA it was premiered on August 24, 2016 on SundanceTV.

Gomorrah's text has provided a valuable empirical basis on which to study social and cultural factors that permeate the act of translating, and to investigate the role of translators as re–enunciators in contexts of cultural change and identity formation (Tymoczko 2000; Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002; Bollettieri Bosinelli and Di Giovanni 2009).

As for the literary version, Cavaliere (2009a, 2009b) and Caliendo (2012) analyse how Saviano's work has been translated for the English readers, with the resulting representation of the Camorra as a well–established and brutal crime organisation, separate from the Sicilian Mafia.

Starting from the cinema adaptation, Cavaliere (2010) detects in the English–subtitled version a new crime narrative with respect to the Italian film, characterised by a de–contextualisation of national and personal identities through, among other translation choices, the disappearance of Neapolitan dialect.

Finally, Caprara and Sisti (2011) analyse the subtitled and dubbed Castilian versions, focusing on the rendering of diaphasic and diastratic linguistic variations.

As the aforementioned contributions have extensively proved, *Gomorrah*'s text – be it in a literary or in an audiovisual format – is profoundly rooted in the Italian and, more specifically, in the Neapolitan reality. In this regard, the TV Series–which has not attracted considerable attention from scholars–even emphasises its Neapolitan roots, for its ability to depict «the real Neapolitan mob with a degree of authenticity never

seen before» (Vivarelli 2014), so much so that «for those of us who romanticize Italy, 'Gomorrah' is a fizzing antidote» (Collins 2014).

The realism and 'authentic foreignness' of the Series – which makes it immediately recognisable as an Italian and, more specifically, a Neapolitan product – are mainly due to the nature of the stories narrated, which draw on current events happening in Italy; the realistic camerawork of the Italian director Sollima; and the Neapolitan sociocultural context, in which the series is deeply rooted.

In this regard, *Gomorrah*'s world and its characters are mainly represented through culture–bound elements within the language, through the extensive use of Neapolitan dialect, and the massive presence of culture–bound elements outside the language, which are mainly linked with the Italian society and culture; the city of Naples and the Campania region; and the Camorra's world.

Bearing all this in mind what happens, then, when the challenge of attempting to export the authentic foreignness of *Gomorrah*'s world meets with subtitling as audiovisual translation modality? In order to answer this question, the first season (12 episodes) of *Gomorrah – The Series* is analysed in its English–subtitled version, focusing on how cultural elements have been translated for the target audience.

Cultural elements and translation choices: Source– and target–oriented strategies

Since audiovisual products convey a wealth of cultural information, the Cultural Turn in TS has highly increased the interest of AVT scholars towards cultural notions such as, among others, cultural elements (Ramière 2007; Chiaro 2009, among others). Various authors have discussed and defined them both in reference to dubbing (Agost 1999; Antonini 2009; Ranzato 2015, among others) and to subtitling (Santamaria Guinot 2001; Pedersen 2005, 2007, 2011; Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007, among others), mainly because of the challenges they pose to translators.

Considering both the object and the purpose of this study, as well as the limitations in terms of space, the proposed analysis will focus on cultural elements outside the language as defined by Pedersen (2011:43): «reference […] to an extralinguistic entity or process, and which is assumed to have a discourse referent that is identifiable to a relevant audience as this referent is within the encyclopaedic knowledge of this audience».

Extralinguistic culture–bound references (ECRs) are then intended in this study as all those elements referring to geographical items, names, food, customs, usages and habits, institutions and social structures, and more broadly, to all extralinguistic elements rooted in *Gomorrah*'s sociocultural system.

Starting from Pedersen's (77-96) taxonomy, the options available to render ECRs have been grouped into source– and target–oriented strategies: source–oriented translations (i.e., Retention, Specification, and Direct Translation) not only express, but even emphasise the 'exotic' flavour of the source language and culture, while target–oriented strategies (i.e., Generalisation, Substitution and Omission) tend to make the original images, elements, and set of values closer to the target audience.

Retention is the strongest source–oriented strategy, and the ECR is kept unchanged in the translation. Specification explicates the ECR by adding further information, while Direct Translation transfers the ECR by simply changing the language, without semantic alteration.

As for target–oriented strategies, Generalisation makes the ECR less specific than the one in the source text, thus only partially eliminating the original meaning, while Substitution replaces the ECR either with something belonging to the same culture, or with a more localised element. The strongest target–oriented solution is Omission, which implies the deletion of the original ECR; however, as shall be seen later on, omission choices could also be determined by the audiovisual translation modality itself, since subtitling reduces the original script by simplifying it due to rigid space and time constraints (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007:166).

Hence, in order to answer the research question, all the ECRs contained in the original dialogue have been isolated and, if present, identified in the subtitles. Before analysing the translation choices made to handle them, the detected ECRs have been grouped into eight main categories, determined according to their frequency: 1) proper names and surnames; 2) epithets and nicknames; 3) honorifics; 4) food; 5) lifestyle; 6) geographic names; 7) social structures; and 8) units of measure.

How is Gomorrah's world rendered in English subtitles?

The overall number of ECRs is 1,695 in the source text, and 1,188 in the subtitles (see Table 1 below); this means that 70% of the cultural elements detected in the ST has been maintained in the target text.

Gomorrah – The Series (Season 1)		
	Number of ECRs	Omitted ECRs
Source Text	1,685	– 30%
Target Text	1,188	

Table 1. Number of ECRs and omitted ECRs.

Specifically, proper names and surnames are the most frequent category of detected ECRs in the source text (981 instances), with a decrease of only 30% in the target text (see Table 2).

ECRs type	Number of ECRs	
	ST	TT
1) proper names and surnames	981	686
2) epithets and nicknames	307	209
3) honorifics	206	129
4) food	18	18
5) lifestyle	25	17
6) geographic names	81	66
7) social structures	52	44
8) units of measure	15	14

Table 2. ECRs per each category.

Proper names and surnames

When not omitted, proper names and surnames are kept unchanged in the English version through unmark Retention (69.6%), thus simply transferring them into the target language without highlighting the foreignness of the word (e.g., with italics or inverted commas).

ECRs	ST tokens	ST (types)	TT token	TT (types)
Proper names and surnames	981	Agostino (3) Alberto (1) Alessio (4) Alfredo (2) Angela (1) Antonietta (3) Antonio (13) Attilio (25) Bruno (21) Capano (3) Carmela (1) Carmine (1) Casillo (4) Ciro (119) Conte (87) Cozzolino (1) Curcio (1) Daniele (51) De Rosa (3) De Vivo (1) Di Marzio (5) Di Vaio (1) Diego (22) Diotallevi (1) Enzo (1) Esposito (1) Fabbretti (13) Federico (1) Felice (5) Franco (10) Gaetano (2) Gennaro (139) Gessica (4) Giacobone (5) Giovanni (4) Goletti (1) Immacolata (3) Letizia (1) Luana (2) Luca (3) Lucia (1) Luciano (2) Luigi (3) Manna (1) Marchisio (1) Maria (11) Maria Rita (3) Marina (2) Marta (3) Martone (1) Martucci (1) Massimo (6) Maturano (1) Michele (10) Musi (9) Neymar (5) Nunziata (4) Parisi (11) Pasquale (4) Perla (3) Pietro (100) Renato (1) Rino (4) Romano (2) Rosa (4) Rosario (8) Russo (18) Salba [company] (6) Salvatore (43) Savastano (49) Savastano [plur.] (5) Umberto (1) Zecchinetta (17)	686	Agostino (3) Ø Alessio (4) Alfredo (1) Angela (1) Antonietta (2) Antonio (8) Attilio (11) Bruno (18) Capano (2) Carmela (1) Ø Casillo (3) Ciro (77) Conte (67) Cozzolino (1) Curcio (1) Daniele (38) De Rosa (3) De Vivo (1) Di Marzio (5) Di Vaio (1) Diego (6) Diotallevi (1) Enzo (1) Esposito (1) Fabbretti (12) Federico (1) Felice (1) Franco (8) Gaetano (1) Gennaro (64) Gessica (4) Giacobone (5) Giovanni (3) Goletti (1) Immacolata (2) Letizia (1) Luana (2) Luca (3) Lucia (1) Luciano (1) Luigi (2) Manna (1) Marchisio (1) Maria (3) Maria Rita (3) Marina (1) Marta (2) Martone (1) Martucci (1) Massimo (6) Maturano (1) Michele (6) Musi (7) Neymar (2) Nunziata (3) Parisi (10) Pasquale (3) Perla (3) Pietro (69) Renato (1) Rino (4) Romano (1) Rosa (1) Rosario (3) Russo (16) Salba [company] (6) Salvatore (31) Savastano (46) Savastano [plur.] (5) Umberto (1) Zecchinetta (16)

Table 3. Proper names and surnames.

Since proper names can be seen as social and cultural indicators (Kovarski 2002:83) with an inherent meaning related to the culture in which they have been developed, this attitude seems to be in line with the need to preserve *Gomorrah*'s original world. In the case of the corpus under scrutiny, their deletion (30%) seems to be related to redundancy, since the identity of the characters is made clear through the visual and auditory channels (Bruti and Perego 2005:35).

Proper Names and Surnames			
Translation Strategy	%	Type	%
Source Oriented	70.5	Retention	69.6
		Specification	0
		Direct Translation	0.9
Target Oriented	30.2	Generalisation	0
		Substitution	0.2
		Omission	30

Table 4. Proper names and surnames: Translation strategy.

Epithets and nicknames

Even more than proper names, epithets and nicknames (see Table 5 below) play a key role in unequivocally identifying the characters; in the words of Roberto Saviano (2014): «Quando tutti hanno gli stessi nomi e cognomi, solo i soprannomi rendono unici. Senza soprannome, nel mondo criminale non si è nessuno».

ECRs	ST tokens	ST (types)	TT tokens	TT (types)
Epithets and nicknames	307	A' Lisca (4) Bolletta (11) Capa 'e Bomba (12) Carlucciello (2) Carminello (1) Centocapelli (2) Ciruzzo (16) Danielino (13) El Trasportista (1) Gennarino (5) Genny (86) Gigino (1) Gli Africani (2) I Messicani (1) Il Peperone (1) Imma (62) L'Africano (4) L'Immortale (4) L'Infame (2) Leccalecca (4) Malamò (4) Malammore (2) Massimino (9) Mimmuccio (1) Mino (2) O'Cardillo (3) O'Baroncino (11) O'Fringuello (9) O'Nano (1) O'Pop (2) O'Track (6) O'Zingaro (2) Padreterno (4) Pasqualino (12) Pino (1) Pupetta (1) Titò (1) Totò (2) Toupet (2) Vicié (1) Zecchiné (1)	209	Fishbone (3) Bookie (10) Ø Carlo (1) Carmine (1) Hairball (2) Ciro (16) Daniele (13) El Trasportista (1) Little Genny (3) Genny (71) Gigi (1) Africans (2) Mexicans (1) Red Pepper (1) Imma (35) African (3) Immortal (4) The Rat (2) Lollipop (3) Malamò (4) Malamore (1) Massimo (1) Ø Mino (2) Ø Little Baron (8) Songbird (5) Midget (1) Pop (1) Track (3) Gipsy (1) God (4) Pasquale (8) Pino (1) Pupetta (1) Titonna (1) Totò (2) Toupé (1) Ø Zecchinetta (1)

Table 5. Epithets and nicknames.

The detected epithets and nicknames originate from the idiosyncrasies of each character, being related to their physical traits (e.g., *Centocapelli*, *Il Peperone*, *O'Nano*, and *Toupet*); their role and identification within the Camorra's world (e.g., *El Trasportista*, and *L'Infame*); their habits and passions (e.g., *Bolletta*, and *O'Track*); and their origins (e.g., *Gli Africani*, *L'Africano*, and *O'Zingaro*).

As for the latter group, epithets and nicknames are mainly rendered through Direct Translation, since a correspondence in the English language could be easily found without losing their original connotations (see Table 5 above), while epithets and nicknames obtained through grammatical inflection have been mainly generalised (see Table 5 above). In the case of diminutives formed by adding suffixes (*Carlucciello*, *Carminello*, *Danielino*, *Gigino*, *Massimino,* and *Pasqualino*), they have been often normalised ("Carlo", "Carmine", "Daniele", "Gigi", "Massimo", and "Pasquale", respectively), or translated as "Little" (e.g., "Little Baron", and "Little Genny"). Similarly, hypocorisms such as *Ciruzzo*, and *Mimmuccio* have been normalised as "Ciro" and "Mimmo", respectively.

If not omitted (31.9%), epithets and nicknames are generally handled with source–oriented strategies: 46.9% unmarked Retention, and 13.3% Direct Translation, as shown in Table 6 below.

Epithets and Nicknames			
Translation Strategy	%	TYPE	%
Source Oriented	60.2	Retention	46.9
		SPECIFICATION	0
		DIRECT TRANSLATION	13.3
Target Oriented	39.7	Generalisation	7.8
		SUBSTITUTION	0
		OMISSION	31.9

Table 6. Epithets and nicknames: Translation strategies.

Honorifics

As shown in Table 7, honorifics are mainly omitted in the subtitles (37.3%), or even substituted with terms which could be easily transferred to the target culture; this is the case of 'Sir', which is used in the British society as a way to politely speak to a man (MacMillan Dictionary 2016).

ECRs	ST tokens	ST (types)	TT tokens	TT (types)
Honorifics	206	Avvocato (6) Comandante (7) Don (100) Donna (43) Dottor (2) Dottore (13) Maestro (3) Signora (25)	129	Counselor (6) Warden (7) Don (68) Lady (43) Sir (2) Doc (5) Maestro (2) Ma'am (12)

Table 7. Honorifics.

Considering that it is the context of use that determines the actual connotation of these terms, the person to whom they refer is not an actual 'counselor', 'doctor', or *maestro* (see Table 7 above). In fact, titles (professional or otherwise) and honorifics, especially within the Camorra organisations, are used to show respect and deference. As a consequence, they hardly find an exact correspondence in the subtitles not only because of the different degree of formality/informality associated with address practices between Italian and English (Peeters, Mullan, Beal 2013:84), but also because of the absence of a similar criminal organisation in the British culture. This is evident in the case of *Don* and *Donna*, which have been treated differently in the English subtitles (see Table 7).

Don comes from the Latin *dominus*, which can be roughly translated as 'lord' or 'master' in English; the female equivalent is *domina* (i.e., *donna* in Italian); *Don* and *Donna* were used as courtesy titles in the Middle Ages to entitle any legitimate, male–line descendant of the Italian nobility, as well as their wives and daughters (Pinches 1994:128).

Within the Camorra's world[1], 'Don' followed by a male name or nickname is used as an honorific title to show respect to high–ranking members of the *clan* (e.g., *Don Pietro*); similarly, 'Donna' is used to address their wives or, more specifically, female leaders (e.g., *Donna Imma*).

In the British culture, the honorifics 'Don' is mainly associated with a senior university teacher, especially at Oxford or Cambridge (Cambridge Dictionary 2016; Oxford Dictionary 2016; Merriam–Webster Dictionary 2016). However, the Merriam–Webster (2016) also defines it as a powerful Mafia leader, thus maintaining the original meaning of the term associated with a crime organisation.

Despite the fact that the Camorra predates the Mafia by several decades (Behan 2009:41), its history has not been as famous as that of its Sicilian counterpart. Cinema also contributed to the popularity of the Mafia against the Camorra, with masterpieces such as *The Godfather* trilogy or the TV–Series *The Sopranos*; as a consequence, the word mafia has become the preferred lexical choice to refer to illegal and criminal societies in the English language: «The rest of the world was very vague about the Camorra until Saviano came along» (Popham 2008).

Even if the same dictionary provides a similar definition for the English use of 'Donna', that is «an Italian woman especially of rank–used as a title prefixed to the given name» (Merriam–Webster 2016), and considering that 'Don' has been transferred in its original form ('Don') in the subtitles, it is interesting to notice that the translator opted for 'Lady' to render the honorific 'Donna'.

As a consequence, the English version does not only slightly depart from the original context (i.e., the Camorra's world), but it also does not acknowledge the central role that women (especially Donna Imma) play in the Series.

[1] The formula *Don* + first name is used within the mafia context as well, as in the Spanish usage. It is interesting to notice that in North America the honorific Italian *Don* is followed by the person's last name (e.g., "*Don* Corleone").

Honorifics and Attributes			
Translation Strategy	%	Type	%
Source Oriented	49	Retention	33.9
		Specification	0
		Direct Translation	15
Target Oriented	50.9	Generalisation	12.1
		Substitution	1.4
		Omission	37.3

Table 8. Honorifics: Translation strategy.

Food, lifestyle, and units of measure

ECRs which fall under the categories food, lifestyle, and units of measure are the less frequent cultural elements detected both in the ST and in the TT (see Table 2). Despite that, they are also the instances which have been less omitted in the subtitles, and mainly rendered through Direct Translation (see Tables 10, 12, and 14 below).

As for food, the identified items are mainly rooted in the Neapolitan context, as shown in Table 9 below.

ECRs	ST tokens	ST (types)	TT tokens	TT (types)
Food	18	babà (1) caffè (12) frittura (2) linguina (1) parmigiana (1) pizza (1)	18	babà (1) coffee (12) fried fish (2) linguini (1) eggplant parmesan (1) pizza (1)

Table 9. Food.

In addition to Direct Translation, it is interesting to focus on two elements rendered through unmarked Retention: 'babà', that is a popular Neapolitan small pastry soaked in a rum and sugar syrup; and 'linguini', that is a kind of Italian pasta, more commonly spelled 'linguine'.

Food			
Translation Strategy	%	Type	%
Source Oriented	83.4	Retention	5.7
		Specification	0
		Direct Translation	77.7
Target Oriented	16.6	Generalisation	5.5
		Substitution	0
		Omission	0

Table 10. Food: Translation Strategies.

The Lifestyle category includes elements which are profoundly rooted in *Gomorrah*'s world (e.g., *camorra*, and *camorristico*), as shown in Table 11 below.

ECRs	ST tokens	ST (types)	TT tokens	TT (types)
Lifestyle	25	"Ancora noi" (1) "O' Sole Mio" (2) 41 bis (7) camorra (7) camorristico (6) Enduro (1) Gran Fondo Pinarello (1) Intercity (1) Polisportiva (1)	17	"Still Us" (1) "O' Sole Mio" (1) solitary (4) camorra (6) camorra–style (5) Enduro (1) Gran Fondo Pinarello (1) Ø Sport Center (1)

Table 11. Lifestyle.

It is interesting to notice that, in addition to 'camorra' and the popular Italian song "O' Sole Mio", which are maybe well–known by the British audience (see Table 11), 'Gran Fondo Pinarello' (i.e., an amateur cycling race which takes place in Treviso, Italy), is also kept in its original form through unmarked Retention.

Lifestyle			
Translation Strategy	%	Type	%
Source Oriented	52	Retention	16
		Specification	4
		Direct Translation	32
Target Oriented	48	Generalisation	16
		Substitution	0
		Omission	32

Table 12. Lifestyle: Translation strategies.

Finally, units of measure are mainly rendered through Direct Translation, as shown in Table 13 below.

ECRs	ST tokens	ST (types)	TT tokens	TT (types)
Units of measure	15	chili (2) euro (12) gramma (1)	14	kilos (2) euros (11) gram (1)

Table 13. Units of measure.

The percentages reported in Table 14 below are not surprising, since these typologies of cultural elements are usually literally translated in order to maintain the original world created in the source text.

Units of Measure			
Translation Strategy	%	Type	%
Source Oriented	93.3	Retention	0
		Specification	0
		Direct Translation	93.3
Target Oriented	6.6	Generalisation	0
		Substitution	0
		Omission	6.6

Table 14. Units of measure: Translation strategies.

