XENIA. STUDI LINGUISTICI, LETTERARI E INTERCULTURALI

A CURA DI
DORA FARACI,
GIOVANNI IAMARTINO,
LUCILLA LOPRIORE,
MARTINA NIED CURCIO,
SERENELLA ZANOTTI

WHEN I USE A WORD, IT MEANS JUST WHAT I CHOOSE IT TO MEAN - NEITHER MORE NOR LESS

STUDIES IN HONOUR OF STEFANIA NUCCORINI

Roma TrE-Press
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Collana del Dipartimento di
LINGUE, LETTERATURE E CULTURE STRANIERE
6

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Giovanni Iamartino*

Omaggio a Stefania Nuccorini

Accogliendo una richiesta, tanto gentile quanto pressante, di Lucilla Lopriore e delle sue colleghe dell'Università di Roma Tre, il mio tributo a Stefania Nuccorini non si traduce in un intervento scientifico ma in un ricordo – meglio, in una serie di ricordi, lontani nel tempo o anche molto vicini. Un'operazione della memoria, questa, facilitata dal fatto che Stefania e io abbiamo vissuto vite accademiche parallele nei momenti chiave e spesso convergenti nella ricerca; d'altro canto, non è facile scrivere di una collega e amica evitando che il rispetto e la stima travalichino i limiti del giusto riconoscimento per assumere un tono celebrativo che risulterebbe sgradito, in primis, alla diretta interessata.

Difficilmente si potrebbe negare che la passione per lo studio non abbia costituito per Stefania il fondamento della futura vita accademica: a una laurea in Lettere Moderne (1971) seguì una in Scienze Politiche (1974), e poi quella in Lingue e Letterature Straniere (1978) che, accompagnata da un *Diploma of English Studies* conseguito a Cambridge (1978), segnò la sua strada professionale. Dopo alcuni incarichi e borse di ricerca presso la Facoltà di Scienze Politiche della Sapienza, Stefania divenne ricercatrice di lingua inglese presso la medesima facoltà (1980-1992), successivamente professore associato prima all'Università di Perugia (1992-1995) e poi presso l'Università di Roma Tre (1995-2001), dove nel 2001 venne chiamata come professore ordinario, rimanendovi in quel ruolo fino alla pensione nel 2019, e anche oltre, essendo stata nominata Professore Onorario. Tutto, all'apparenza, semplice e facile, ma la linearità degli eventi nasconde le fatiche e le difficoltà di una generazione di accademici come la nostra che, ad esempio, non ha usufruito dell'opportunità dei corsi di dottorato e ha dovuto far coesistere i primi impegni nella ricerca con l'insegnamento scolastico o altri modi di sbarcare il lunario. Oppure, ricordo l'esperienza, condivisa con Stefania, del concorso per associati nel 1991: per 12 posti in altrettante sedi universitarie italiane, il numero doppio di candidati ammessi alla prova orale (su un totale di oltre 150 domande), con colloquio e lezione 24 ore dopo, davanti a una Commissione di 9 membri presieduta dal

* Università degli Studi di Milano.

mitico prof. Cesare Giulio Cecioni. Al confronto, meno problematico il nostro concorso per ordinari – ancora una volta condiviso da me e Stefania – una decina d'anni dopo: l'unico problema fu quello di preparare e spedire i pacchi con le pubblicazioni.

Al di là delle vicende e delle fortune individuali, il percorso di Stefania riflette bene, a mio parere, il destino di tutta una generazione accademica, formatasi in quella che era ormai diventata la cosiddetta università di massa, e passata dai banchi alla cattedra attraverso il fondamento normativo del decreto n. 382 dell'11 luglio 1980 finalizzato al riordino della docenza universitaria. Insomma, non più l'università come luogo privilegiato della ricerca dove l'insegnamento era spesso visto come un accidente inevitabile se non proprio una seccatura, ma come sede della ricerca e della didattica – anzi, di una didattica sempre più presente e pressante per il continuo aumento degli studenti. A questa situazione di carattere generale si aggiunge, negli stessi anni, la sempre crescente richiesta di formazione nel settore della lingua inglese; ne consegue un relativo aumento delle opportunità di carriera per quegli anglisti e angliste che, originariamente dotati di una formazione letteraria, decidono di indirizzare ricerca e didattica verso la lingua e la linguistica inglese; è questa la strada intrapresa da Stefania, il cui impegno didattico, accanto a quello di molti altri colleghi e colleghe, si è nel tempo dispiegato in diversi corsi di laurea – Scienze Politiche, Psicologia, Lettere, Lingue – ognuno con le proprie e specifiche esigenze formative. Colleghi ed ex-studenti hanno spesso riconosciuto a Stefania una particolare attenzione ai bisogni formativi e didattici dei diversi contesti in cui ha operato, e una cura speciale per l'insegnamento e l'apprendimento della lingua inglese.