Geographic names and social structures

As shown in Table 15 below, geographic elements mainly refer to the Campania region and, more specifically, to the Neapolitan context; in the words of Severgnini (2015): «The setting is the outskirts of Naples, a tangle of overpasses, badly lit parking lots and outsize concrete housing projects. Occasionally, as contrast, a picture–postcard Mediterranean appears in the background, the view tourists see on their way to the Amalfi Coast».

The Series faithfully depicts the suburbs of the city of Naples, where the Camorra and its bosses work undisturbed (e.g., Le Vele, Puffi, Sette Palazzi, Terzo Mondo, and Sanità), as shown in Table 15 below.

ECRs	ST tokens	ST (types)	TT tokens	TT (types)
Geographic names	81	Arzano (1) Caivano (1) Campania (1) Casavatore (6) Castel Volturno (1) Domiziana (2) Giugliano (10) Gricignano (1) Lazio (1) Le Vele (1) Melito (2) Mergellina (2) Milano (3) Milano Centrale (1) Miliscola (1) Montello (1) Napoli (12) Napoli Centrale (1) Piscinola (1) Poggioreale (4) Posillipo (1) Puffi (1) Resina (1) Roma (4) Salerno (1) Sanità (1) Secondigliano (2) Sette Palazzi (1) Terzo Mondo (1) Vesuvio (3) via Bakù (1) via Fuentes (1) via Stornaiolo (1)	66	Arzano (1) Caivano (1) Campania region (1) Casavatore (5) Castel Volturno (1) Domiziana (2) Giugliano (10) Ø Lazio (1) The Sails (1) Melito (2) Ø Milan (2) Milano Central Station (1) Miliscola (1) Montello (1) Naples (12) Ø Piscinola (1) jail (2) Posillipo (1) Smurf House (1) Ø Rome (4) Salerno (1) Sanità district (1) Secondigliano (1) Ø Third World (1) Vesuvius (3) via Bakù (1) via Fuentes (1) via Stornaiolo (1)

Table 15. Geographic names.

Considering the importance of these references in creating an authentic geographical context, and since the TV–Series explicitly aims to represent the real world in which the Camorra operates, evolves, and survives, it is interesting to notice that only 18.5% of the detected ECRs have been omitted from the subtitles, and that 38.2% of them have been maintained through unmarked Retention, as shown in Table 16 below.

Geographic Names			
Translation Strategy	%	Type	%
Source Oriented	71.6	Retention	38.2
		Specification	2.4
		Direct Translation	30.8
Target Oriented	28.3	Generalisation	9.8
		Substitution	0
		Omission	18.5

Table 16. Geographic names: Translation strategies.

ECRs referred to social structures, as it happens with the Lifestyle category, are strictly linked with the Camorra's world (e.g., *capo*, *clan*, *comitato*, *famiglia*, and *padrini*), as shown in Table 17 below.

ECRs	ST tokens	ST (types)	TT tokens	TT (types)
Social structures	53	appuntato (3) associazione (2) Associazione degli Accollatori (1) capo (4) capo corriere (1) clan (10) comitato (1) compare (3) comune (1) consiglio comunale (1) DIA (1) famiglia (2) padrini (1) paranza (2) Presidente della Giunta (1) Presidente della Repubblica (1) sentinelle (2) sindaco (10) Sottosegretario ai Trasporti (1)	52	officer (1) citizens watch group (1) Association of the Bearers (1) boss (4) chief runner (1) clan (9) group (1) godfather (1) N city council (1) Anti–mafia agency (1) The Capanos (1); the Savastanos (1) godfathers (1) old guys (2) Presidente of the Campania Region (1) President of Italy (1) guards (2) mayor (10) Undersecretary of Transportation (1)

Table 17. Social structures.

Considering that they are profoundly rooted in the original sociocultural context of the Series, only 15.3% of the detected ECRs is omitted, thus trying to more faithfully reproduce *Gomorrah*'s world through source–oriented strategies.

Social Structures			
Translation Strategy	%	Type	%
Source Oriented	51.9	Retention	19.2
		Specification	9.6
		Direct Translation	23
Target Oriented	28.8	Generalisation	9.6
		Substitution	3.8
		Omission	15.3

Table 18. Social structures: Translation strategies.

Final remarks

The following table summarises the preferred translation strategies used to render the detected ECRs:

Gomorrah – The Series (Season 1)	
Translation Strategy	%
Source Oriented	67.1
Target Oriented	32.9

Table 19. Gomorrah – The Series: Translation strategies.

On the whole, Direct Translation and Retention are the most frequent options with an average of 35.7% and 31.7%, respectively. More specifically, as for Retention, the foreignness of the original elements is never signalled to the audience, thus taking the form of an extreme source–oriented solution.

In addition to that, the decision to keep unchanged in the translation the so–called Microcultural ECRs (Pedersen 2005:11), that is cultural elements which are so local that even the majority of the source text audience could not know them, seems to confirm the general tendency not only to preserve the authentic Neapolitan flavour of *Gomorrah – The Series*, but also to socially and culturally reconstruct the Camorra's world as a well–established crime organisation.

The decision to emphasise the foreign flavour of the Series is even more interesting if we consider that both the audiovisual translation modality chosen to distribute *Gomorrah – The Series* to the UK, and the fact that the original audio was in Neapolitan dialect required an extra effort from the British audience, as stated in a British review appeared in the Independent: «When you read subtitles, you have to be glued to the screen. You just can't multitask when you're watching a foreign–language drama» (Corcoran 2015). Despite that, it seems that both the preferred audiovisual translation modality and the fact that the subtitles were able to faithfully reconstruct the original sociocultural context of the Series have played a key role in the enormous success that *Gomorrah* achieved in the UK: «[…] The houses, the people, what they wear, what their voices sound like,

the language, is one of the biggest appeals. There is a huge pleasure in that. […] Subtitles are a welcome enforcement for us to focus. That concentration gives a particular intensity to the viewing experience» (ibid.).

Consequently, looking at both the percentages and the typology of the omitted ECRs (see Table 20), it seems that the tendency is simply to avoid redundancy, using Omission as an inherent part of subtitling practice.

ECRs type	Omission
	%
1) proper names and surnames	30
2) epithets and nicknames	31.9
3) honorifics	37.3
4) food	0
5) lifestyle	32
6) geographic names	18.5
7) social structures	15.5
8) units of measure	6.6

Table 20. Omitted ECRs.

However, as for the omission of honorifics, it is possible to detect a slight departure from the original context. This could be related both to the differences in terms of formality/informality associated with address practices between Italy and the UK, and the key role that honorifics play within the Camorra world, which has no correspondence in the British culture.

In this regard, it is interesting to notice that while Don has been transferred in its original form ('Don'), the female Donna has been rendered as 'Lady'. As a consequence, in the English version, female leaders do not seem to be invested with the same strength and authoritativeness as they have in the source text. Since this tendency has been also detected in the English version of the exposé (Caliendo 2012:196), the English translation of *Gomorrah* – be it in a literary or in an audiovisual format – does not acknowledge the transformations of women's role in the Camorra's world: from that of maternal figures to serious and powerful female bosses (Saviano 2006).

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PART FIVE

ENGLISH IN THE DIGITAL AGE

DEALING WITH DEALS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE PROMOTIONAL DISCOURSE IN ONLINE COUPON ADVERTISING

Maria Cristina Aiezza

University of Naples "Federico II"

Introduction and Background

Every day, millions of web users receive e–mails promoting products and services at reduced prices or scan the Internet in search of the most profitable offer. A growing phenomenon is represented by deals of the day: limited time offers, usually at a deep discount rate, sold by intermediary websites (Mintzer 2013:7) and offering services which range from restaurants and hotels, to learning courses and medical treatments.

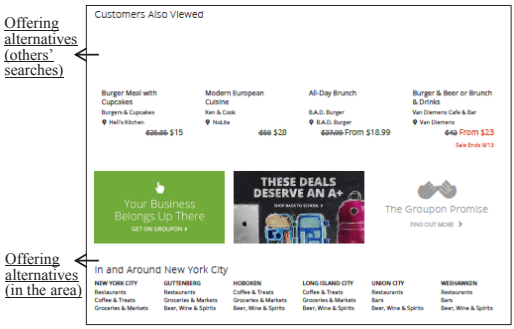
Vouchers are paid in advance, in order to be printed and redeemed directly at the merchants' properties. Daily deals help therefore bring buyers and sellers together, exploiting the users' wish to save money and drawing clients to all sorts of establishments, with the purpose of converting newly acquired into long–term customers (Mintzer 2013:7, 9).

The discourse of advertising has been the object of extensive research in the fields of communication (e.g. Leiss et al. 1990) and linguistics (e.g. Myers 1994; Cook 2001). The present study analyses daily deals as a form of online advertising, focusing on the case of the website Groupon, both for its international popularity and for its peculiar editorial style.

The online genre of deals of the day

Coupon websites like Groupon publish millions of online ads every day. Advertising on the web shows a number of differences from the more traditional media ads, circulated on print and television. Firstly, the online medium can potentially reach a larger public and therefore countless cultures (Chiaro 2014:314). In addition, digital ads are intended to be directly activated, inviting a form of interaction, a user response providing evidence for the novel central role of the addressee (Janoschka 2004:47; Lam 2013). Furthermore, virtual texts are highly dependent on multimedia, being both created by and consumed through more than one technological and sensory medium (Chiaro 2014:314), since they can transfer their content by means of written information or in combination with pictures, animations, sound or videos (Janoschka 2004:48; Lam 2013).

Online deals represent an evolution of hard–sell print ads, influenced by the characteristics of the Internet. Groupon deal pages consist of different sections, each serving a specific purpose. *Figures 1.1*, *1.2* and *1.3* show an example of a Groupon ad (from Groupon US).



Figures 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3. An example of rhetorical moves in a coupon advertisement

Based on the move structure for traditional advertising genres (Bhatia 2004; 2005), the following functions were identified in online deals:

1. Attracting the reader
2. Targeting the market
3. Justifying the product or service by establishing a niche
4. Detailing the product or service
5. Establishing credentials
6. Offering incentives
7. Using pressure tactics
8. Soliciting response
9. Offering alternatives
10. Referencing other materials

Comments in *Figures 1.1*, *1.2* and *1.3* illustrate the rhetorical moves enacted in the different parts of the text and underlined captions signal the clickable sections linking to external materials or to other pages in the website.

Groupon and glocal marketing

The Chicago–based Groupon corporation is a global deal–of–the–day e–commerce platform that features discounted gift certificates usable at local or national companies. While offering hyper–local deals, Groupon operates on a global scale, and its group has expanded rapidly and strategically, often by means of mergers and acquisitions of previous similar websites (Groupon Merchant). The company is currently active in 28 countries around the world (Groupon 2016).

The exportation of a web platform to foreign countries implies the implementation of the principles of globalisation, i.e. the act of making a product available for sale in another market (Chiaro 2014:314). The national versions of an online application need to undergo a process of localisation, i.e. the adaptation of products, services, and digital contents to a particular cultural–linguistic market (Anastasiou and Schäler 2010:13). This practice is facilitated by prior internationalisation of the product during the design phase, enacted by isolating linguistic and cultural data, so that localisation is performed simply and cheaply

(Schäler 2003:79; Anastasiou and Schäler 2010:13). Texts can also undergo a 'glocalisation', the creation of a message which will have a similar impact across different cultural contexts, by anticipating potential language– and culture–specific problems (Adab 1998:224; Chiaro 2014:315), since «the most effective way to make a product truly international is to make it look and feel like a native product in the target country» (Sprung 2000:xiv).

The "Groupon voice"

Groupon is a multinational corporation. Its business model and coupon format has been imitated by many competitors, yet the website's peculiarity seems to reside in its language, in its editorial voice, in the clever and quirky humour of its copies (Gobry 2010). Writers may come from different backgrounds, from journalism and copywriting but also from arts studies, including e.g. creative writers, poets, artists, actors, fiction writers, musicians and filmmakers (Weingarten 2010; Maltoni 2011; Aspray et al. 2013).

Groupon's style was the object of several articles and interviews in the press (e.g. Streitfeld 28/05/2011), especially after an (apparently) internal document was revealed. The text lists a set or requirements and resources that copywriters can exploit to achieve the so–called "Groupon voice". Absurd images, references to hypothetical worlds, fake proverbs and fake histories, highly technical language (medical, scientific, etc.) are some of the exploitable devices. Writers can also make use of peculiar figures of speech, e.g. mixed metaphors, negative comparisons ("...unlike when..."), illogical similes and lists. Yet, they should avoid traditional marketing clichés and be cautious not to violate humour taboos (Groupon Editorial Manual). Copies should contain precise and clear information but also make the content pop through 'show, don't tell' techniques (Maltoni 2011). Moreover, even the most nonsensical sentences should be written in an objective and authoritative third person, while the second person can only be admitted in the lead paragraph. One of Groupon's forces is its claimed independence from the merchants with whom the deals are made, also exerted by imposing Groupon style over the vendors' advertising materials, which can be used just as an inspiration (Groupon Editorial Manual).

Humour plays an essential role in many facets of human life and it has had a role since the very beginnings of marketing communications, with potentially negative as well as positive effects (see Gulas and Weinberger 2006). Considered as a brand, Groupon has acquired a reputation for creating imaginative advertisements, characterised by humour, incongruity and surprising elements. This may have produced a brand schema expected from customers who have previously been exposed to such ads. Thus, for some recipients, a serious advertisement published on Groupon may constitute a violation (see McQuarrie and Philips 2008:147).

Aims and Purposes

Taking into account these premises, the present paper shows an investigation on the adaptation of the Groupon guidelines to some of its national versions, namely the United States, the United Kingdom and Italy. The study aims at highlighting any differences in the application of Groupon style in the localised websites.

Methods

Corpus and analysis

Groupon offers range from restaurants to wellness centres, from trips to professional courses, from shopping to healthcare. For the present study, four categories of deals were selected, *Beauty & Spas*, *Food & Drinks*, *Health & Fitness* and *Things to do*, taking into consideration a sample of ads appeared on the 12th of August 2015 on Groupon.com, Groupon.co.uk, Groupon.it for the towns of, respectively, New York, London and Rome. The small corpus collects 60 texts, five for each category, 40 in English and 20 in Italian. A further comparison is carried out against the format of the daily deals published by some of Groupon's main competitors in the three countries: LivingSocial (US), Wowcher (UK) and Groupalia (IT).

Cultures, advertising styles and humour

Italy and the two Anglophone countries selected present substantial differences in terms of features of their national cultures (see Hofstede 2001[2]). De Mooij (2001) connected the dimensions of a nation's culture with its preferred advertising style. In particular, the USA and the UK – defined by Hofstede (2001[2]) as individualistic cultures which tolerate uncertainty – would be keener on using humour, since they cope better with ambiguity (De Mooij 2001).

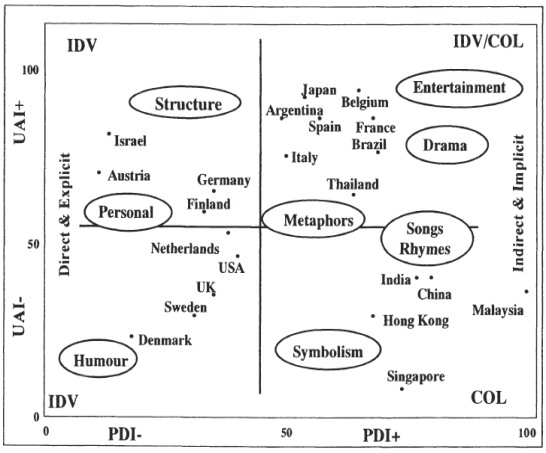


Table 1. Countries and advertising styles (De Mooij 2001:19)

Humour has many forms and can be associated with several kinds of attitudes and devices. For instance, Kelly and Solomon (1975:32) distinguish humour in: *pun*, words suggesting two interpretations; *understatement*, representing something as less than is the case; *joke*, speaking without seriousness; *ludicrous*, something laughable or ridiculous;

sarcasm, exposing vice or folly; *irony*, expressing the opposite of what one really means; *intent*, perceived intent to be humorous.

Some previous comparative studies on TV ads in the UK and US (Weinberger and Spotts 1989; Toncar 2001) found that ludicrous statements and jokes were more common in the United States, while satire and understatement were preferred in the UK but no differences in the proportion of humour were identified.

The present analysis compares Groupon ads which appeared in the three states chosen, UK, US and Italy, in order to identify any differences in the advertising forms used, with a specific focus on the exploitation of humorous devices.

Results

The lead

In journalism, the lead is the opening paragraph of a news article. It represents its abstract, yet its purpose is not merely to summarise the main action: it is a «directional summary, a lens through which the point of the story is focused and the news values magnified» (Bell 1991:183). Also in advertisement writing, the first paragraph is considered of fundamental importance, since it should entice the recipients to read the full text, holding their attention and interest (see Worstell 2014:200-202).

As stated in the Groupon Editorial Manual, the first paragraph should begin with a short creative lead, an entirely humorous sentence. However, comparing the deals offered in the three national versions of Groupon, a diverging usage of this introductory part is noticed. The section is included in just under half of the US (9/20) ads, it is almost always present in the Italian corpus (18/20), while it is never used in the UK.

Tables 2 and 3 in the following pages list the lead paragraphs retrieved in the US and Italian corpora and the humorous/creative devices identified. It appears from the analyses of the leads, in both American and Italian deals, that these sections express creativity mainly with odd humour, through illogical comparisons and absurd images, wordplays and, especially in Italy, also sarcasm.

In particular, unlikely comparisons are frequent in US leads. A deal may, for instance, assimilate the desire for a massage to the wish for a brand new carton of milk, as in (1):

> (1) A massage is something you can look forward to all week, like the day the carton of milk expires and you get to buy a new one. Reward yourself with this Groupon. (*TriBeca Spa of Tranquillity*, Beauty & Spas)

Similes can also be combined in the same sentence with further devices, such as sarcasm and pun, as in the following lead:

> (2) Sushi is served *raw*, just like the drama on premium cable shows. Taste the real deal with this Groupon [my italics]. (*Kumo Sushi*, Food & Drinks)

In (2), the term *raw* is referred both to sushi, a Japanese dish which usually contains uncooked fish, and to the realism/directness of TV series. Illogical associations may also

be expressed in the form of a negative comparison, in which the subject is contrasted with an improbable and comic image, introduced by the preposition *unlike*, as in (3):

> (3) Acupuncture needles are safe, unlike a blowdart collection haphazardly balancing next to a fan collection. You're in good hands with this Groupon. (*Seitai Community Acupuncture Center*, Health & Fitness)

Absurd actions and qualities are often included in seemingly serious sentences, as in the following deal offering a teeth whitening treatment:

> (4) A moderately bright smile can reveal its wearer's health, and a very bright smile *can reveal the safest path to shore to far–off ships* [my italics]. Reveal a glowing grin with this Groupon. (*Smiles NYC*, Health & Fitness)

Even jokes are told with an assertive tone, which has the purpose to surprise the reader, as in lead (5), promoting a coupon for a comedy show:

> (5) When comedians get onstage, they open their lives to audiences *and to any burglars who realize they won't be home for hours* [my italics]. Help yourself to comedic treasures with this GrouponLive deal. (*Dark Horse Comedy Club*, Things to do)

Category	Lead	Devices
Beauty & Spas	*GoGreen Organic Spa*	absurd image
	TriBeca Spa of Tranquillity	illogical comparison
Food & Drinks	*Ayza Wine & Chocolate Bar*	contrast
	Cornerstone Restaurant & Cafe	pun; filmic reference
	Kumo Sushi	pun; illogical comparison
Health & Fitness	*Seitai Community Acupuncture Center*	illogical negative comparison
	Smiles NYC	absurd image; ludicrous
Things to do	*Dark Horse Comedy Club*	joke; metaphor
	Painting Lounge	illogical comparison

Table 2. Leads and devices in the US corpus

Concerning the Italian corpus, sarcasm is often exploited to refer to unpleasant and annoying situations, as in the list of stressful situations in (6):

> (6) Le spa hanno il potere di far dimenticare lo stress della vita quotidiana come i litigi con il capo, la pila di piatti da lavare nel lavandino e le visite a sorpresa dei suoceri. Ritrova tranquillità e relax da Borgo San Faustino Spa/Risto. [*Spas have the power to make you forget the stress of everyday life, like the quarrels with your boss, the pile of dishes to be washed in the sink and your parents–in–law's surprise visits. Recover peace and relax at Borgo San Faustino Spa/Restaurant*] (*Borgo San Faustino*, Beauty & Spas)

Also the Italian language inspires wordplays, as exemplified by the following paragraph, which associates horse riding gaits to knight's moves in the game of chess:

(7) L'equitazione insegna agli aspiranti fantini le varie andature: trottare, galoppare e muoversi "a elle" per mangiare la torre e dare scacco matto al re. Entra in contatto con la natura da C'era una volta il West. [*Horse riding teaches would–be jockeys the different gaits: trotting, galloping and moving in an L–shape to take the castle and check the king. Come into contact with nature at C'era una volta il West.*] (*C'era una volta il West*, Things to do)

Category	Lead	Devices
Beauty & Spas	*Aloe Spa*	illogical comparison and list
	Aquarium Spa Center	comparison; filmic reference
	Borgo San Faustino	sarcastic list
	Terme di Caracalla	hypothetical world; personification
Food & Drinks	*Boccuccia*	list of absurd images; filmic references
	Estrogusto	contrast
	Fonte Capannelle	comparison; list
	L'Eco del Mare	contrast
	Trinità dei Monti	wordplay
Health & Fitness	*Laboratorio Ippocrate*	comparison
	Ponzano Beach&Pizza	list of absurd images
	Studio Ecografia Diagnostica	comparison
	Studio Medico Tornabene	sarcastic comparison
	Dott. Francesco De Felice	comparison
Things to do	*C'era una volta il West*	list of absurd images; pun
	Stabilimento balneare Elmi	list of absurd images
	Peppino a Mare Beach	list of sarcastic images
	Safari d'arte	sarcastic image

Table 3. Leads and devices in the Italian corpus

As Kelly and Solomon (1975:32) write «Humor, as with beauty, is in the eye of the beholder» and its perceptions are the result of many complex dimensions, i.e. cultural, temporal, and individual differences. In particular, the humoristic style of the Italian corpus may sound uncommon to an Italian reader, e.g. for its unusual repertoire of comparisons. In addition, an instance of translationese was identified in the Italian corpus:

(8) Trova la *zona di conforto* da Fonte Campanelle [my italics]. [*Find your* comfort zone *at Fonte Capannelle.*] (*Fonte Capannelle*, Food & Drinks)

In (8), *zona di conforto* appears to be a translation of the English expression *comfort zone*: due to the similarity between the two words, *comfort* was therefore mistakenly interpreted as 'consolation' (*conforto*) instead of 'ease' or 'relaxation' (Merriam–Webster Online Dictionary). This suggested the hypothesis that Italian leads might be translated or adapted from a US database of daily deal ads. The idea was confirmed by some explorative searches on Google, revealing that, e.g., a deal promoting a spa treatment by personifying house linen, as in (9),

(9) Senza le spa, gli accappatoi non guadagnerebbero abbastanza per sposare le tovaglie e mandare i fazzoletti all'università. Entra nella famiglia del benessere... [*Without spas, bathrobes would not earn enough money to marry tablecloths and send handkerchiefs to university. Come into the wellness family…*] (*Terme di Caracalla*, Beauty & Spas)

would correspond to a similar sentence retrieved online in several Groupon US deals:

(10) Without spas, terry–cloth bathrobes would have to make ends meet by taking part–time jobs as car–wash rags and Muppets. Help keep bath wear gainfully employed with this Groupon.

As stated in Groupon Manual, leads can be recycled, but only when writers have run out of ideas. Yet, this choice seems to be often adopted in Italy. For instance, to introduce medical offers in a harmless way, copywriters reuse a comparison of the human body with a machine in 3/5 ads in the *Health & Fitness* category, as exemplified in (11):

(11) Anche la macchina più collaudata e i motori più affidabili hanno bisogno di una revisione periodica. Un principio che vale tanto per le auto sportive quanto per l'organismo. Affidati al Laboratorio Ipprocrate. [*Even the best–tested machines and the most reliable motors need a periodical overhaul. A principle which applies both to sports cars and to the human body. Entrust yourself to Laboratorio Ippocrate.*] (*Laboratorio Ippocrate*, Health & Fitness)

Humour in the copy

Considering the body of the advertisements, humour was retrieved just once in the Italian corpus. More specifically, in (12), a centre selling a beauty treatment is introduced by means of a nonsensical personification, while the manicure service offered is sarcastically presented as necessary in order to be ready for an engagement proposal:

(12) Da Armonia e Benessere, estetica e benessere convivono serenamente senza litigare per gli asciugamani puliti. Le professioniste valorizzano la femminilità offrendo trattamenti studiati per soddisfare ogni esigenza di perfezione: dalla ceretta d'urto alla radiofrequenza fino al presentimento di una proposta di matrimonio per la quale occorre una manicure a prova d'anello. [*At Armonia and Benessere, beauty and wellbeing coexist peacefully without fighting for clean towels. The professionals enhance femininity by offering treatments designed to satisfy any demand for perfection: from "shock" wax to radio frequency, to the feeling of a marriage proposal, which requires a ring–proof manicure.] (Armonia e Benessere,* Beauty & Spas)

Irony and creativity are instead better distributed in the US ads (13/20), where they are also inserted in the sections following the lead which aim at specifying product details and merchant's profile (see *Figure 1.1* in the previous pages). *Table 3* in the following page lists the humorous devices identified in the body of the American deal offers.

Italian copywriters would therefore appear to be pressured to immediately insert a note of wit through the initial lead, which is defined in the editorial guidelines as a common mistake for novice Groupon writers. Instead, «t]he best write–ups surprise the reader with well–timed, spaced out humour, which comes unexpected» [(Groupon Editorial Manual). It is, in fact, recommended to weave injections of humour into the factual information about the business, even by means of a single phrase or word, as is common in the US corpus.

Several instances of surprising humour exploit ludicrous images, which amuse the reader through ridiculous and unexpected statements, like (13), which lists the amusing *pillow–fluffing schedule* among the competences mastered by a spa holder:

> (13) The owner in question is Gary Latawiec, a soft–spoken man with an impressive knowledge of the spa's procedures and pillow–fluffing schedule. (*TriBeca Spa of Tranquillity*, Beauty & Spas)

Humour is often the result of an accumulation of devices. For instance, a ludicrous image may include a sarcastic reference, as in (14), which hints at children' usual dislike of bread crust:

> (14) [...] parents and kids move through a seven–level program filled with storytelling, play activities, and debates on the merits of sandwich crust. (*Gymboree Play & Music*, Health & Fitness)

Puns and subtle injections of humour may be inserted in information–dense sections, as in (15), which refers to coffee through the term *pick–me–ups*, interpreted both as a drink «that makes you feel better and more lively» (Merriam–Webster Online Dictionary), and as something able to lift up people wearing slippery *banana–peel shoes*:

> (15) Italian wines and craft bottled beers wash down dinner courses, organic fair–trade coffee provides morning pick–me–ups to people with banana–peel shoes. (*Cornerstone Restaurant & Cafe*, Food & Drinks)

Absurd language may also reveal witty references. For instance, deal (16) promotes an art class, by quoting, among the painting skills taught, also "clock–melting", with a clear allusion to the well–known painting *The Persistence of Memory* by Salvador Dalí:

> (16) [...] students learn the proper techniques of painting, such as composition, shading, and glaring at clocks until they melt. (*Painting Lounge*, Things to do)

Category	Deal	Devices
Beauty & Spas	*Confidence Beauty Salon & Spa*	absurd image
	GoGreen Organic Spa	illogical comparison; pun; ludicrous
	Purest Laser & Skin Care	absurd image
	TriBeca Spa of Tranquility	ludicrous
Food & Drinks	*Ayza Wine and Chocolate Bar*	contrast
	Cornerstone Restaurant & Cafe	pun; absurd image; metaphor
	Kumo Sushi	list of absurd images

Category	Deal	Devices
Health & Fitness	*Body Factory Skin Care*	sarcasm
	CKO Kickboxing	absurd images; personification; ludicrous
	Gymboree Play & Music	ludicrous; sarcasm
	Seitai Community Acupuncture Center	wordplay
	Smiles NYC	absurd image; ludicrous
Things to do	*Best tours*	cultural reference; metaphor
	Bowcraft Amusement Park	absurd image; ludicrous
	Painting Lounge	absurd image; artistic reference

Table 4. Humour in the copy in the US corpus

The UK corpus did not reveal any instances of humorous language. Yet, this does not imply that the British deals include bare presentation of facts. Such texts exploit instead other linguistic means to attract readers, like luscious language used to illustrate food preparation or detailed descriptions of decors.

Moreover, from the press, it was revealed that several Groupon deals selling medical treatments had been banned in the past by the British ASA (Advertising Standards Agency), e.g. for pressuring consumer into cosmetic surgery (see Sweney 23/11/2011). From the deals quoted in the news, it is interesting to notice that irony was actually exploited on Groupon.co.uk, at least until 2012, even in medical coupons promoting rhinoplasty or weight loss pants:

> (17) Altering the physique needs a lot of careful consideration, a substantial amount of initial information and is better performed by someone who *nose* best [my italics]. (asa.org.uk 23/11/2011)
> (18) […] designed to aid clients in their transformation into a smaller Russian doll self […]. (theregister.co.uk 01/02/2012)

With the purpose of obtaining some insights about copywriting and editorial styles in the different countries–and especially on the probable shift of style in British copywriting–Groupon press offices operating in the three countries were contacted, yet the inquires remained unanswered.

Competitors

The analysis of the selected competitors' websites revealed the exploitation of promotional linguistic devices which are stigmatised in Groupon style guide. More specifically, such platforms use expressions labelled in the Groupon Editorial Manual as traditional marketing clichés to be avoided: they posit the deal as the obvious solution to the reader's imaginary problems or they are too direct and imply too much familiarity with the reader. For instance, the US deal provider LivingSocial seems to adopt the schema 'If you need X, buy this deal'. Similarly, the Italian Groupalia appears to exploit

the format 'Get X with our deal', also reusing vendors' materials without any creative intervention (see Aiezza forth.)

Interestingly, while the deals on Groupon UK do not include any comic elements, the British competitor Wowcher adopts instead a humorous style. Consider, e.g. the following lead:

> (19) If the best view of London you can usually expect to get is a sweaty man's armpit on the Tube then take a look at today's deal. (*City Cruises*, Activities)

Yet, Wowcher differs from Groupon for its more direct style and its tabloid–like layout, attracting buyers through an invasive paratext:

Figure 2. An example of deal from Wowcher

Discussion and conclusions

Advertisements are influenced and can reflect differences between cultures and markets. Nevertheless, they are also both part of and help to create a new global culture which ignores national boundaries (Cook 2001:22). International brands often have local variations, but the company's culture may interfere, with marketing managers driven by the need for consistent brand identities (De Mooij 2011:114).

Online deals of the day represent a new advertising form, mixing discursive, hypertextual and multimodal resources (Lam 2012). From De Mooij's (2001) perspective, the USA and the UK should be keener on exploiting humoristic elements in their advertisements. The present comparative study revealed that the native website Groupon US continues pursuing both informative and entertaining purposes by means of frequent injections of irony in the copies. The UK version seems instead to have experienced a shift towards a more serious presentation, without any notes of humour. On the contrary, the Italian Groupon tries to remain faithful to the US guidelines. Yet, this appears to be often effected by a forced insertion of pre–packaged, glocalised Groupon humour in the lead paragraphs.

The use of humour in advertising is not a new device. However, it seems that the Groupon style itself is influencing the copywriting style not only of competitors but also of other promotional media, e.g. the French mobile app *App of the Day*.

Further studies are needed to investigate the effectiveness of a specific company's 'voice' in different markets, its contribution to the readers' willingness to read and to buy a deal or product.

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LANGUAGE, MIND AND CULTURE IN THE ONLINE GLOBAL CONTEXT: AN INQUIRY OF PSYCHOLINGUISTIC BLOGS

Roxanne Barbara Doerr

University of Milan

Introduction

Globalisation and transnationalism have had great impact on communication in all of its verbal and non–verbal channels (Barton and Lee 2013), leading to forms of elaboration such as intertextuality and remediation (Bolter and Grusin 2000). New and social media, in particular, are connected to transnationalism because they have fostered and promoted information transmission and sharing – along with scientific and academic research and collaboration – on an international level. Accordingly, the English language has become the lingua franca of online communication and interaction, uniting developing standardised linguistic variations (Crystal 2003) and the specialised discourse of various fields and professions with occasional and spontaneous references to the place and field of origin of those employing these social media and the new terms that are typical of the Internet. These elements all implicitly create the online identity of a user who joins one or more online discourse communities (Swales 2016) within an online social world which contains – but is not solely discursively regulated by – online genres that are discursively formed (Garzone and Catenaccio 2009). The fact that information on the Internet may potentially and easily be reached not only by the website's targeted or potential audience, but also by potential and real overhearers and eavesdroppers enforces the transnational reach and strength of these means.

Among the forms and genres of writing that have emerged as a consequence and through the means provided by social media, blogs have emerged as an important catalyst and promoter of transnationalism (Granieri 2005; Miller and Shepherd 2005; Polito 2011). In fact, their democratic appeal (Page 2012) along with their user–friendly and flexible structure, encourage readers to peruse and actively contribute if they feel like it, or simply learn from them. Moreover, blogs' visibility (Kissau and Hunger 2010) and natural 'placelessness' (i.e., lack of any indication on in the media of the place in which the blog is written, Myers 2010), as well as their international outreach and potential audience, recall and respond to the movement of people, knowledge and collaboration that characterises

a globalised and transnational world. At the same time though, blogs have the liberating and even therapeutic (Tan 2008) ability to implicitly and explicitly express the identity or identities that the blogger choses to present to this transnational and varied audience. This focus on a professional's expression of research and experience in an online context is particularly fruitful in cases of highly hybrid and currently developing LSPs and ESPs like that of psychology, for «the words people use in their daily lives can reveal important aspects of their social and psychological worlds» (Pennebaker et al. 2003:547). Linguistic studies on psychology ESP (Abbamonte and Petillo 2015), moreover, are often metadiscursive because of their connection between an individual's perception and cognition and his or her verbal and non–verbal interaction with others, as emerges in the present study.

(Research) Background and aims

Psychology was traditionally considered a branch of the philosophical and educational sciences (Hutchinson and Waters 1987) that generally focused on describing and discussing the function of mental and cognitive faculties and abilities and the ways in which knowledge may be better conveyed and understood. However, developments in technology and studies on the connections of the mind with all forms of everyday behavior and interaction have lead to its rapid evolution. In fact, psychological research now involves fields like biology, neuroscience, cognitive science, linguistics, and information science, leading psychology, and therefore psychology ESP, to take on a heterogeneity of contexts, content and registers (Granieri 2005; Miller and Shepherd 2005). As a result, psychology ESP has increasingly specialised and consolidated its presence and voice in academic, scientific, analytical and online contexts and language (Belcher et al. 2011).

In particular, the present study will consider one specific and metalinguistic branch of psychology, i.e. psycholinguistics, or the psychology of language, which consists in the study of the mental representations and processes that are involved in the use and production of language (Warren 2013) and inquires into a variety of topics regarding the connection between the mind, culture and language. Its fields of research range from detailed investigation into speech production and perception, morphology, mental lexicon, syntax, to more pragmatic issues such as discourse and conversation analysis, semantics and language acquisition. Because psycholinguistics establishes a strong bond between thinking and communication, shifts in communication and thought, such as those emerging from the innovation and changes brought by transnationalism and online communication, will inevitably influence the manner in which one positions him or herself within society and interacts with others in face–to–face and online contexts. The latter situation will be the object of the present study: from a sociolinguistic perspective in fact, social networking showcases two fundamental social dynamics that are relevant in terms of cross–cultural studies: identity, or the presentation of the self that is constructed and negotiated through a set of resources, and community, consisting of the building and maintenance of networked relationships (Seargent and Tagg 2014, Garzone and Catenaccio 2009).

Among the many available forms of social media, blogs (Bruns and Jacobs 2007) have emerged significantly due to their user friendly and flexible structure and to their great visibility and demotic appeal. According to Blood in fact, weblogs or blogs radi-

cally created the first narrative form of discourse on the Internet which contributes to discussing all sorts of issues in a worldwide public sphere or 'blogosphere' (2002). With time, this means of communication has also become part of the academic discourse community, thus providing the material and the place to position oneself as an academic and share and discuss scientifically and academically relevant theories and experience (Plastina 2010). In the specific field of psycholinguistics, blogs represent a point of contact between experts and readers, who may be part of the targeted audience (Bucher 2005) or simply overhearers with first or second hand experience that enables interactivity (Yun 2007, Adami 2013), i.e., the negotiation and sharing of knowledge, experience and material among people with different origins, travel and accommodation backgrounds, and levels of education and linguistic–cognitive acquisition. Moreover, psycholinguistics may be considered a metalinguistic and metadiscursive branch of psychology, in that it necessarily employs language in order to explain, discuss and understand the cognition and specific use of language itself. Its blogs also lead bloggers, readers and commenters to reflect on their own experience and consequent use of language, making it entirely subjective, before contributing to the online discuss by agreeing or disagreeing.

Because blogs do not occur in a situation of direct contact, it is essential for such interaction to be carried out and conveyed by means of linguistic markers and recognisable signpost language which is extensively used both in the blog posts and in the comments section with different functions. Interestingly, in order to be more involving, blogs straddle the line between written and oral language and may be inserted within a spectrum of registers and degrees of specificity – ranging from blatantly humoristic and informal to clearly professional – according to the blog's purpose (to entertain, inform, support or create networks) and the degree of professionalism of the blogger and targeted audience (researcher, student, therapist, general public, etc.) (Granieri 2005, Miller and Shepherd 2005, Polito 2011). This leads to an adjustment in the level of formality of those writing and in the use of colloquialisms and of discursive and conversation strategies that are usually employed in more traditional forms of interaction and are of great relevance for both psychology English and knowledge sharing. In fact, in order to explain and sustain one's opinion and position efficiently before an open online audience, it is necessary to employ clear rhetorical and linguistic means to carry out pragmatic functions indicating confidence (for instance, through the choice of modal verbs and connotative adjectives and nouns or clear indications of facts and references) or openness to discussion (accomplished by means of hedging, face–saving strategies and vagueness or indecision in the face of potential conflicts). Doing so encourages the progress of theories and ideas in light of diverse experiences and backgrounds such as those provided in a transnational online discourse community.

Methods and Data set

The great hybridity of the field that links the mind and language most closely, i.e. psycholinguistics, make it an especially interesting one from metalinguistic and rhetorical perspectives (Jaworski and Coupland 2014). The present inquiry will therefore analyze the strategies and functions of the language used in an international blog written by two

experts on bilinguism and language acquisition by focusing on the blogs' posts and their related comments from an empirical, critical discourse analysis perspective. Factors such as identity, community, discursive strategies, knowledge sharing and their presentation (especially in light of the increasing possibility of the presence of 'overhearers' as in Seargent and Tagg 2014) will be observed to prove if and how «word use is a meaningful marker and occasional mediator of natural social and personality processes» (Pennebaker et al. 2003:548). The results of the analysis, in turn provide useful considerations on current trends in the development of online knowledge sharing within an international and transnational discourse community.