Ciò è peraltro dimostrato anche da buona parte della sua produzione scientifica – si pensi solo alle sue due monografie, *La parola che non so. Saggio sui dizionari pedagogici* del 1993, e *Il cloze test per l'inglese L2: ricerca, metodologia, didattica* del 2001 – ma anche dal lungo impegno (1996-2009), nel comitato scientifico prima, e nella Giunta poi, del Centro Linguistico dell'Università di Roma Tre. Questo non è stato certo l'unico incarico istituzionale svolto da Stefania, che nella medesima sede è stata Presidente dei corsi di laurea triennale – Lingue e mediazione linguistica e culturale – e magistrale in Lingue per la comunicazione internazionale (2008-2013), e membro del Senato Accademico (2013-2016). L'impegno istituzionale di Stefania – da intendere senz'altro come servizio per la comunità accademica – non si è esercitato solo all'interno del proprio Ateneo dove lei è tuttora

Professore Onorario, ma si è esteso ai colleghi e alle colleghe di lingua, letteratura e cultura inglese durante il suo doppio mandato (1997-2001) come Segretaria dell'Associazione Italiana di Anglistica.

Pur presa fra la didattica e gli impegni istituzionali, Stefania non ha trascurato – e ancora non trascura – il suo lavoro come studiosa e ricercatrice. Oltre ai due volumi già menzionati, vanno ricordate le quattro curatele di volumi e numeri monografici di rivista, il più recente dei quali è un fascicolo del 2020 di *Textus. English Studies in Italy* dedicato a "English Lexicography in Time: Social and Cultural Issues" e co-curato con il noto collega francese Henri Béjoint. È proprio nell'ambito della lessicografia e, in termini più generali, del lessico e della fraseologia che si è maggiormente esercitato il contributo scientifico di Stefania agli studi di anglistica. Difficile scegliere fra le decine e decine di saggi da lei pubblicati dai primi anni Ottanta a oggi; posso solo forse ricordare le riviste e gli editori internazionali che hanno pubblicato i suoi lavori: tra le prime, *European Journal of English Studies*, *International Journal of Lexicography*, *Journal of Pragmatics*, e *Language and History*, mentre fra i secondi A. Francke, Benjamins, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Mouton de Gruyter, Peter Lang, e Vox.

Ho inteso sottolineare la dimensione internazionale della produzione scientifica di Stefania, che più di una volta, nel corso della sua carriera, ha partecipato attivamente a progetti di ricerca europei con particolare riferimento alla lessicografia e alla fraseologia; ricorderò solo, nello specifico, il suo coinvolgimento, dal 2014 e ancora oggi, nell'*Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Degree in Lexicography* o *European Master in Lexicography*.

Molto altro potrei aggiungere per ricordare le capacità professionali di Stefania e la sua attitudine a promuovere e coordinare l'impegno di colleghe ed allieve – ma di questo si troverà testimonianza diretta e indiretta nelle pagine che seguono. I quattordici saggi raccolti in questo volume sono un tributo a Stefania per il suo più che quarantennale lavoro nel campo dell'anglistica; nella loro varietà documentano come i campi di ricerca prediletti da Stefania offrano sempre nuovi materiali d'indagine. Invece di descrivere i contenuti dei singoli saggi – siano piuttosto una sorpresa per Stefania e per i lettori di questo *liber amicorum* – mi sia concesso concludere il mio tributo alla festeggiata con un ricordo personale e uno condiviso. Quello personale è un mosaico di tante occasioni ed esperienze comuni: come scrivevo all'inizio, i concorsi vissuti insieme senza mai considerarci 'rivali', ma condividendo sogni e aspirazioni; i concorsi in cui ci siamo trovati a lavorare insieme come

commissari, impegnati a compiere correttamente il nostro dovere per il migliore sviluppo del nostro ambito di ricerca e didattica; i tanti convegni a cui abbiamo partecipato insieme, condividendo interessi di ricerca e relazioni accademiche e personali; e infine i diversi progetti PRIN che abbiamo elaborato insieme con successo. Il ricordo condiviso, con lei e con tanti, è invece quello dell'interminabile applauso – tanto lungo quanto spontaneo e sincero – ricevuto da Stefania durante l'Assemblea che chiudeva il suo mandato come Segretaria dell'AIA nel 2001; questo volume rinnovi ora quell'indimenticabile manifestazione di stima e di apprezzamento personale e professionale.