The focus of the present analysis was the "Life as a bilingual" blog which may be found at https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/life–bilingual and, with its studies on and review of books and studies on multilinguism and bilinguism, targets the general public, thus opting for a popularising approach that has become very common both online and offline in order to familiarise the public with the specific concepts and terms of the scientific field in a user friendly way. This and the transnational nature of the topic and its ability to actively involve and engage with the public lead to the choice of this blog.

Out of the 22 posts that have been written between January 1st, 2014 and August 5th, 2015, 16 have been selected, along with the bloggers' profiles and the posts' comments (for a total of about 39,000 words) because they record a negotiable and negotiated form of consistent online contact and interaction between the bloggers and their readers. A qualitative research was carried out with the intent of answering the two following research questions:

> *Research question 1.* Which linguistic and discursive means are employed by bloggers and their participating audience to identify themselves and interact in an international online context?
>
> *Research question 2.* Which linguistic and discursive means are employed by respondents to relate to or distance themselves from the content of posts and comments?

The aim of these two questions is twofold: the first is that of analysing how people in an international and transnational context identity themselves, others and knowledge and experience on language acquisition by mixing established discursive strategies with a typical online language that is hybrid between written and oral English. The second is to observe how the space and tools provided by blogs promote knowledge sharing and create long distance relationships between users with varying levels of experience and competence which must be presented and demonstrated through their linguistic and online identity, as well as their experience and contribution to the community.

Analysis of discursive strategies and linguistic features

The following section will deal with some of the most characterising features of this kind of interaction in an online context in which both bloggers and readers feel they can, and should, contribute. This leads, as will be specified further on, to the use of common yet indicative linguistic and discursive strategies that not only convey a message

but a specific private or public 'identity' as well, since the members of this community do not meet in person and therefore can only rely on the information that is provided. Furthermore, such identities and the knowledge that they claim to bring, and do bring, to the blog's community constitute a form of online knowledge sharing that aims at enforcing the discourse community by providing an expanding and updated repertoire of studies, reviews, personal and professional experiences and opinions that represent and satisfy the requirements of a focal discourse community (Swales 2016).

The present analysis will focus on two main matters: the identity and interaction of the writers in their posts and comments (both bloggers and readers), which is the part of the blog where such a community interacts and develops.

Bloggers' self–presentations and positioning

Blogs are a very personal and personalised online genre: in fact, not only is it possible for a blogger to express him or herself freely, with no limitations in space and in the type and size of hyperlinked media, but the form and register that a personal blog takes on reflects the blogger in terms of linguistic and discursive personal preferences professionalism, thought and writing structure and the support of its topics. This is also the case in academic blogs, as Plastina points out when claiming that «Blogs are basically identified with their author(s), thus placing authorship at the forefront of online discourse» (2010:350).

The blog considered here, "Life as a Bilingual", is written by François Grosjean, Ph.D. and Aneta Pavlenko, Ph.D., who are both experts in bilinguism but present their degree and type of competence differently and consequently identify themselves differently as writers and subjects. Their self–references also take on diverging forms and may be very explicit or very implicit in order to position themselves differently compared to their readers and shift their position of negotiation:

• *Bio/academic profile part of the Psychology Today group, location*

Since the blog is part of the larger community that follows the popularising journal *Psychology Today*, each blogger has his or her own professional profile with standard spaces and indications of their qualifications, publications, fields of research and location of activity. The latter in particular takes away from the 'placelessness' (Myers 2010) that is typical of blogs and locates the blogger in a specific physical location. As a result however, these blurbs also set the bloggers within the larger *Psychology Today* team that specialises in the fields of bilinguism, multilinguism and language acquisition.

• *Personal references*

The bloggers situate also themselves through personal narrations and references that may be found, both in the articles and in the comments, as a way of 'pinpointing' their current situation, 'tagging' themselves in an ongoing activity or informing on when they will be away or busy through phatic expressions such as apologies or justifications. In

other instances, they write about themselves and their language acquisition as personified case studies that have been studied by themselves, thus enabling them to come to a better understanding of their situation. Interestingly, this entails that the variety of languages that are learnt are associated with the timeframe, context and role that the writer wants to highlight. First and childhood languages are usually referred to in emotional and connotational terms, while later languages learnt in school, university, on the job or while travelling are linked to rational and professional activity and registers:

> I am fluent in both English and French, I've been working on bilingualism, the topic of my new book, for more than thirty years, and I was going to address a general public. (Grosjean)

> My own Spanish mercilessly interferes with my Italian, while Polish and Russian emerge, uninvited, every time I try to speak Ukrainian. (Pavlenko)

• *A member of the same community as the readers*

Finally, at times the bloggers more or less implicitly insert themselves within the target community, and therefore refer to themselves simply as people who have gone through the same experiences and struggles as their readers but not from an advantaged standpoint. This may be found in expressions where they position themselves part of the group through inclusive expressions such as: *As bilinguals, one of our greatest hopes* or even in more apologetic references to themselves like *Of course I am no exception…* This puts them on the same level as their readers, encouraging them to write about themselves and their experience as bilingual and multilingual subjects.

Readers' self-presentations and positioning

The readers can interact in the comments section of the blog at the end of each post but since, unlike the bloggers, they are not known, they must make more extensive use of this space not only in order to introduce themselves, but also to justify their presence and the validity of their claims and contribution (and therefore that of the information they can provide) by relating their experience and the results and changes they have observed and attained, like in the following cases:

> I grew up in a multilingual environment (German from mum, French from dad, Dutch at nursery, and then English at school), and while I usually don't have problems keeping my languages separate, it takes me a real effort to count in one individual language.

> We have been very successful thus far raising German and English speaking children in the US.

The blog readers' positioning is also strongly established and reinforced by their 'stance' (Biber et al. 1999, Myers 2010), which mark the speaker and writer's attitude or commitment to the expressed statement or idea. In the blog, the stance changes ac-

cording to the degree of certainty and/or conviction of the reader and therefore their authoritativeness or their desire to commit to their statement. The stance may be:

> – Epistemic, based on marking certainty and uncertainty: *I suspect she was becoming senile but can't be sure; I just knew that as a Dutch mother, with a French husband, and living in France, I was in charge of other then French language input*
> – Attitudinal, with which the writer expresses aesthetic preference, moral judgement or emotional response: *What is disturbing to me about the article; to be clear; we now code–switch between our three languages that we share, that is really fun!*
> – Stylistic, to indicate a strong shift in tone or something that is written but does not correspond to the writer's true opinion: *I strongly agree with her; well I honestly don't think it can because we pick it up from small age so it has to stick in our minds.*

Such conviction is also relevant in relation to the following sub–section, i.e., that of the interaction between novices and experts, for one of the main reasons why novices and amateurs follow specialised blogs is because they are interested in quickly and easily learning from someone with experience and competence on the matter.

Novice–expert interaction

Although online communication is developing with its own forms, it maintains many traditional pragmatic conventions concerning interaction such as those the idea of Brown and Levinson's (1987) concept of 'face' – or public image of oneself to be protected before others – in politeness theory and Leech's politeness maxims (1983), in particular those of modesty, approbation and agreement. Discussions in blogs are built upon many discursive strategies that are found in everyday conversations or in conferences, their questions and answers. Participation and interaction in this discourse community is therefore used «to initiate actions and activities, rather than simply providing information» (Swales 2016:15) through one of the following methods:

> – Address forms and formality, which range from formal and respectful to acknowledge the bloggers' position of expertise, to very informal and friendly, mirroring the accommodating and inviting attitude that the bloggers try to share with their readers. This is accomplished through the choice of greetings or references to the bloggers' names and/or titles: *Dear; Dr.; Hi; Cheers.*
> – References to the reader's experience and level of knowledge in order to instate him or herself as a contributing member of the discourse community with useful information. In these cases the writer must use a more personal register, thus sacrificing the formality of the message itself in order to create and negotiate an indisputable position within the discussion. This results in a great use of first person pronouns and references to personal or professional roles or to a part of one's identity that validate his or her opinion: *I have found….I am familiar with x's studies; I have read the original paper; As a teacher I know…Personally, being bilingual…*
> – Declarations of loyalty, which are positive face enhancing by increasing the blogger's authority and consolidate the writer's position as a dedicated member of the

online discourse community with expressions such as: *I'll continue to read here; As I wrote to you a long time ago; Hello Prof Grosjean – long time no talk!; Glad to have found this website! I am a keen reader of your posts.*

– Other interaction that are initiated by a novice in search of information or assistance and often worded as simple questions that make extensive use of negotiating language, hedging and expressions of modesty (and therefore of the past continuous tense and expressions of gratitude). Some of these include: *I was wondering what would happen if…?; I was wondering if you could give me any advice? I would appreciate any and all suggestions!*

– Another important expression of position, and in this case of a desired position, are readers' references to their goals for the future indicating current limitations and aspirations and expressed by means of modal verbs of possibility and expressions of desire and hypotheses: *Working on learning English together as a family can build both the family relationships and educational opportunities; I just really wish I could grasp monolingual counting.*

(Structure of) Comments

The comments in the blog are all structured as followed: Title of comment, name/nickname/anonymous of the poster, timestamp, text of comment. The possibility for the commenter to choose between using their name (real or not), an evident nickname or anonymity is also indicative of his or her intent and the more or less permanent and relevant position he or she wishes to assume within the community.

The title of the comments may follow different linguistic means, thus creating a difference in tone and relation with other members:

– Nominalisation, which gives the post an official sounding tone, especially when the writer wishes to attribute a sense of authority to him or herself: *Minor correction; A matter of perspective; My experience*

– Interrupted statements reflecting the less formal and more spontaneous writing of online media, with interrupted sentences that compel members to finish the sentence by reading the comment that follows: *This is an interesting topic (for me); I wonder if research has been (done on…)*

– Citation of the blog post's title, which creates an immediate connection with the previous post and becomes an appendix of it, thus enhancing the intertextuality of the blog and its comment. Interestingly, it is always used when the writer describes his or her situation as a success story: *Passing for a native speaker; Bilingual Children*

Similarly, the commenter may latch on to the previous post but – as opposed to the previous situation – refer directly to the blogger's writing in order to refer to a part or reference in the post: *Your statement on*

– Requests for information, with question marks to attract attention, when the commenter relates to the problem presented in the post and therefore appeals, as an amateur, to the expert blogger for advice or assistance: *and at school? What to do?*

Types of comments

Comments are also presented in various forms and registers, all denoting the writer's presence, authority and interest both in learning from and in helping the bloggers and members. They make take on the following forms:

> – Remarks and compliments, which open the comment and are very direct, informal and make extensive use of strongly informal punctuation like exclamation marks: *Hello, this is SO fascinating to me!; Many thanks for a profoundly interesting post!*
> – Sharing extra material, readings and suggestions which, according to the writer's position and competence and to the quality of the information, may range from professional, impersonal and even academic expressions like *Some of the materials we have developed are here*; *This is a short list of personal examples some people may find familiar; I expect that the results you cite are the consequences of overgeneralizing from WEIRDos […] something psychological studies are notoriously plagued with. See Behavioral and Brain Sciences vol 33 issue 2–3 (2010) for details*, to direct suggestions that are very vernacular in tone and resemble a conversation between friends, especially when the material or action pertains to everyday life and activities, such as in *Have you seen the cable series…? Anyways, if you have time, watch.*
> – Request for further information and material, which may be formulated as personal interest, like in *We're interested in bilingual education from a family perspective* or a question that resembles one that may be asked at a lecture or conference, for example *Are you able to say more about how these factors could (hypothetically) impact upon…?*

Comments and face

The concept of 'face' and its management is very present in blog comments, as they enforce or damage the online relation between the comments' writer and addressee. Although the members of the discourse community do not know each other in fact, in many cases there is still importance in maintaining face – and in this case 'online face' – because online messages are persistent and therefore remain and readers' names are indicated. Moreover, the underlying intention of the blog is that of creating a peaceful and productive knowledge sharing community, so face saving and enhancing is important in establishing and solidifying the online discourse community. Among 'face enhancing' actions, it is possible to find statements in which the commenter openly relates with what the blogger wrote or appreciates the blogger's approach as being different from others that have been previously encountered, thus also implicitly marking his or her own knowledge on the issue:

> Very interesting topic and I can definitely relate to the above said. Native spanish speaker engineer here, late English learner (after my 20s).

> It's refreshing to read a perspective that does not assert that one form of language learning is better than another.

On the other hand, there are also 'face threatening actions', usually when upgrading a supposedly mistaken statement or downgrading an opinion that the blogger strongly supports. This may be accomplished with or without hedges according to whether the writer would like to be polite, sarcastic, or openly hostile:

> Minor correction: It's been shown that "Troglodytes" is a very old folk etymology, since it makes sense in Greek ("cave dwellers")

> By the way it should be "pore over books and grammars" and not "pour" ... also "At the end" is a bit strange in this context ... maybe it was supposed to me "In the end" ... but it is understandable that many multilingual individuals are not the same as a Yo–Yo Ma even with their limited number of languages.

In the case of a particularly aggressive critique, the commenter wrote again to justify his position, thus implementing 'redressive' actions:

> Here is a little background to the article; As I pointed out earlier in my first comment, I strongly agree with her about; Aneta has also written some very interesting and insightful books and article.

Second Stories

An interesting means used by blog readers to complement and contribute to the community is a narrative tool, known as 'second stories', which reflect the genre's original narrative nature and well suit the blog's great degree of access and space for writing. They are «stories or story episodes that follow a narrative that has been told either immediately before, or in close proximity to, the turns that have proceeded it […] prompted by the desire to establish shared experience or common ground» (Page 2012:30 quoting Sacks 1995) have the twofold function of being intertextual by 'attaching themselves' to another narration and maintaining the autonomy of an individual writer's story. According to the position of the second story in relation to the original story, i.e. its being in agreement or contrast, it may be face enhancing, like in the first two cases, or face threatening, as in the third:

> My daughter and I only speak to each other (although she knows that I speak English and hears me speak it to everyone else.) Up until about age 7, […] The description of the effect of cultural cues describes it best. […] In our case, I AM HER cultural cue! LOL.

> I am a trilingual (English, Spanish, and Portuguese) speech language pathologist living in the U.S.A. I work with a lot of Spanish speaking families and have been trying to advise them on how to raise their children bilingually. I find this site very helpful!

> Your statement "my writing style... simply had to become more French" is deceptively simple, and it hides a myriad of issues, big and small, which come into play

> in writing. I am a native English speaker, bi–lingual Italian, and teach English as a second language. Over time I've discovered that I need to double check my writing in both languages…

Second stories, like personal stories in general, are used in order to create a connection with others, so the members of an online discourse community that is focused on a topic that concerns a person's psycholinguistic and individual identity may use the blog's open and narrative approach to assume a linguistically and discursively established position within the community and partake in its epistemic, relational and international give–and–take.

Concluding remarks

Blogs contribute to transnationalism by promoting the movement and communication of information, including that on little known topics, on an international level in real time. In particular, the present study has pointed out some of the ways in which a specialised field, like that of psycholinguistics, may use blogs to convey specific knowledge and input on theories and methods within such a transnational online community. This enables people to become aware of and enhance their acquisition of language, culture and cognitive faculties and their overlapping. In fact, novices and people in need can turn to experts and more experienced poster, for diverse and updated information, advice and validation and discuss their own findings through linguistic and discursive strategies that are known and used in everyday contexts. Moreover, the diaristic and therapeutic form of blogs encourages readers to become more personally connected to the online discourse community by sharing their personal impressions and 'second stories', which confirm the member's active presence and allow him or her to help other novices and the professional bloggers in an everchanging transnational and global context.

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INTERPERSONAL MEANING IN A CORPUS OF STUDENTS–TEACHERS COMPUTER MEDIATED COMMUNICATION

Sabrina Fusari and Antonella Luporini

University of Bologna

Introduction

Since their inception in the 1990s, computer–mediated discourse studies have paid attention to foreign language teaching/learning, as information and communication technologies gained prominence for student–faculty and peer–to–peer interaction in educational settings (Thorne 2008). While most work focuses on e–mail exchanges from a pragmatic/intercultural perspective (Biesenbach–Lucas 2007; Economidou–Kogetsidis 2011), recent research has come to include other forms of asynchronous communication, such as e–forums (Miyazoe and Anderson 2010) and social networks (Hamid et al. 2015).

This study – based on the authors' experience as lecturers of English Language and Linguistics at the School of Languages, Literatures, Translation and Interpreting of the University of Bologna – aims to contribute to this research area by analysing a corpus of computer–mediated interactions in English between undergraduate students of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and their teachers in the academic years 2012–2013 and 2013–2014. The corpus includes two subcorpora, containing – respectively – e–mail exchanges and asynchronous interactions on the forum available on the e–learning platform Moodle (Dougiamas and Taylor 2003).

In Section 2, we define our research questions and provide information on the corpus and the participants. Section 3 presents findings from the subcorpus containing e–mails written by students and their teacher, focusing on politeness strategies within the framework of interpersonal meaning developed by Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), a knowledge of which is in part presumed for reasons of space (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Halliday and Matthiessen 2014; Thompson 2014). In Section 4, we proceed to discussing select findings from the Moodle forum subcorpus, paying attention to the students' posts. Finally, in Section 5, we offer some conclusions on the patterns identified in e–mails and Moodle forum posts, hypothesising their correlation with the nature of the mediums, and the different purposes/learning settings for which they are used.

This study is part of an ongoing project on computer–mediated communication (CMC) and undergraduate EFL students (*CO–METS: COmputer–MEdiated Teacher–Student interaction*), hosted at the Centre for Linguistic–Cultural Studies (CeSLiC) of the Department of Modern Languages, Literatures and Cultures, University of Bologna[1]. Although this paper is the product of joint research, the analysis of e–mails (Section 3) was undertaken by Fusari, while the study of Moodle forum posts (Section 4) was performed by Luporini. Sections 1, 2 and 5 were written up together by the authors.

Research questions, participants and corpus construction

While previous steps in this study have prioritised politeness (Fusari and Luporini 2016), this paper has a closer focus on grammatical metaphor and also looks at some intercultural differences in the students' enactment of interpersonal meaning. The research questions, therefore, concern the impact of CMC on EFL students' academic learning and their problem–solving strategies in addressing the teacher (mainly via e–mail) and/or interacting among peers (mainly on Moodle) in what may be seen as a 'European classroom', including both resident and foreign students, whose problems, needs and language behavior are largely shared. The questions we try to address include:

> What features of interpersonal meaning are specific to computer–mediated students–teachers interaction? Are they enacted differently depending on the medium (e–mail *vs.* Moodle forum) in use?
>
> Is CMC useful for students only, or mainly, because it is the quickest way to contact the teacher, or does it also increase student–teacher and peer–to–peer interaction?

This study specifically addresses the impact of e–mail and e–forum exchanges between students and teachers on the SFL semantic area of interpersonal meaning: lexico–grammatical choices made by speakers/writers that primarily function to enact personal/social relationships. From this perspective, the clause is seen as «a proposition, or a proposal, whereby we inform or question, give an order or make an offer, and express our appraisal of and attitude towards whoever we are addressing and what we are talking about» (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014:30). Focus is on the politeness strategies and degrees of directness involved in the students' 'asymmetrical' requests to their interlocutor(s) (Brown and Levinson 1987), especially on forms of address and salutations, use of modals, and the SFL notion of interpersonal grammatical metaphor, i.e. non–standard lexico–grammatical realisations of interpersonal semantics, as when an interrogative clause is used instead of an imperative to realise a request for goods/services (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014; Thompson 2014). Although space limitations preclude a very detailed discussion of the theoretical grounding of this paper, it is important to stress that the study moves along three inter–related lines of analysis: SFL as the model of grammar used to identify the discursive features worth analysing; politeness theory to

[1] Information available at: http://www.lingue.unibo.it/it/ricerca/progetto-ceslic-co-mets.

interpret these features with a view to understanding how contextual variables of Tenor (e.g. status, formality and politeness, Halliday and Matthiessen 2014:705) are enacted in students–teachers interaction; and, finally, corpus linguistics to systematise the data and facilitate the identification of recurrent patterns, which are particularly important in the discourse under analysis, having been identified in previous studies as a sign of stability and as conducive to a positive teacher–student relationship (Pennings et al. 2014:184).

The students are all enrolled in a course of English Language and Linguistics that is part of the teaching curriculum of the first cycle degree courses in Foreign Languages and Literatures, and Asian Languages, Markets and Cultures at the School of Languages, Literatures, Translation and Interpreting of the University of Bologna. Their level of English proficiency is at least B1 of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, tested upon admittance through the Oxford Online Placement Test. Students typically have no previous knowledge of the theoretical model taught in the course, Systemic Functional Grammar. They are required to follow the course in their first year at university, or as part of an Erasmus exchange, and may choose to attend it face–to–face or in blended e–learning mode; the wide majority (96%) choose the face–to–face course for logistical reasons (Fusari 2016). Most students are non–native speakers of English, belonging to 15 different nationalities: Bulgarian, Chinese, Estonian, Georgian, German, Italian, Jordanian, Moroccan, Lithuanian, Polish, Portuguese, Rumanian, Russian, Spanish and Ukranian. All these nationalities are represented in our e–mail subcorpus – which also includes two native speakers of English, both British nationals – while most participants in the Moodle forum subcorpus are Italian (88.9%). Female students account for 82% of our sample, in line with official data on the student population of the degree courses[2].

The teachers, who are also the authors of this research, are an adjunct professor who is a 'digital native', and an associate professor qualifying as a 'digital immigrant' due to her slightly more advanced age (Bennett et al. 2008; Bennett and Maton 2010).

The data, stored in .txt for perusal on Antconc (Anthony 2014), were collected over the academic years 2012–2013 and 2013–2014, and anonymised to respect the students' right to privacy. The corpus is currently untagged, although its annotation, both for Parts of Speech and for Grammatical Structure according to the SFL schemes built in the UAM Corpus Tool (O'Donnell, 2009) is on the agenda for the future.

The e–mail subcorpus

The first subcorpus reflects student–teacher CMC in the face–to–face component of the course: it contains all the e–mails written by the students to their teacher (in English) within this course, as well as the teacher's replies. Table 1 offers a summary of the number of e–mails written by the students, divided by nationality:

[2] For official students' demographics, see http://www.unibo.it/QualityAssurance/Reports2014/Report-0979-2014.pdf for Foreign Languages and Literatures, and http://www.unibo.it/QualityAssurance/Reports2014/Report-0980-2014.pdf for Asian Languages, Markets and Cultures.

Nationality	No. of students	No. of messages
British	2	5
Bulgarian	1	1
Chinese	1	1
Estonian	1	9
Georgian	1	4
German	1	1
Italian	3	5
Jordanian	1	2
Moroccan	1	∅ (student left teacher's message unreplied)
Lithuanian	3	5
Polish	2	9
Portuguese	6	21
Rumanian	3	5
Spanish	1	2
Ukrainian	1	2
TOTAL	28	72

Table 1. Numbers of students and e–mails

The e–mails written by the students account for 5,248 words, with an average length of 72.9 words, the most frequent of which (295 occurrences) is 'I', reflecting the content of students' messages, which are in most cases intended to have the teacher solve a problem for them. The teacher's e–mails total 6,817 words, with an average length of 110 words, the most frequent of which is 'the', as is typical of English language corpora. Space limitations preclude an in–depth analysis of the teacher's e–mails, but their greater length seems to contradict claims in the literature (Bloch 2002; Chen 2006; Shim 2013) that e–mail length is inversely proportional to social power: in fact, most e–mails written by the teacher are lengthily explanatory, often even redundant, in a clear attempt to make sure her instructions are understood.

In our experience, as in that of other scholars (Merrison et al. 2012), most of the daily e–mail traffic involves students demanding information and/or goods/services, i.e. performing the two basic speech functions *question* and *command* (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:107-111): e.g. arranging an appointment, seeking clarification of exam structure/regulations, asking about teaching materials. Table 2 illustrates the content of the students' e–mails.

Speech function	#
Ask for exam information	32
Ask for course information	19
Thank–you	10
Exam fail 'drama'	6
Ask for class material	2
Ask for an appointment outside office hours	2
Ask for a reference letter	1

Table 2. E–mail content: speech functions

What we describe in Table 2 as "Exam fail 'drama'" is a relatively frequent event in the academic life of Erasmus students, some of whom do not fully realise that ECTS credits from Italian universities can be obtained, in most cases, only upon passing a final exam. Regrettably, a number of students tend to realise this only after failing that exam. "Exam fail 'drama'" e–mails consist in requests, sometimes tinted with emotional overtones and rich in pressure tactics, including narratives of the dire consequences of not earning enough credits: in these e–mails, the teacher is essentially asked to bend the rules by letting students acquire credits despite their failing examination grades. While, on the face of it, these requests may appear to violate all maxims of politeness, they actually constitute an intercultural problem that institutions involved in the Erasmus programme should not underestimate. Although this kind of plea to bend the rules, in our subcorpus, is performed only by students belonging to three nationalities (Estonian, Polish and Portuguese), these pragmatic infelicities cannot be dismissed stereotypically as the product of some cultures being more prone to expect teachers to make exceptions: they are rather connected with different evaluation practices across European countries. Although teachers have a moral duty to inform students of these norms well in advance of the evaluation stage, and indeed our e–mail subcorpus illustrates the teacher's painstaking emphasis on these regulations, it is the responsibility of the European academia to find an institutionally sanctioned strategy to make sure that all students participating in exchange programmes are aware of the consequences they may face in relation to the different evaluation strategies in different EU member states and at different universities.

As Table 2 shows, if thank–you notes are excluded, the speech functions *question* and *command* are clearly prevalent, and their intrinsic potential for face threat is mitigated with a variety of strategies[3]. External modification (Blum–Kulka et al. 1989) largely relies on apologies, sometimes included in long prefaces (e.g. "As you know, I joined your course after 2 weeks as lectures were started. I do not know what I have to do"), whereas internal modification is achieved mostly through subjectivisers ("I wonder if"/"I understand if"/"I think it would be interesting to"), comment adjuncts ("unfortunately"/"hopefully"), hedges/understaters ("it seems that"/"rather"/"quite"/"or something"), and the use of "please" as «an optional element added to a request to bid for co–operative behavior» (Blum–Kulka et al. 1989:283). This use of 'please', however, is less frequent than expected, with just 11 occurrences in this subcorpus, showing that students are aware, at least implicitly, that «while *please* indicates some faint possibility that the request might not be granted, it does not serve as a strong enough mitigator to soften the force of the Imperative» (Hartford and Bardovi Harlig 1996:59)[4].

The use of modals also plays an important role in the students' choice of how to formulate their requests, and directness is often softened through *commands* phrased as *questions*, constituting interpersonal grammatical metaphors, as shown in Table 3.

[3] «Although these requests are generally institutionally sanctioned, they are still face threatening […] as they attempt to get the hearer do something that he/she would not otherwise do» (Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2011:3206).

[4] On the risk of pragmatic failure when 'please' is systematically used to mitigate imperatives in student-teacher CMC, see also Biesenbach-Lucas (2007), Economidou-Kogetsidis (2011) and Shim (2013).

Modal	Frequency	Examples
be able to	3	We want to ask whether we are able to/We are not able to/Will you be able to?
can	33	Please, can you help me?/Which advices can you give me?/Can we discuss my issue?
could	21	Could you let me know?/Could you add us to the list?/I was wondering if we could change the date
have/need to	20	I have/need to register/submit/check
may	3	How this question may be solved for me?/May I sign up for verbalizzazione?/I wonder if you may tell me
must	2	Truly I must say that this system is a complete maze/I attach you the blank which must be sent directly at the e–mail address
should	13	I do not know which exam/group should I choose
will	21	I hope that will fix all I need/I will greatly appreciate your help
would	29	I would like to know/I would be extremely grateful if you

Table 3. Modal verbs use and frequency in e–mail subcorpus

While some usages are clearly non–standard (e.g. the plural "advices", or the use of "to be able to" with the deontic meaning of "to be allowed to"), the rarity of 'must' shows that students are aware of the sharp decline in the frequency of this modal verb in contemporary English (Leech et al. 2009), and restrict it to specific forms of obligation related to administrative chores. The infrequency of 'must' is confirmed by the teacher's e–mails, in which it appears only 4 times, against 15–20 for each of the other deontic expressions she uses, including periphrastic ones like "it is essential"/"it is obligatory". These expressions constitute interpersonal metaphors of modality, making a *command* more peremptory by structuring it as if it was an objective fact, according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:616).

It should also be noted that genuine thank–you notes, i.e. e–mails whose only/main purpose is to acknowledge the teacher's help, without concealing or hedging a *command*, are actually rare. A concordance of expressions containing "thank/s" reveals that, in the majority of cases (81.5%), "thanks/thank you" is used as a complimentary closing performing a supporting move to achieve the main communicative purpose of the e–mail, a request[5].

Non–directive, genuine thank–you notes are typically very short, although most (80%) are strengthened with intensifiers ("very"/"so much"/"ever so much"/"a lot") and there are a few attempts to deploy solidarity strategies, projecting the writer not only as a student needing the teacher's guidance, but also as a caring person aware of the teacher's wants/rights. This is especially true of one e–mail, written by an Italian mature student, whose thank–you note includes wish–well greetings for a member of teacher's family who had recently undergone surgery. While these 'sweeteners' are typically avoided in asymmetrical communication (Chejnová 2014:185), for reasons related to the weaker party's supposed lack of entitlement to personal disclosure in hierarchical

[5] This also happens in the e-mails corpus analyzed by Chejnová (2014), who notices that thanking in advance does not actually increase politeness: on the contrary, it is best interpreted as a pressure tactic, because it takes it for granted that the teacher will comply with the request.

communication, they are actually effective in egalitarian academic cultures prizing «geniality (closeness, well–wishing and personal common ground)» and «a social attitude which values (claiming) equality between interactants even in situations where there are recognisable differences in social roles and status» (Merrison et al. 2012:1094)[6]. Although social distance between students and teachers in Italian academic settings is high, as reflected in distancing strategies and terms of address/salutation shown in Table 4, this student may have decided to take a pragmatic risk by resorting to positive politeness through geniality, because she was older than the teacher, and coming back to university after a long time away from education[7].

Opening salutation	Frequency
Dear Dr/Prof. [surname]	17
Good morning/afternoon/evening	13
Dear Ms/Mrs [surname]	11
Dear [first name]/Hello	5
Dear [name + surname]	5
Dear teacher	3
No salutation (only in follow–ups to previous e–mails including salutations)	18

Table 4. Forms of address in e–mail subcorpus

Some intercultural variation was detected in the use of informal greetings to the teacher: contrary to expectations raised by the literature (Formentelli 2009), suggesting that first names are not widely used by English speaking students to address teachers, unless they are specifically authorised/encouraged to do so, the less formal cline of politeness is favoured by both native British English speakers represented in the subcorpus. It is not possible, however, to identify a direct association between informality of address and nationality, as the other students who address the teacher by her first name, or through "Hello", come from different countries (Lithuania, Bulgaria, Germany and Portugal).

The Moodle forum subcorpus

In this section, we consider interpersonal semantics in the Moodle forum subcorpus, including comments and question–answer pairs posted by students and teachers on the threaded forum available on Moodle, the platform hosting the e–learning component of the course. The corpus amounts to 10,858 words and includes four sections, as specified by Table 5 below.

[6] The opportunities afforded by e-mails to smooth the rough edges off high social distance communication have been known since Baron's (1998) seminal paper on computer mediated student-teacher interaction, written when it was not yet nearly as popular and omnipresent as it is now.

[7] Age plays an important role in the sociolinguistic and contextual parameters used to instantiate social deixis in English (Formentelli, 2009: 183).

Section	No. of posts	No. of words
Students 2012–2013	25	1,073
Teacher 2012–2013	15	1,733
Students 2013–2014	70	3,023
Teacher 2013–2014	48	5,029

Table 5. Moodle forum subcorpus: sections and number of posts/words

In academic year 2012–2013, the group included 14 students, all Italian: 8 were classified as 'active' participants, having contributed to the forum with at least one post; female students prevailed (13 out of 14). Active students wrote a total of 25 posts, or 1,073 words, with an average length of 42.9 words. In academic year 2013–2014, the course was attended by 13 e–learners: 10 were active participants. The group was slightly more heterogeneous in terms of nationalities, as it included two foreign resident students (one from Poland and one from Russia) and one Portuguese Erasmus student, who never used the forum; female students, again, represented the vast majority (11 out of 13). Students wrote more posts than in the previous year, totalling 70 messages, or 3,023 words (average length: 43.2 words). Such discrepancy may be a consequence of the teachers' different CMC styles. In academic year 2013–2014, the teacher – an adjunct professor, and a 'digital native' – decided to explicitly promote interaction on the forum: indeed, in two cases, she was the one to open a new discussion thread, in a clear attempt to stimulate participation. In the previous academic year, the teacher – an associate professor qualifying as a 'digital immigrant' – chose a communicative approach aiming at promoting students' autonomy, leaving them in charge of managing the forum. However, despite their different styles, both teachers held a dominant position in their respective discussion groups, holding the floor for a noticeably longer period of time (Fusari 2016), as reflected in the much higher number of words in the sections of the subcorpus related to the teachers.

Focusing on the students' posts, Table 6 reports the top ten items of a lemmatised wordlist generated using Antconc, after uploading a basic English stoplist to exclude some of the most common grammatical words.

Students 2012–2013			Students 2013–2014		
Rank	Frequency	Lemma	Rank	Frequency	Lemma
1.	57	be	1.	153	I
2.	45	I	2.	149	be
3.	27	it	3.	67	you
4.	26	smiley	4.	64	have
5.	19	you	5.	60	it
6.	15	have	6.	40	thank
7.	13	thanks	7.	39	can
8.	12	do/theme	8.	34	do/we
9.	9	hello/topical	9.	26	like/would
10.	8	some	10.	23	hi

Table 6. Students 2012–2013 and 2013–2014 lemmatised wordlist: top ten results

The dialogic dimension characterising this medium is evident, in both academic years, in the presence of 'I' and 'you' among the top–ranking lemmas, but also in the frequency of 'thank–you' expressions: a concordance for 'thank*' shows that these are used both as supportive moves anticipating a *command*, and, in closings, as genuine markers of gratitude to the teacher or their peers. The data also suggest that e–forums naturally involve a lower degree of formality and a reduction of the perceived social distance, even when they are integrated into didactic platforms. From this viewpoint, noteworthy items include 'hello', 'hi', and the 'smiley', treated by Antconc as a word. However, there is significant discrepancy between the two groups of students in the use of smileys, which occur 26 times in 2012–2013, and only once in 2013–2014. This may be related to the teachers' different communicative styles: students may have felt more free to use typical social media and text–messaging features, e.g. emoticons (Zappavigna 2012; Tagg 2012), in 2012–2013, as their teacher chose to monitor the on–line exchange less visibly.

Table 7 illustrates the different forms of salutation used by the students.

Students 2012–2013		*Students 2013–2014*	
Opening salutation	Frequency	Opening salutation	Frequency
Hello	9	Hi	23
Hi	3	Dear Professor	5
Dear all/Good morning	1	Good afternoon	1
No salutation	11 (of which 2 in opening posts)	No salutation	41 (of which 1 in an opening post)

Table 7. Forms of salutation in Students 2012–2013 and 2013–2014

The data highlight a preference for informal salutations: mainly 'hello'/'hi', and, in two cases, other formulae that are also typical of spontaneous spoken situations, such as 'good afternoon'/'good morning' (Marques 2008). Yet, despite the globally informal environment, the students seem to conform to a context–specific netiquette: posts opening new discussion threads with no salutation are extremely rare (2 in 2012–2013; 1 in 2013–2014). Furthermore, the distribution of the forms of salutation over the two years suggests that the forum prompts students to adjust their style/register to the one adopted by the other participants, e.g. by re–proposing the same items previously used by their peers, as is the case with 'hello' in 2012–2013 and 'hi' in 2013–2014 (where, interestingly, 'hello' never occurs as an opening salutation). The slightly higher frequency of the more formal term of address 'dear' in 2013–2014 may be explained in terms of the same phenomenon, as the teacher in charge for this year used it more often than her colleague (58.3% of the posts, as opposed to 33.3% in the previous year). Finally, it is worth noting that in *Students 2012–2013* 'hello' and 'hi' are followed by 'smiley' in 75% of the cases, as shown by a query for the right–hand collocates of the two words. A look at the concordance lines suggests that smileys in opening salutations are deployed by the students as a positive politeness strategy, with a two–fold function: reducing social distance, and mitigating the force of *questions/commands*, as in "Hello people! :–) I didn't understand very well the topic […]. Can anyone help me?".

Let us now briefly turn to the students' use of modals emerging from this subcorpus. Table 8 provides frequency information and examples.

Modal	Frequency in Students 2012–2013	Frequency in Students 2013–2014	Examples
be able to	1	1	I'm not able to find it/For some reason I wasn't able to figure out some examples
can	4	39	Can anyone help me?/So, can we also say that the defining sentences are always embedded?
could	1	4	Could you give me some help?/sorry for my bad English; I wish it could improve!
have/ need to	2	8	I want to know […] if we have to revise the theoretical part/Do we have to consider also "can" as part of the VG?
may	0	4	I may obviously be wrong!
must	0	5	"Must" is usually used for internal obligation
should	0	2	I should pay more attention next time?
will	6	4	this will be definitely helpful pages smiley/I hope prof. [surname] will help and correct me
would	4	26	it'd be good to know if I made some kind of mistake/I would have explanations about the concept of social semiotic

Table 8. Modal verbs use and frequency in Students 2012–2013 and 2013–2014

Although space restrictions limit the depth of this analysis, several patterns deserving further investigation can be identified. Overall, the students show a good command of a wide range of modal operators, with varying frequency: 'ought to' and 'shall' are non–existent, and the observations about the rarity of 'must' made in Section 3 above are confirmed. 'Can', 'would' and, in *Students 2012–2013*, 'will' are the most frequent items; indeed, the former two also appear in the wordlist for *Students 2013–2014* discussed above (Table 6). Concordances show that one of the main functions of these modal operators is to realise interpersonal grammatical metaphors, whereby imperatives are replaced by more negotiable interrogative/declarative clauses to enact the speech function *command* (see also Section 3 above). As already noted, these are powerful hedging devices. Table 8 contains several examples of this strategy in the students' posts: "Can anyone help me?" (*vs.* the more congruent form "Help me"), or "I hope Prof. [surname] will help and correct me" (*vs.* the agnate imperative with vocative: "Prof. [surname] help and correct me"). The presence of these lexico–grammatical structures can be interpreted as an indication of the students' good level of pragmatic competence, and of their capacity to adjust to the hybrid netiquette characterising the Moodle forum: an informal environment, with limits dictated by the didactic context and the presence (more or less visible) of the teacher.

Conclusions

This study shows that students use a variety of politeness strategies in CMC with their teachers, including external modification, interpersonal grammatical metaphor, and a range of modal verbs that is largely compatible with general findings on standard contemporary English (Leech et al. 2009).

In the e–mail subcorpus, mitigation strategies emerged as being quite varied, extending well beyond the conventionally polite, but often irritating (Economidou–Kogetsidis 2011:3206) 'please' + imperative. Some intercultural variation was detected in informal greetings to the teacher, although the data did not support a direct association between informality of address and nationality. Rather, the overall findings suggest the existence of a 'European classroom', with largely common requests, problems and language behaviour across nationalities and status of resident *vs.* exchange student.