Dora Faraci, Lucilla Lopriore,
Martina Nied Curcio, Serenella Zanotti

Per Stefania, Master of Words

«*When I use a word*», Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone,
«*it means just what I choose it to mean – neither more nor less*»
«*The question is*» said Alice, «*whether you CAN make words mean so many different things*»
«*The question is*» said Humpty Dumpty, «*which is to be master – that's all*»

Lewis Carroll (1871), *Through the looking glass and what Alice found there*, Ch. 6.

La frase posta in esergo nel titolo, tratta dal noto passo di Carroll sopra riportato per esteso, è stata scelta con l'intento di mettere in evidenza come Stefania, autentica "Master of words", sia riuscita a investigare "through a magnifying glass" il complesso universo del lessico, della fraseologia, dei dizionari, e a restituirne magistralmente i risultati sia nei suoi studi innovativi, sia nelle sue lezioni che hanno contribuito alla formazione di generazioni di studenti consapevoli delle problematiche legate all'uso della lingua.

Dora Faraci

Per Stefania

Non parlerò qui di Stefania come studiosa e docente stimatissima: la sua lunga attività universitaria è illustrata dalle parole di altri curatori di questo volume che a lei con grande amicizia dedichiamo. Dirò di Stefania come amica, anche se tracciare un confine tra vita professionale e privata nel suo caso mi è difficile. Chi è appassionato degli studi e del lavoro che svolge lo è anche della vita e l'interesse verso i particolari del mondo circostante e le persone si riversa, in un processo di scambio continuo, nel ruolo che si esercita. Ascoltatrice attenta, come chi è solito indagare il dettaglio e da questo partire per restituire una visione d'insieme, Stefania nasconde, dietro alla sua espressione all'apparenza severa, un coinvolgimento e una concentrazione tesi alla ricerca di una soluzione o anche semplicemente di una parola di consiglio, incoraggiamento o esortazione, che esprime con un sorriso rinfrancante.

Per dire della natura della nostra amicizia e per restare allo stesso tempo nel tema che informa questa miscellanea scritta in suo onore, affiderò il compito di tratteggiare le consuetudini di cui si compone il nostro legame ad alcuni termini della tradizione germanica che designano in vario modo il compagno, il sodale, traendo da questi spunto per ricordare la condivisione di piccoli episodi di vita quotidiana.

Definirei Stefania con il termine inglese antico *gefera*, "compagno di viaggio", anche se nel nostro caso si è solo trattato di spostamenti brevi, pur se piacevoli e fitti di conversazioni. Approfittavo volentieri (e continuo a farlo anche adesso quando capita di andare insieme da qualche parte) dei suoi passaggi, che mi evitavano il noioso percorso in metro dove non dico uno scambio di parole ma anche solo di sguardi è raro, assorbiti tutti come siamo dal cellulare, ormai inseparabile e quasi unico compagno di viaggio.

Le nostre chiacchierate, per lo più in macchina nel percorso tra casa e università, hanno accompagnato i miei anni a Roma Tre. È stato un piacere iniziare o finire la giornata di lavoro con Stefania e spesso anche con Lucilla, con Paolo quando ci scambiavamo pareri su libri, film, mostre, viaggi e talvolta anche virus (un inverno - in era pre-

Covid - ci prendemmo tutti e quattro contemporaneamente una brutta influenza dopo uno dei nostri rientri collettivi a casa. Si cerca ancora l'untore).

Di questi tragitti in auto ricordo in particolare un episodio che mi vide spettatrice stupita e divertita, nonostante il fatto di comico avesse poco. Una sera tornavamo a casa insieme in macchina e parlavamo amabilmente quando qualcuno incautamente ci urtò. La controllata Stefania, consapevole di aver ragione, e inoltre per il timore che il tamponamento mi avesse causato il colpo di frusta, si fermò a discutere con il tamponatore, finché, perse le staffe, sfoderò le sue doti dialettiche, tanto che il malcapitato e sprovveduto automobilista rimase lì, quasi impietrito, a rispondere a monosillabi al fiume delle giuste contestazioni che Stefania gli muoveva. Una reazione decisa che mi fece scoprire un aspetto del suo carattere che ancora non conoscevo bene e che accrebbe la mia stima per lei: difendere con fermezza la posizione che si ritiene giusta. Un tratto che noi colleghi abbiamo sempre apprezzato nella sua conduzione degli incarichi gestionali a lei affidati.