Data from the Moodle forum subcorpus highlight the highly interactive nature of this medium, and the emergence of a hybrid, context–specific netiquette, with varying degrees of (in)formality. E–forums are characterised by a reduced social distance, and in this sense the Moodle forum makes no exception, as shown by the e–learners' preference for informal salutations typical of spoken language. At the same time, the analysis detected different strategies enacted by the students to mitigate and/or support the requests for clarification that usually represent the main purpose of their posts, including a good command of modal verbs and interpersonal metaphor. Finally, our findings suggest a correlation between the communicative style adopted by the teacher, in her role of moderator, and the students' participation, also in terms of the politeness strategies they choose to adopt.

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A LANDSCAPE OF INNOVATIONS IN ELT: BLENDING ELF AND INTERCULTURAL TELECOLLABORATION

Enrico Grazzi

Roma Tre University

Introduction

In a social constructionist perspective (Lantolf 2000:155), the phenomenon of ELF is seen as the non–native English speakers' (NNESs) ability to «make do with the language» (Seidlhofer 2015:25), a linguistic process whereby learners tend to «*language*» (ibid.), i.e. reshape English at phonological, lexicogrammar and discoursal level in order to achieve their communicative and pragmatic goals in cultural contact situations. In the same vein, Widdowson (2015:228) challenges the belief that native English speakers (NESs) should still be considered the owners and custodians of English, and contends that NNESs «do not borrow somebody else's property, they appropriate it and make it their own». This phenomenon, according to Crystal (<https://youtu.be/YJ29zDW-9gLI>), «is bound to have an effect on the way the English language evolves» nowadays, because of «the weight of ELF usage produced by non–native speakers of English» (ibid.), and because of the ever increasing disproportion between the growing population of NNESs around the world and the communities of NESs. As Jenkins (2015:41) observes, ELF «has become the world's primary lingua franca to an extent that is and has been unprecedented among the others». Hence, the fact that today L2–users outnumber NESs cannot be disregarded as a statistical curiosity of little consequence, for its pedagogical implications are going to lead to the reconceptualisation of crucial issues like a) the relationship between the different linguacultural identities of ELF speakers, the variability of ELF, and the exonormative role of standard English (SE) (Leung, Harris and Rampton 1997; Jenkins 2007; Kirkpatrick 2007; Kohn 2011; Seidlhofer 2011; Cogo and Dewey 2012); b) the implementation of ELF–aware pre–service and in–service language teacher education, as well as the design of ELF–informed syllabuses, textbooks and materials for the English classroom (Bayyurt and Sifakis 2015; Cogo and Dewey 2012; Dewey, 2015; Lopriore and Vettorel 2015); c) the definition of new criteria in the assessment of learners' competences and proficiency levels, which should not be measured solely against the benchmark of the prototypical native–speaker's performance, but also incorporate the

plurilithic dimension of world Englishes and ELF, as opposed to the monolithic view of native speakerism (Canagarajah 2006; McNamara 2012; Newbold 2015).

In a nutshell, the impact of ELF on ELT could potentially generate a major paradigm shift in education, in order to devise a new approach to teaching and learning that questions the ingrained beliefs regarding the primacy of SE. This new approach would incorporate the notions of flexibility, variability and situatedness that apply to the pragmatic use of ELF as a symbolic mediational artifact (Lantolf and Thorne 2006:79) that interlocutors co–construct to negotiate meanings in authentic intercultural communicative contexts.

Nevertheless, implementing this important pedagogic change might prove a daunting task, for research (Jenkins 2007; Grazzi 2013) has shown that non–native teachers of English and language learners are normally unaware of ELF and tend to become the gatekeepers of orthodoxy who conform to the institutional pedagogical stereotype of English as a foreign language (EFL), i.e. a language that belongs to its native speakers and is learnt by NNES to communicate with them. For this reason, it seems necessary to supersede the anachronistic views that are typical of mainstream schooling, and conduct experimental field projects that are intended to involve teachers and students of English with innovative learning activities, the aim of which is to integrate the use of ELF into the English syllabus to carry out authentic communicative tasks in multicultural and multilingual settings. For instance, network–based language teaching (NBLT), as will be shown in the following sections, appears to be one of the viable alternatives to bridge the gap between the isolated reality of the English classroom and the international communities of practice (CoPs) who interact on the Internet. Notably, this line of research would not exclude EFL from the subject English. On the contrary, it is believed that EFL would provide an «*orientation*» (Kohn 2011:80) that is part of the learners' available options in constructing their own linguacultural identities when using English, both «in pedagogic contexts or in natural ELF communication» (ibid.). Similarly, Seidlhofer (2011:187) observes that as «learners move into contexts of use outside the classroom, EFL learners become ELF users».

EFL and ELF, therefore, tend to converge through the learners' performance whenever students from different linguacultural backgrounds use ELF to carry out cooperative communicative tasks (Grazzi 2015), as the project on telecollaboration that is presented in the next section intends to demonstrate.

Intercultural Telecollaboration: Italy–Finland

Theoretical framework

As my earlier work on telecollaboration has shown (Grazzi 2015), studies on ELF and NBLT can be pulled into a common pedagogical framework when applied research is focused on the dynamic process that combines second language learning, intercultural communication and the use of digital technologies. The project called *Intercultural Telecollaboration: Italy–Finland* exemplifies this blended approach, the aim of which is to foster the learners' intercultural competence through Web–mediated cooperative practice.

Following Byram (2008:68), «one of the outcomes of teaching languages (and cultures) should be the ability to see how different cultures relate to each other – in terms of similarities and differences – and to act as mediator between them, or more precisely, between people socialised into them».

Apropos intercultural mediation, ELF is intrinsically intercultural, for it is the main «affordance» (van Lier 2004:94) that serves the communicative objectives of the global community of NNES who do not speak the same language. The project that is presented here is based on the assumption that ELF is the ideal cultural artefact to connect students with diverse linguacultural identities and create an open educational environment whereby learners can benefit from the formative experience that Byram (2008:137) has defined «tertiary socialisation». This compelling theory presupposes a transformative potential of language education and suggests that «there has to be a substantial change in the pedagogy if there is to be a hope of language teaching and learning being casually related to increased respect for otherness, let alone from negative to positive attitudes» (Byram 2008:140-141).

Similarly, Kramsch (1993:233) introduced the concept of «third place» to represent the dimension where the learner experiences «a process of socialization» into a multicultural speech community. Later, she reformulated this concept to take into account the epochal changes brought about by globalisation and the digital revolution: «I propose reframing the notion of third place as symbolic competence» (Kramsch 2009:200). The Web is also the most relevant communicative environment where the process that leads to the emergence of ELF can be observed. Mauranen (2012:3) contends that «the most recent, explosive expansion [of English] could perhaps most reasonably be timed to coincide with the rise of the Internet». As regards the impact of digital technologies on ELT, innovative digital tools and equipment have become useful resources at all levels of education, which allow teachers and learners to benefit from the new opportunities offered by NBLT. Telecollaboration is a case in point. O'Dowd and Ritter (2006:1) explain that it consists in «the use of online communication tools to bring together language learners in different countries for the development of collaborative project work and intercultural exchange». Analogously, Belz (2005:23) argues that the aim of telecollaboration is «to foster dialogue between members of diverse cultures, who otherwise might not have the opportunity to come into contact, in an effort to increase intercultural awareness as well as linguistic proficiency». Summarising, Kern, Ware and Warschauer (2008:290) suggest that «flexibility will be a prime requirement for teachers and researchers as they continue to explore language teaching and learning in new networked contexts».

In the next section, I will show how the theoretical principles behind my research project were embodied through concrete practice, thanks to intercultural telecollaboration.

The implementation of telecollaboration

The research project called *Intercultural Telecollaboration: Italy–Finland* was carried out in the 2014–15 school year. It involved twenty–two volunteer high–school students, namely twelve Italian fifth–graders from *Liceo Classico E. Q. Visconti*, Rome, and fourteen Finnish fifth–graders from *Kallio Secondary School*, Helsinki. The group was coordinated by three of the participants' teachers and myself.

The main goal of this telecollaboration project was to improve the Italian and Finnish learners' intercultural competence by fostering their mutual understanding and by supporting cooperative practices through Web–mediated communicative activities. In particular, the aims of this project were to interconnect Finnish and Italian students of English through the Internet and create a CoP that used ELF as a mediational tool to discuss a variety of topics concerning the participants' different sociocultural backgrounds and lifestyles.

A pre–survey was conducted online at the beginning of fieldwork to gather relevant information about the respondents' expectations as regarded intercultural telecollaboration and the use of ELF as a contact language. Moreover, respondents were asked to suggest any topics they would like to discuss as part of the project. The project coordinators formed twelve Italian–Finnish teams that were supposed to discuss a different theme every week. Each team carried out online asynchronous dialogue (texting), allowing learners to respond to messages at their convenience, both from school, during regular English classes, or from home. Participants were taught how to use a wiki[1] to post their texts and share audiovisuals in order to develop an atmosphere of cooperation and social connectedness.

Participants' activities aimed at stimulating a deeper awareness of what makes the Italian and Finnish cultures and lifestyles similar or different. For this reason, students were expected to complement their personal views with opinions that characterise their culture. Each team was free to choose the topics to discuss from a list provided by the project coordinators, which contained some of the topics proposed by participants through the pre–survey (Table 1).

List of topics	
1	Talk about yourself (e.g. family, school, plans for your future, etc.)
2	Hobbies and sports
3	Food and cuisine
4	Fashion and style
5	Mass media (radio, TV, cinema, newspapers and magazines, etc.)
6	New media (the Internet, social networks, mobile apps, etc.)
7	Travelling around Europe. Your meaning of travel
8	Italy and the Italians. Finland and the Finns
9	Using English as a Lingua Franca
10	Developing European citizenship

Table 1. List of topics

Every week, between Monday and Wednesday, one of the students in each team uploaded their text and audiovisuals to start a new discussion. Their partner was supposed to reply by Saturday, the same week. Each topic was provided with a choice of useful links to collect further information about a given theme. Moreover, participants could enrich their contributions with additional links to relevant Web pages.

[1] <http://intercultural-telecollaboration-italy-finland.wikispaces.com/> This wiki was created on Wikispaces, a free host providing community wiki spaces, visual page editing, and discussion areas.

To improve the overall intelligibility of their texts, students were told by the project coordinators to ask their partners to disambiguate any obscure messages they would receive and negotiate their meaning, when necessary. To avoid misunderstandings, they could ask their interlocutors to rephrase what they had said, provide corrective feedback, or even ask for additional information. Moreover, thanks to a function of the wiki called *history*, participants could visualise all the previous drafts of their texts and see the changes and improvements they had made along the way. This was supposed to help learners develop skills in peer scaffolding within a zone of proximal development (ZPD) (Vygotsky 1978; Lantolf and Thorne 2006), whereby students could provide reciprocal feedback and improve their competences cooperatively. Nevertheless, against all expectations, participants rarely carried out this kind of *e–partnering* (Ware and O'Dowd 2008), giving the impression that their verbal interaction was essentially unproblematic. However, one of the Finnish coordinators observed that Finnish students refrained from commenting on the Italian partners' English because they considered this inappropriate and contrary to the Finnish social code of politeness.

The final step of the project consisted in an online post–survey, that was intended to collect the participants' opinions about the experience of working as a networked CoP. Results are discussed in the following section.

The post–survey

An online post–survey was administered at the end of the project to let the students assess the outcomes of their experience of intercultural telecollaboration. Here is a synopsis of the respondents' answers as regards their opinions about the use of ELF and the improvements of their intercultural competence. Items n. 1, 2 and 7 were intended to collect quantitative data that are presented here in a series of graphs interpreted by the author. Instead, the aim of items n. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8 was to collect the respondents' evaluative feedback through personal comments. Space constraints preclude the transcription and discussion of every open answer, therefore a selection of the most significant ones is reported here and will be discussed accordingly. The respondents' open answers have been purposely transcribed in their original ELF form, therefore no adaptation to SE norms has been carried out. The intent is to report the real voices from the CoP and let the reader get a vivid sample of authentic use of ELF.

Do you think you have learned more about the Italian/Finnish cultural background?

Data in the following graph (*Figure 1*) show that there is an equal number of students who believe that thanks to this intercultural telecollaboration they have only slightly improved the knowledge of their partners' cultural background (36,84%), and of students who instead think that this experience has substantially improved it (36,84%). Moreover, about a quarter of respondents (26,32%) has given an absolutely negative answer. Therefore, we could argue that the majority of respondents (63,16%) has provided quite a negative feedback here. However, this unsatisfactory result does not seem to depend on the intercultural topics that students discussed as part of the project, for data reported in the graph of item n. 7 (Figure 1) indicate that most participants (73,68%)

appreciated them. Presumably, among the reasons behind most respondents' negative or partially negative feedback we should consider two major elements that hindered the development of a deeper knowledge of their partners' cultural backgrounds: a) asynchronous online communication for the exchange of written texts was less motivating than synchronous communication, as some students pointed out (see answers to item n. 9, below); b) not all participants followed the timetable as accurately as they should, therefore delays in answering their partners' texts resulted in discontinuous communication and in less challenging discussions. Nevertheless, it should also be observed that answers to items n. 5 and 6 reveal that through this experience participants have become more aware of cultural similarities and differences, and, as answers to item n. 8 show, have particularly appreciated this side of the project.

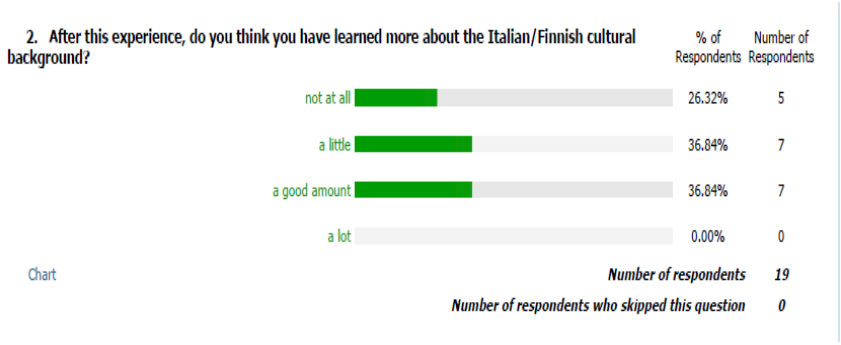

Figure 1. Answers to Item n. 1

2. What language area have you improved most?

The graph in Figure 2 shows that most students (84,21%) perceive that their fluency in writing has improved thanks to this project, while a minority (15,79%) finds that they have improved their vocabulary by learning new words and expressions. Finally, none of the respondents believes that their use of grammar has improved thanks to this project. These results seem to be in line with ELF theory, because accuracy and conformity to SE norms was not a priority of this project. In fact, its main objective was to enhance learners' intercultural competence.

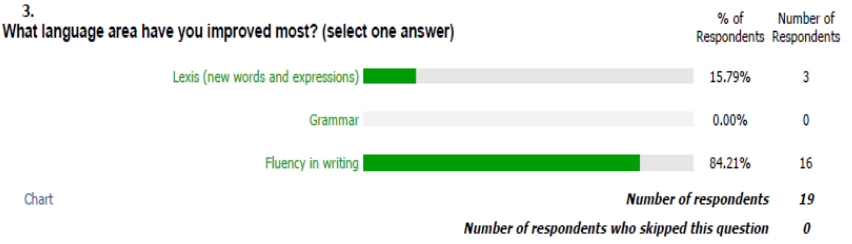

Figure 2. Answers to Item n. 2

3. What were the advantages of using English as a lingua franca?

The following open answers show that respondents are mainly focused on the communicative potential of ELF, which they appropriate as a contact language to carry out their tasks in an authentic intercultural environment. Some of the following answers indicate that participants enjoyed meeting fellow students form a distant country. They appreciated the pragmatic value of ELF as a mediational tool to learn more about a different culture and lifestyle, and believe that the participation to this project helped them improve their command of English for real communication.

1. I have had the chance to confront with other students and learn to express myself in a language that I do not normally speak at home.
2. The advantage is that you must think in English, that is a thing that usually you don't do.
3. Its grammar is easy and it alows the interaction between deeply different cultures.
4. You can communicate with other people who has a very different point of view and english is the best way to understand something about their conception of life.
5. The advantages were that it has been possible to communicate with another person who is miles away from were I live and that I've learned a lot about finnish culture and enjoeyed this amazing experience. It has made me see things from a different point of view and understand that, beyond the obvious differences, me and my finnish partner are not that different. It also has helped me to better my use of english.
6. It is a very common language, we hear/read it everyday. But it's always good to use it as much as possible and it's very useful way of communication with everyone non–Finnish.
7. We learned from each other new words and we were on the same level.
8. One of the first chances to actually use the language.

4. What were the disadvantages of using English as a lingua franca?

The following open answers reveal that respondents are well aware of some of the major drawbacks of using ELF for intercultural communication, as they perceive their need for a higher level of lexicogrammar competence in order to fully express their linguacultural identity in a language that is different from their mother tongue. Principally, students feel their need for a richer vocabulary, and see the difference between the scholastic use of English and the authentic use of ELF in Web–mediated verbal interaction.

1. I had some difficulties in communicating because I write or speak english only at school.
2. You can't exprime your real thought because you don't know the language as yours.
3. The continuing perpetuation of cultural imperialism. Anglicisation and the use of English throughout the world have a rough history, and though according to my knowledge Italy hasn't really been affected by either of these things, it would be favourable to pay attention to other languages. I was fine with English as my abilities with other languages are rather limited.
4. One's vocabulary is not as wide.

5. Not everybody (me first) knows english grammar and words so well, so sometimes it's hard to understand what they're trying to tell you.
6. You easily make mistakes and the partner may think it is the right way to write things, if you know what i mean.
7. Well, one can never been as wise, funny or charming as when they are speaking their first language.

5. What similarities have you found between the Italian and Finnish cultures?

The following open answers show that by the end of the project respondents could reflect on their experience and point out what is similar in their lifestyles. The students' feedback covers the topics they discussed (see Table 1 above), although it seems that they preferred to talk about their personal habits and taste in music, food, sports, etc. rather than more general or conceptual topics such as n. 5, *Mass media* (radio, TV, cinema, newspapers and magazines, etc.); n. 7, *Travelling around Europe. Your meaning of travel*; and n. 10, *Developing European citizenship*.

1. Both countries belong to the area of the western europe so the culture have much in common.
2. We share the same interests in music, art and cinema.
3. think that today guys and girls have a lot of common thing not for similarities of two cultures but for the globalization, such as in clothes or in the use of social network.
4. i have a lot of common thoughts with the girl i spoke with, for example we both love sport and listening to music in every moment (when we're sad too). italian and finnish guys can do a lot of similar things because we have the same possibilities (we both have computer to chat for example). this is due to the globalization, so i haven't found so different way of life. the difference between the two cultures is in their thought, not in the way of life
5. Of course both are European countries with the same movies, tv, literature, education etc. Quite same ways to see the world in general.
6. I found out that, on most topics we shared very similar ideas, especially with regard to travelling, EU and the importance of English in order to communicate with other people from around the world.
7. Actually not that much, we are very different from each other.
8. We like food :) Ah, no really, there is something much more important I have learn: Every young person is little scared and still curious about this big world out there. No matter where we were.

6. What differences have you found between the Italian and the Finnish cultures?

Open answers to this question are in line with the answers to the previous item, i.e. respondents tend to be mainly concerned with their personal experience about different aspects of their daily life. Nevertheless, it seems that through intercultural telecollaboration students were able to compare their lifestyles and become aware of differences regarding the Italian and Finnish cultures, e.g. the school system, the value of culinary traditions, the way young people spend their spare time, family relationships, etc.

1. The school is organized in a quite different way. The Food is completely different.
2. We have a different approach towards the natural environment, which has a great importance in the Finnish culture.
3. What we do at school.
4. Firstly in the food, in the organization of the day and in the way of celebration of festivities.
5. In italy (especially in Rome) people are always busy and we usually do a lot of different things. in Finland, instead, they are more tranquil than us, because even if they always do thing like us, their way to spend time is quiter and they seem less stressed than us.
6. Food, history, social structures of society and the habits to spend time.
7. I found our two cultures to be diverging mostly relating to food: while I'm really into it, my Finnish partner wasn't really interested in it as (quote) she "just eats something".
8. The importance of family. In Finland it is pretty normal if family members don't meet each other until the evening but that seemed to be a... shock to my partner.

7. Were the themes proposed engaging?

Data in Figure 3 reveal that most students were interested in the topics of their intercultural telecollaboration. Considering those who gave a very positive answer (73,68%) and those who gave a positive one (5,26%), we can see that the majority of respondents (78,94%) expressed substantial appreciation for the themes proposed. On the other hand, those who found the topics of no (5.26%) or little (15,79%) interest represent almost a fifth of the whole CoP (21,05%). This result was quite unexpected, considering that students had volunteered for this project and that through the pre–survey they had been asked to suggest any topics they would be willing to discuss with their partners. Presumably, the minority group of students who provided a negative feedback either had not suggested any theme or had just lost their interest in the project along the way.

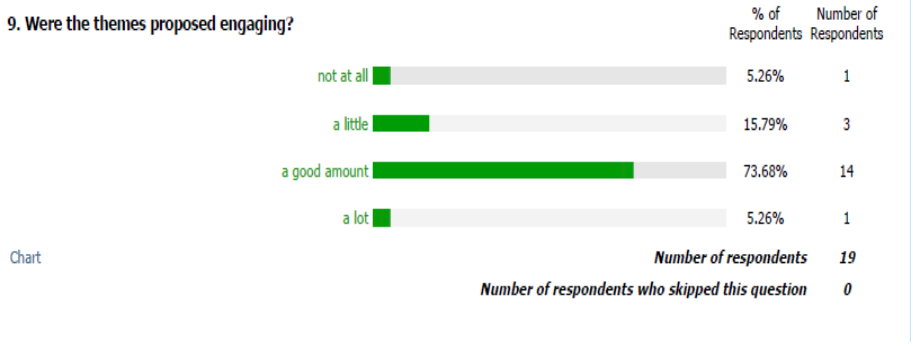

Figure 3. Answers to Item n. 7

8. What did you like about this project?

The following open answers show that respondents enjoyed the innovative experience of social networking with fellow students from a distant country to learn about their

way of life and cultural background. In other words, this positive feedback indicates that telecollaboration met the participants' expectations and that the intended goal of this project, i.e. enhancing the students' intercultural competence, was successfully achieved.

> 1. Knowing people and cultures in an informal and quick way.
> 2. I liked the concept and the topics, along with having a chance to speak to someone in my age group.
> 3. That it had the potential to put us in touch with a culture we wouldn't have known otherwise.
> 4. It's interesting to know how we are different and similiar to people who live in a very far country and who doesn't usually live in a polluted city as Rome is their conception of the life is different than ours.
> 5. I really liked that we had chance to confront with people who live so far from us and have different priorities. It was very nice to get to know a lot about the Finnish culture, which I almost completely ignored before.
> 6. I liked the possibility to learn from another culture and lifestyle, the conversation between me and my partner (especially when we started being in confidence) and 7. the fact that this experience bettered my english.
> 7. It was nice to talk with people from different places, and use English.
> 8. It was great, but teachers should´ve encouraged to do this more.
> 9. I thought this was a wonderful idea.

9. What did you NOT like about this project?

Respondents' critical remarks are mainly about three problematic areas: a) asynchronous interaction and delayed feedback from peers; b) technical problems; c) discontinuous students' participation. Some observe that it would have been better to carry out spoken discussions rather than post texts in order to maintain a higher level of motivation. Moreover, some complain that using the wiki was not easy (see also answers n. 2, 4 and 6 to item n. 10). We could argue that these may be two of the reasons why a few participants were behind schedule and did not carry out their activities carefully and on time. However, we should also consider that cases of desultory discussions within the CoP were not simply due to lack of motivation, but also to the already heavy and demanding students' work load, as hinted in answer n. 9.

> 1. It was hard to keep writing every week Just as homework. It would be nice to meet or have different kinds of contacts and activities.
> 2. I didn't like the fact that we didn't have a speaking relationsip too.
> 3. The fact that sometimes the conversation appear not true.
> 4. The uncertainty of results. I think we would have been more successful if the project would have been carried out in real–time chats instead of posts that could be left for a longer time period.
> 5. Interaction was scarce.
> 6. the website sometimes had tecnical problems and i couldn't access (i don't know if it's my computer problem). i personally don't like that everybody an read what i wrote, it should be private, but i'm shy and probably it's for this reason that i don't want other to read what i write.

7. Well, after a certain period my partner stopped writing, so I guess I did not enjoy the lack of partecipation.
8. I didn't like some topics because I thought they were boring and I found some difficulties in dealing with them.
9. A bit more added stress.
10. Well, the time schedule clearly didn't work...

10. What do you think about the use of digital media (e.g. wiki, hyperlinks)?

The following open answers show that respondents appreciate the use of digital media as a learning tool, and see the benefit of Web–mediated communicative activities to get in touch with students from other countries. However, some complain about the wiki that was selected to carry out their activities, because they did not find its technology user–friendly.

1. I think that those are the only way of communicating between people of different countries.
2. I'm all for use of modern technology in research, but in my opinion a more developed platform could have been used.
3. I think it can be useful to prepare the two groups to an 'exchange' project.
4. That's a great idea: i didn't know that kind of websites but it is usefull to know people, even if i think that nowadays there are a lot of other ways to communicate on internet (maybe with other kind of websites, you can know better than this the person you're knowing).
5. I think it has been an efficient and effective method. It also made the whole part of writing to our partners more interesting and funny.
6. The wikispace was absolutely terrible. It just did not make sense! So hard to navigate.

11. What suggestions would you give to the research coordinators?

The following open answers focus on three major points: a) social networking and the quality of communication between members of the CoP; b) the role of the teacher; c) the choice of topics for discussion.

As for the first point, it seems that some respondents tend to overlook the pedagogic aim of the project and the fact that they belong to an intercultural CoP where members are supposed to share their views to improve their intercultural competence. Apparently, these respondents have missed this crucial point and think that they should be allowed to carry out private communication with their partners.

As regards the second point, some respondents suggest that teachers should play a more active role to motivate students and should use their authority to make participants answer their partners according to schedule. This suggestion, however, seems to go against two basic principles of this project that had been made clear right from the start: a) students should participate on a voluntary basis and are supposed to be actively engaged in their activities; b) the teacher's role in this project is that of a facilitator and guide, and not of a director, in order to make communication among peers as natural as possible.

Finally, as regards the third point, some suggest that there should be less topics to discuss, in order to avoid changing the theme too often, without having enough time to go deeper into any of them. Some others, instead, suggest that topics should be more interesting. It should be observed, however, that participants were free to choose which themes they wanted to discuss and how deeply they should go into them. Moreover, the list of topics (see Table 1 above) contains a few themes proposed by the students themselves through the pre–survey.

> 1. Maybe I would have preferred the conversations to be private to let the two partners chat with more liberty.
> 2. it would have been easier if we received mails or any other kind of notification as soon as our partner had posted something.
> 3. Students would have needed more push from the teachers to carry on trough the whole project. Like just give us email addresses of the other person and tell us to send the link.
> 4. Make us discuss something interesting. Fewer themes so we wouldn't lose focus and have to jump from theme to theme without any actual conversation.
> 5. Students would have needed more push from the teachers to carry on trough the whole project.
> 6. Like just give us email addresses of the other person and tell us to send the link. Make us discuss something interesting.
> 7. Fewer themes so we wouldn't lose focus and have to jump from theme to theme without any actual conversation.

Discussion

The pedagogical implications of the worldwide spread of English in the age of globalisation and the consequent process of language variation that characterises the appropriation of English by NNESs have been widely debated by academia since the early days of ELF research, even though they still constitute a major unresolved issue. The main question is: should ELT resist language change? Or instead, following Cogo and Dewey (2012), should it adjust to diversification and reformulate its models and practices? This chapter has tried to demonstrate that the second choice is possible. My assumption is that innovative Web–based activities like telecollaboration, the aim of which is to interconnect students of English from diverse linguacultural backgrounds, could well be incorporated into mainstream language education and become common practice in order to bridge the gap between the exonormative native–speaker model that is typical of the subject English and the emergent nature of ELF as an affordance that is co–constructed by NNESs whenever they interact in authentic intercultural communicative settings.

The results of the students' post–survey that was conducted at the end of the field research project presented in this chapter are quite encouraging, as they reveal that most respondents believe that the experience of intercultural telecollaboration is not only a novel way to carry out unconventional language activities, but also a useful tool to improve fluency in writing, expand vocabulary with new words and expressions, and

above all get in touch with fellow students from a different sociocultural background to know more about them. Participants' positive feedback reveals that learners were curious about their international partners' lifestyle and saw the importance of comparing their mores and culture or discuss a few themes of their interest. Therefore, it would be reasonable to conclude that this experience worked to the benefit of participants' intercultural competence, in that it made them aware of some similarities and differences between the Italian and Finnish ways of life and favoured the socialisation of the learners' linguacultural identities by means of their cooperative actions within an interconnected discourse community.

Conclusion

All considered, it could be plausibly argued that the main goal of this intercultural telecollaboration was achieved, in that most participants seem to have developed what Kramsch (2009:200) refers to as «symbolic competence» (see Section 2), i.e. the learner's readiness to be engaged in cooperative peer relationships in a globalised, Web–mediated «tertiary socialisation environment» (Nagy and Székely 2012:4-6), which goes beyond the familial primary socialisation, and the school secondary socialisation environments.

As regards the use of ELF by members of the CoP, the dialogic framework of this pedagogic experience is intrinsically linked to the fundamental role the contact language played as a mediational tool, for it enhanced the L2-users' interaction and allowed their mutual understanding. As van Lier (2002:159) points out, «Language is naturally supported *by* and supportive *of* social activity», and the positive feedback provided by the students in the post-survey shows that not only they understood the communicative potential of ELF, but also became more self–aware of their own communicative needs (e.g. a richer vocabulary), and of what areas of English they should improve in order to fulfill their pragmatic goals (e.g. fluency in writing).

Moreover, the post–survey that was administered at the end of the project has shown that having situated second language development within an Internet–mediated environment favoured the participants' natural attitude to *language*, and even improved their digital literacy. For instance, respondents pointed out that the wiki that was selected for this project was too complicated to use. Most evidently, this remark indicates that a more flexible and user–friendly technology should be chosen for future projects in the area of telecollaboration in order to facilitate students' interaction, e.g. social networking apps designed for iPad, iPhone, Android and Windows platforms.

Relevant empirical information gathered through the students' post–survey has also revealed that in some cases participants demanded a more active role from their teachers and project coordinators who, they argue, should have urged the less careful members of the CoP to carry out their task in due time. This point, however, is rather controversial, because one of the prerequisites of this project was that students should volunteer to it so as to make their social interaction as spontaneous as possible, although it was part of a school activity. For this reason, teachers and project coordinators were supposed to act as facilitators who would assist students and provide advice if asked, but who, nevertheless, would neither play an active role (e.g. correcting or evaluating

the students' performance, etc.), nor be intrusive (e.g. commenting the students' texts, prodding participants into answering their partners, etc.). The criterion behind this pedagogic choice was that students should feel committed to each other and be personally motivated in order to fully benefit from telecollaboration. However, this experience has shown that it might be advisable to let teachers and project coordinators be more actively involved in order to stimulate their students and make sure that nobody lags behind. In addition, we may observe that making adolescents engage in participatory activities and making them realise that reaching their goal requires a joint effort and self–responsibility is one of the teachers' main tasks as educators.

By way of summary, we could say that one of the most important achievements of conducting this Web–mediated intercultural telecollaboration project is that teachers and learners have experienced the reality of ELF in one of the contexts in which it emerges naturally, i.e. the Internet. As we have seen, participants did not perceive ELF as a hindrance to second language development, but rather represented a valuable resource to strengthen their intercultural competence. In this chapter I have outlined how possible it could be to update the traditional English syllabus with a more flexible approach to schooling whereby authentic threaded communication and innovative ELF–based learning practice like telecollaboration can be incorporated into a vision of a more purposeful teaching and learning model. To conclude, it is advisable that future research efforts be focused upon integrating NBLT and ELF communication to develop a new landscape of innovations in the field of ELT.

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PART SIX

ABSTRACTS

https://pixabay.com/it/internet-global-terra-comunicazione-118

Lucia Abbamonte
University of Campania "Luigi Vanvitelli"
lucia.abbamonte@unina2.it

Fatal Racial Encounters in the US in the Media Representation

Notable examples of violent racially–biased interactions, which received wide media coverage, both at national and international levels, can be found in the killings of unarmed black men by white police officers in the US. The more recent cases, the deaths of Eric Garner in New York City (July 17, 2014) and Mike Brown (August 9, 2014) in Ferguson (MO) can be seen as two instances of the same tragedy, both in private and at the societal level. Months of protests followed across the country that called for justice by enacting riots and through a great amount of both traditional and multimodal communication across the media, which is the focus of this study. To further enrage the population, the responsible police officers were not indicted for misconduct; thus, the effectiveness of grand juries has been seriously questioned. A key issue at stake in these stories is racial profiling: these deaths are a stern reminder that race plays a critical role in how the law is enforced in America as yet. Apparently, racism is still deeply rooted in the US, and an identity and empathy gap is still shaping mixed socio–cultural interactions. These denied trials have had a disruptive impact on societal values and belief systems, which in our web–wired arena is still resonating beyond socio–geographic constraints.

An emerging phenomenon is the intersecting dimension of communication, ranging from real–time cross–mediality and hypertextuality, to the co–presence on many newspaper websites of different *genres*, i.e. both the more traditional articles and the expression of freer 'voices', as in the case of *The Huffington Post* (the American online news aggregator and blog), featuring *AmericanOnLine*'s *Black Voices*, *Latino* and *Gay Voices,* etc. This study aims at providing a qualitative analysis of the coverage of the protests following these killings. Samples extracted from *The Huffington Post* website, both from the articles and from the *Black Voices* bloggers' posts will be contrastively analysed along the evaluative dimension, by utilising some of the Appraisal Framework categories, with a special focus on ATTRIBUTION (White 2012a). In his recent investigations in the axiological/value positions of 'reporter's voice' in news stories, White defined ATTRIBUTION as a mechanism "whereby the *journalistic author*, through directly–quoted or indirectly–reported speech, [and by employing a relatively impersonal style] *presents the viewpoints and versions of event* on offer in an article *as derived from some external source*" (2012b: 57), especially as far as *potentially contentious mean-*

ings are concerned, thus achieving a kind of *strategic impersonalisation* (2012b: passim). Distinctively, the main difference between the journalistic authors' and the bloggers' voices is to be found along the personalisation vs impersonalisation dimension, as will be shown and discussed in this study.

Maria Cristina Aiezza
University of Naples "Federico II"
mariacristina.aiezza@gmail.com

Dealing with Deals. A Comparative Study of the Promotional Discourse of Online Coupon Advertising

Online deals–of–the–day have today become a trendy and successful tool enabling businesses to promote their goods and services and to attract new customers, by exploiting the advantages of the Internet medium. Offers range from restaurants to wellness centres, from trips to professional courses, from shopping to healthcare. Deal advertisements represent an evolution of traditional hard–sell print ads, suggesting the emergence of a new promotional genre, adapted to the novel means of global communication and to the recent socio–cultural and economic phenomena.

The present study focuses on the case of the multinational platform Groupon, both for its popularity and for its peculiar editorial style, characterised by clever and quirky humour. The research analysed the adaptation of Groupon USA copywriting guidelines to a corpus of ads which appeared on three of its national websites, namely in the United States, the United Kingdom and Italy. The aim of the comparative investigation was to highlight any differences in the advertising styles adopted in the three countries, in an attempt to identify both transnational dimensions and localised elements. Particular attention was devoted to the analysis of some linguistic resources exploited to attract the reader: the creative introductory lead paragraph and humorous devices.

The preliminary study revealed that ads published on the native US website, Groupon.com, respected the company's guidelines, pursuing both informative and entertaining purposes, especially by means of frequent injections of irony in the copies. The UK version seemed instead to have experienced a shift towards a more serious presentation, without any notes of playfulness. On the contrary, the Italian Groupon tried to remain faithful to the original US guidelines, yet this seemed to be often effected through a forced insertion of pre–packaged, glocalised humour in the lead.

Mirella Agorni
Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore (Brescia)
mirella.agorni@unicatt.it

Translating Tourism, Translating Tourist Memory

Tourist discourse can be considered as a specialised type of cross–cultural communication. The subject of this work is the degree of intervention translators are asked to exercise in order to achieve successful communication in the case of the translation of tourist texts. The main problem concerns the transfer of those cultural markers which represent destinations in their specific historical, geographic, social and cultural aspects: what is transferred is a specific type of memory, which will be defined as a sub–category of cultural memory, that is 'tourist memory'.

The principal characteristics of cultural memory are its mobile and dynamic quality – cultural artefacts need continuously to be invested with new meanings to be perceived as relevant by a certain culture – and the necessity of mediation – between the past and the present, across linguistic and cultural barriers and among different media. 'Tourist memory' appears to display similar traits: tourist promotion has to be constantly updated in order to keep pace with the fast changes of a globalised world, and the "foreign" traits of a destination must be mediated, so as to create palatable images for a readership which is made up of tourists.

A series of examples of translations realised by students attending a translation course at the level of Laurea Magistrale at an Italian University will demonstrate that translators' decisions at linguistic level and in terms of explanatory interventions deeply affect the way in which 'tourist memory' is constructed and disseminated across and beyond linguistic and cultural boundaries.

Steve Buckledee
University of Cagliari
sbuckledee@unica.it

Hinglish, Blinglish: How London's Ethnic Minorities are Influencing the English of the Capital City

In recent decades London has absorbed great numbers of immigrants from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and the EU. As a consequence, children from ethnic minorities actually represent a majority of pupils enrolled at many state schools in London, and friendship networks involving youngsters from various linguistic backgrounds – including those from white British families – has resulted in the emergence of Multicultural London English (MLE), a variety still limited to children and young adults, which is replacing Cockney as the dialect of the capital city. This work gives an overview of the main phonological, syntactic and lexical characteristics of this new variety.

State education is the main factor behind the development of MLE because schools oblige children to mix with their peers from different ethnic/linguistic backgrounds, but youth culture, particularly grime music, has also played an important role in establishing a symbiosis between identity and a linguistic variety that many over–40s cannot fully understand, and the role of grime in spreading lexical innovations is investigated.

At present, young MLE–speakers are diglossic, switching between the variety they use with their peers and more standard English with older interlocutors, and the conclusion of this work raises the question of whether MLE will go on to become a new Cockney, i.e. a dialect used in all or most social situations.

Roxanne Barbara Doerr
University of Milan
roxanne.doerr@unimi.it

Language, Mind and Culture in the Online Global Context: An Inquiry of Psycholinguistic Blogs

Globalisation and transnationalism have had great impact on communication in all of its verbal and non–verbal channels (Barton and Lee 2013), leading to changes by means of elaboration such as intertextuality and remediation (Bolter and Grusin 2000). Moreover, new and social media have fostered and promoted information transmission and sharing as well as scientific and academic research and collaboration on an international level. As a result, English has become the lingua franca of online communication and interaction uniting standardised linguistic variations, occasional and spontaneous cultural references to writer's place and field of origin, terms that are typical of internet language and those of the professional and academic field in question (Crystal 2003). From a sociolinguistic perspective, social networking showcases two fundamental social dynamics that are relevant in terms of cross–cultural studies: identity and community (Garzone and Catenaccio 2009, Seargent and Tagg 2014, Swales 2016). In such a context, blogs (Bruns and Jacobs 2007) have emerged significantly due to their user friendly and flexible structure, to their great visibility and "democratic" appeal and their ability to implicitly and explicitly express the identity or identities that the blogger choses to present. This focus on the individual links the blog genre to psychology and its highly hybrid language, especially in the field of psycholinguistics, which is especially interesting from metalinguistic and rhetorical perspectives (Jaworski and Coupland 2014). The present study therefore analyses the linguistic and discursive strategies that may be gleaned from the posts and comments of a popularising psycholinguistics blog between January 2014 and August 2015 from an empirical and CDA standpoint in order to highlight how such strategies promote identity, community, knowledge sharing and negotiation (especially in light of the increasing possibility of the presence of "overhearers", Seargent and Tagg 2014).

Valeria Franceschi
University of Verona
valeria.franceschi@univr.it

Bringing the Story Together: Text Organisation in ELF Creative Writing

English is often used as the working language among people coming from a number of different linguacultural backgrounds, especially non-native speakers of the language. These uses of English may be analysed in the framework of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) studies, which focus on interactions where English acts as the shared language of communication. This paper aims to look at written uses of ELF in a monologically-oriented CMC mode, fanfiction, that is, creative writing based on existing media text.

A corpus of around 250,000 words was collected from the online fanfiction archive fanfiction.net, containing works by 26 authors representing 11 different native languages. All the authors wrote and published their work in English on the website, sharing content with other international fans. The study aims at exploring how multi-word text organising elements (cf. Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992; Moon 1998) are used in ELF creative writing. The analysis of the corpus will be carried out through both quantitative and qualitative methods: Wordsmith's ConcGram and concordancing tools will be used for the identification of the most frequent items, which will be analysed in their individual contexts. The study will focus especially on non-normative variations – either formal or pragmatic – of ENL multi–word units and attempt to determine whether such adaptations exist and to what extent, and whether they achieve specific purposes in the textual organisation of stories written by ELF users.

Antonio Fruttaldo
University of Naples "Federico II"
antonio.fruttaldo@unina.it

Constructing Transcultural Identities: The Case of Gomorrah – The Series

The following contribution focus on a corpus–based analysis of *Gomorrah – The Series* (Season 1). In particular, based on the concept of translation repercussion (Chesterman 2007), the proposed study will firstly focus on a particular aspect of the TV series, that is, how the producers of the series have created their target audience in the Italian and English versions of the DVD blurbs. Based on the work of Bednarek (2010, 2014), this preliminary analysis of the TV series will help us see how this specific type of advertising discourse construes its target audience.

The second part of our investigation will focus on how the main characters linguistically construct themselves in the context of the Italian and English subtitles of the TV series. The analysis was carried out thanks to corpus linguistic methodologies, and these

have allowed us to see how the "individual linguistic thumbprint" (Culpeper 2014: 166) of each character in the source text was construed in the target text.

Sabrina Fusari – Antonella Luporini
University of Bologna
sabrina.fusari2@unibo.it
antonella.luporini@unibo.it

Interpersonal Meaning in a Corpus of Students–Teachers Computer Mediated Communication

This study analyses a corpus of computer–mediated interactions in English, via e–mail and on the e–learning platform Moodle, between undergraduate students of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and their teachers at the University of Bologna, between 2012 and 2014. Methodologically, we move along three lines of analysis: Systemic Functional Linguistics, especially interpersonal meaning, as the model of grammar used to identify the discursive features worth analysing; politeness theory, to interpret the linguistic behaviour of students and teachers in terms of power relations and social distance; and corpus linguistics, to systematise the data and identify recurrent patterns. This study falls within an ongoing project on computer–mediated communication (CMC) and undergraduate EFL students (*CO–METS: COmputer–MEdiated Teacher–Student interaction*), and aims to identify features of interpersonal meaning in academic CMC, such as speech functions, modal verbs, internal/ external modification, mitigation, address forms, and grammatical metaphor. The study also analyses medium–specific differences in the content and purpose of communication, depending on whether the e–mail or Moodle are used, and the role played by the teacher's age and level of 'digital nativeness'. As students involved in this project belong to 15 different nationalities, patterns of intercultural communication are also considered. The results show that Moodle is comparatively more interactive than the e–mail, due to its capacity to support not only teacher–student communication, but also conversations among peers, not necessarily including the teacher. In fact, a certain level of adjustment seems to occur in the students' communicative styles depending on how active and 'visible' the teacher is on the e–learning platform. Overall, the results suggest the existence of a 'European classroom', with largely common requests, problems and language behaviour across nationalities, and a higher degree of interactivity and collaborative learning on Moodle, where a hybrid, context–specific netiquette, with varying degrees of (in)formality, seems to be emerging.

Cristiano Furiassi
University of Turin
cristiano.furiassi@unito.it

False Gallicisms in the English Language

Due to cross–cultural dynamics inherent in globalisation, lexical exchanges among languages have become routine. Consequently, the phenomenon of borrowing, one of the most relevant outcomes within language maintenance, has impacted on the lexical stocks of both recipient and donor languages. In particular, the mixed nature of English lexis mirrors its multi–cultural essence, as attested by the presence of borrowings from other languages such as, for instance, French.

Moreover, it is worth mentioning that speakers are often confronted not only with borrowings *sensu stricto* but also with false borrowings. This article focuses on false Gallicisms in English, which, alongside real Gallicisms, reflect the French cultural imprint on English–speaking societies.

The aim of this article is to examine the influence of false borrowings from French on present–day English. The analysis is mostly based on monolingual dictionaries and corpora of British English and American English. French monolingual dictionaries are also consulted in order to confirm the 'falseness' of the Gallicisms considered.

Maristella Gatto
University of Bari "Aldo Moro"
maristella.gatto@uniba.it

'Sustainable' corpora for transnational subjects: methods and tools

This paper presents semi–automated methods for corpus compilation developed over the past few years in the context of research on the 'web as/for corpus'. These methods and tools have already proved extremely useful for the quick compilation of *ad hoc* monolingual/multilingual corpora for terminology extraction (Baroni and Bernardini 2004; Baroni et al. 2009; Bernardini and Ferraresi 2013), but have recently started to attract attention also in the context of corpus–based Critical Discourse Analysis, where flexible tools for the compilation and exploration of corpora might be promising allies in the effort to join forces between corpus linguistics and critical studies (Gabrielatos 2007; Baker 2008; Wild et al. 2013).

For their characteristics, these quick *ad hoc* corpora might prove particularly useful in research and teaching contexts dealing with issues whose topicality requires continuous updating of the resources, as is the case with the corpora for *immigration* and *sustainable tourism* discussed in the present paper. In the first case study, a corpus consisting of the complete debate on the Immigration Bill 2014 was compiled automatically, to provide a comprehensive overview of the parliamentary debate in the context of classroom activities with postgraduate students in Modern Languages for International Coopera-

tion. In the second case study a corpus of texts taken from the official website of the World Tourism Organization (WTO) was compiled through the automatic extraction of keywords from a small pilot corpus representative of 'discourse' within this specific organisation. In both cases the corpora were meant to provide a snapshot of ongoing discourse, as a complement to more focused qualitative research carried out with other methods or to prompt classroom discussion. The examples reported are indicative of the possible benefits of integrating corpora built 'on demand' in the context of research or classroom activities not necessarily centred on corpus linguistics alone.

Sara Gesuato
University of Padua
sara.gesuato@unipd.it

Addressing Interpersonal Needs in Oral Interaction: The Case of Apology Responses

This paper investigates acknowledgement responses in 31 open role–plays (about 5,000 words) elicited from American native speakers through written prompts, which instantiate apology exchanges between interactants in different role–relationships in terms of social distance and degree of power. It classifies the apology responses identified in terms of their strategies, content and structural organisation, and compares them with those described in previous studies.

The data considered instantiate 59 apology exchanges, and 55 of these contain apology response turns which realise 83 response tokens. The apology responses identified may be simple or elaborate in terms of: their functions (i.e. encode one or multiple strategies), structure (i.e. occupy one or more turns), and semantic contribution (i.e. contain one or more head acts and one or more supporting moves). Their head acts and their less frequent supporting moves are variously realised in terms of strategies and semantic types, but both have their preferred realisation patterns. This suggests that apology responses are highly conventionalised, but not fully routinised speech acts, with both prototypical and original instantiations. In line with previous studies, the apology responses examined mostly realise strategies favourable to the offender (e.g. accepting the apology, enhancing the offender's positive face), but they also include strategies that are unfavourable to the offender (e.g. reproaching the offender, referring to the cost incurred) and others that are partially or totally evasive (i.e. replying to topics not mentioned in the apology head act or not relevant to the apology).

The study argues for the importance of adopting explicit, both pragmatic and semantic, criteria for the identification and definition of components of speech act exchanges, and suggests that role plays are a reliable source of data for the analysis of conventionalised speech behaviour which is probably produced below the level of consciousness.

Enrico Grazzi
Roma Tre University
enrico.grazzi@uniroma3.it

A Landscape of Innovations in ELT: Blending ELF and Intercultural Telecollaboration

The purpose of this chapter is to present a European project called *Intercultural Telecollaboration: Italy–Finland* that was carried out in the 2014–15 academic year, the aim of which was to improve the participants' intercultural communicative competence (Byram, 2008) by means of Web–mediated communication. It involved a community of practice (Wenger, 1998) composed of volunteer Italian and Finnish high–school students who used English as a lingua franca (ELF) (Crystal, 1997; Jenkins, 2000; 2007; Widdowson, 2003; Seidlhofer, 2011; Mauranen, 2012) to discuss a selection of topics related to their lifestyle and sociocultural backgrounds.

The present study was designed to investigate whether English Language Teaching (ELT) should resist language change, or instead, following Cogo and Dewey (2012), adjust to language diversification and reformulate its models and practices.

My intent is to provide an overview of this field research to show how possible it is to implement an innovative language teaching and learning experience based on the integration of telecollaboration (Antoniadou, 2011; Belz, 2002; Ware and O'Dowd, 2008) and ELF (Sifakis and Sougari, 2010; Seidlhofer, 2011; Cogo and Dewey, 2012; Grazzi, 2013; Vettorel and Lopriore, 2013; Jenkins, 2015). From a pedagogical perspective, empirical evidence suggests that telecollaboration and network–based language teaching (NBLT) (Warschauer and Kern, 2000) may well be incorporated into the syllabus of the subject English in order to give teachers and learners the opportunity to heighten their awareness of ELF and be prepared to cope with the changing scenario of contemporary English on a world scale.

Liis Kollamagi
Roma Tre University
liis.kollamagi@libero.it

Spelling and the Construction of Identity in non–Standard Languages: The Case of Written British Creole

The main aim of my article is to examine the use of Caribbean–English lexicon Creoles in two British novels: Zadie Smith's *White Teeth* (2000) and Andrea Levy's *Small Island* (2004). Creole languages have been studied as 'broken' English dialects (Sebba, 1998; Le Page & Tabouret–Keller, 2006; Cassidy, 2007) and their socio–historical background determines their strong symbolic value. Creoles are markers of identity and establish associations with social groups; for example, British Creole usage in London has become

the symbol of Black Britishness. My paper intends to carry out a quantitative analysis on Creole orthography and spelling choices, and the aim is to demonstrate how Creole use in fiction expresses and constructs the character's identity.

Elisa Aurora Pantaleo
University of Milan
pantaleo.elisaaurora@gmail.com

Heterolingualism and Transculturality in F. Scott Fitzgerald's Tender Is the Night *and its Italian Translations*

In recent years, a significant number of scholarly studies have examined the functions of heterolingualism in literary texts. In modernist fiction, linguistic plurality often has a defamiliarising effect, underlying fragmentation and problematic aspects of communication in post–war society. Under these premises, the present research is intended to analyse heterolingualism in F. Scott Fitzgerald's *Tender Is the Night* and its Italian translations. Special attention is devoted to the use of French in critical passages of the novel, which enshrine the transcultural message about European and American identities concealed in the work.

Giusy Piatto
University of Naples "Federico II"
piattogiu@gmail.com

Obama's Winning 'Change' Strategy: Translation, Rhetoric and Intertextuality in the 2008 Presidential Campaign

The linguistic strategies adopted by Barack Obama in his 2008 Presidential campaign cannot be investigated without taking into account the fact that the former Senator of Illinois belongs to the Afro–American community. An ethnic affiliation is closely aligned with the cultural elements of the ethnic group with which they affiliate, and Obama's ethnic background is in fact to be seen as an important transcultural stance which needs further investigation since it has certainly contributed to Black People's history, culture and politics in the US. It is very interesting to notice how this ethnic cue may have emerged within the political speeches Obama delivered when running for the White House, taking into account that Obama's main function was to speak to the White majority of his country, therefore always having a neutral approach in order to persuade all voters.

This paper presents an original study on a multifacted approach of a corpus comprising Barack Obama's political *stump speeches*, an audio–medial corpus of two texts written to be read to a psychologically predisposed audience on a campaign tour. In particular,

multicultural intertextual references in a hybrid speech, which different ethnic groups could personally identify with, are deemed here as the fundamental key of success for 'winning' the official race to the White House.

Methodologically, the paper is centred on a very integrated approach to linguistic analysis: from the scrutiny of classic formulas on communication and persuasion in Aristotle's theory of rhetoric, whose rules seem still to fit the needs of political discourses, to Critical Discourse Analysis consistent with Van Dijk's (1997) and Norman Fairclough's (1995) contributions (eg. discourses influence social relation and knowledge systems through language) which provide tools to examine some of Obama's speeches in three different phases of his first campaign as the Democratic presidential candidate.

Laura Pinnavaia
University of Milan
laura.pinnavaia@unimi.it

Investigating the Coverage of American and British Cultural Information in Three Italian–English Bilingual Dictionaries

Especially needy of cultural labels and notes regarding the usage of words are language learners whose knowledge of a foreign language often stops at the lexical and semantic level. This explains why monolingual learner's dictionaries of English have always made extensive use of this kind of information. The problem, however, is that learners still prefer to use bilingual dictionaries, whose inclusion of notes regarding culturally–bound areas of English life and society is only quite a recent phenomenon. This article investigates the type of English cultural information imparted as usage notes in the following Italian–English bilingual dictionaries: Garzanti Hazon (2009), Oxford–Paravia (2010), and Ragazzini2011 (2010). It will show that these three dictionaries contribute differently. Not only does each dictionary provide a different number of lemmas accompanied by cultural notes (Ragazzini 149 lemmas, Paravia 122, Garzanti 111), but also each dictionary chooses to annotate different lemmas under one same semantic field. Each dictionary privileges one semantic field, Garzanti annotates lemmas that prevalently belong to the field of education, Paravia to those that concern government and politics and Ragazzini to the lemmas regarding the world of the law. The varying selection of annotated lemmas in one same semantic field and across the three dictionaries in general seems to suggest that each dictionary decides arbitrarily what lemmas and aspects of the social and cultural life described are worthy of attention. The attention placed upon the cultural information also differs from dictionary to dictionary. While all three dictionaries provide clear and interesting cultural comments, Paravia and Ragazzini seem to impart more historical and etymological information than does Garzanti. Compared to Garzanti, Paravia and Ragazzini are more exhaustive and encycopaedic in nature.

Francesca Raffi
University of Macerata
francesca.raffi@unina.it

Gomorrah – The Series *Flies to the UK: how is Gomorrah's World Rendered in English Subtitles?*

An increasing amount of audiovisual products circulate today across national and cultural boundaries, reaffirming the intrinsic transcultural dimension of audiovisual texts and inscribing «audiovisual translation within the larger framework of cultural, linguistic and social interaction» (Di Giovanni 2011: 2). This is the case of several Italian films which have been exported abroad and, more recently, a successful TV series: *Gomorrah.*

Gomorrah – The Series is the third transposition of Roberto Saviano's book *Gomorra* (2006): it was turned into a Cannes Jury Prize–winning film (2008), and later adapted for the Italian stage (2008). After its phenomenal success in Italy, the 12–part Italian television drama was distributed in more than fifty countries. In the UK, *Gomorrah* was premiered in its original language with English subtitles, and it was the first foreign language TV series broadcasted on SKY Atlantic.

Since its debut, *Gomorrah*'s text–be it in a literary or in an audiovisual format–has attracted considerable attention from scholars in the field of Translation Studies (Cavaliere 2009a, 2009b, 2010; Caprara, Sisti 2011; Caliendo 2012), proving to be profoundly rooted in the Neapolitan sociocultural context.

In the specific case of *Gomorrah – The Series*, characters are mainly represented through the extensive use of Neapolitan dialect (culture–bound elements within the language), and the massive presence of extralinguistic cultural references contributes to building the context in which the story is set and acquires meaning (culture–bound elements outside the language).

What happens, then, when the challenge of attempting to export *Gomorrah*'s world meets with the constrained nature of subtitling itself? By selecting significant examples from the 12 episodes of the TV drama, distributed in the UK by Arrow Films (2014) in DVD format and released in Neapolitan dialect with English subtitles, this study investigates whether, and if so, to what extent subtitling truthfully matches the world of *Gomorrah*, focusing on the rendering of cultural elements outside the language.

The preliminary results achieved show a general tendency to preserve the original Neapolitan flavour of *Gomorrah*'s world, although some interesting differences can be detected especially in the way female leaders are represented.

Maria Grazia Sindoni
University of Messina
mgsindoni@unime.it

Spontaneous vs. Self–monitored? Language Variation in Malala's Blog and Memoir

Malala Yousafzai is a Pakistani female education activist and the youngest–ever Nobel Peace Prize winner. This paper discusses language variation in two texts written by

Malala, namely a blog ("Diary of a Pakistani Schoolgirl", 2009), and a memoir (*I am Malala*, 2013) co–authored with the British journalist Christina Lamb.

We assume that these two texts can be analysed with reference to some generic characteristics, namely, 1) spontaneity, interactivity, low self–monitoring in the blog and 2) planning, high control and self–monitoring in the memoir. These textual characteristics can be loosely associated to genres typical of speech and writing, respectively, hence a selective comparison of passages taken from the two texts will test these assumptions. A quantitative and qualitative analysis will be presented to this end. In the concluding remarks, the findings of this study will be discussed.

Raffaele Zago
University of Pavia
raffaele.zago01@ateneopv.it

English in the Traditional Media: The Case of Colloquialisation between Original Films and Remakes

A number of studies have argued that recent English has been following a path of colloquialisation, that is, a trend towards an increasing degree of colloquiality over time (e.g. Fairclough 1992, Leech et al. 2009). Starting from such premise, the present paper will look at colloquialisation in film dialogue, a register with respect to which colloquialisation has only been suggested (e.g. Kozloff 2000) but not assessed empirically. American films from the 1950s and the 1960s will be compared with their remakes from the 1990s and the 2000s, respectively. The corpus of originals and remakes under investigation comprises approximately 166,000 words and was constructed following various criteria. The data will be investigated using Multi–Dimensional Analysis (Biber 1988), a statistical approach making it possible to identify co–occurrence patterns among a wide set of POS–tagged linguistic features, co–occurrence patterns which, in turn, will be interpreted here as indicators of colloquiality. By means of Multi–Dimensional Analysis, this paper will carry out a contrastive assessment of the degree of colloquiality of the originals and their remakes on a quantitative basis. The study will show that a certain strengthening of colloquiality has occurred in the remakes. Also, a comparison with the Italian films analysed by Rossi (1999) will be used to underline that transnational and local dynamics are active in the process of colloquialisation. In particular, it will be highlighted that the originals' degree of colloquiality is already significant, an aspect which seems to be a distinctive feature of American cinema, as opposed to the situation found in Italian films.

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