Stefania è stata anche una piacevolissima *ga-hlaiba*, termine gotico che indica "il compagno, colui con cui si divide il pane", il *Brotgenosse* tedesco. Non importa qui discutere se la parola italiana 'compagno' sia un calco dal latino volgare *cum* + *panis* o, viceversa dalla voce germanica, soprattutto dal momento che definirei più propriamente Stefania 'compagna di gelato' (e forse in questo aspetto sarebbe conveniente usare il più generico termine alto-tedesco *gimazzo*, "colui con cui si condivide il cibo"). Infatti, ci è capitato, e continua a capitarci, di consumare insieme gelati, di cui Stefania è raffinata estimatrice e pertanto esperta delle migliori gelaterie artigianali che scova in diverse zone della città, anche nei pressi dell'Università. Gustavamo, nelle brevi pause tra una lezione e un'altra, il nostro gelato con rinnovato piacere quando scoprivamo combinazioni di ingredienti insolite: piacere che mi piace paragonare a quello che dovettero provare i nobili in occasione di un banchetto offerto da Carlo II, quando, secondo la testimonianza di Elias Ashmole, a cui si attribuisce la prima attestazione del termine inglese, tra le numerose portate venne loro servito "one plate of ice-cream", prelibatezza allora nuova ai palati. A noi non servivano tavole regali per assaporare il nostro gelato; ci bastava la strada, percorsa con una sorta di gioia infantile, con in mano una coppetta Stefania, un cono io.

Racchiudono il senso profondo del legame che mi unisce a lei due parole che mi hanno sempre colpita e che più delle altre userei per

definire la nostra dedicataria. Si leggono nel *Beowulf*: *eaxl-gestealla*, alla lettera 'compagno di spalla' e *hand-gestealla*. In modo essenziale indicano quella vicinanza, quel sostenersi a vicenda che è elemento fondamentale di un'amicizia. E questo è Stefania per me: una persona che ti sta a fianco e a portata di mano, su cui so di poter contare.

Amicus tam prope quam longe bonus est.

Freond deah feor ge neah. byð near nyttra. (dai *Durham Proverbs*, XI sec.)

Lucilla Lopriore

Per Stefania

Delle indubbie e innumerevoli qualità di Stefania Nuccorini, come persona e come studiosa, parlano i contributi di questo volume, le brevi note introduttive di noi curatrici, nonché il ritratto professionale tracciato dal collega Giovanni Iamartino, primo 'complice' nell'ideazione di questo omaggio a una 'collega davvero speciale'.

Vorrei, in una sorta di ricognizione affettiva e professionale, ripercorrere e condividere i momenti che hanno segnato il mio rapporto di amicizia e di collaborazione professionale con Stefania, una persona a me particolarmente cara, che ha accompagnato la maggior parte del mio lavoro universitario, spesso costituendo un esempio con cui confrontarmi e da cui apprendere e farmi guidare, un 'Virgilio' fermo e schietto, come nella descrizione che ne fa T.S.Eliot (1957:131).

> «Virgil was, among all authors of classical antiquity, one for whom the world made sense, for whom it had order and dignity, and for whom, as for no one before his time except the Hebrew prophets, history had meaning»

Di fatto, *let's face it* , Stefania ed io, pur essendo 'quasi' coetanee, ci siamo conosciute tardi, avendo seguito - dopo le rispettive lauree - strade molto diverse per poi ritrovarci a lavorare all'università, con esperienze e ruoli decisamente differenti, responsabili di insegnamenti molto simili di lingua e traduzione inglese – un tempo 'lingua e linguistica inglese' - denominazione dalle innumerevoli implicazioni, un settore scientifico-disciplinare attraverso il quale eravamo però entrate entrambe all'università. Stefania molti, ma molti anni prima di me.

Nel mio passaggio dalla scuola all'università mi ero imbattuta in Stefania diverse volte a seminari e convegni, finché un giorno, alla presentazione di un progetto per l'insegnamento a distanza delle lingue, lei mi chiese se fossi interessata a spostarmi dall'università di Cassino a Roma Tre; 'molto interessata!', le risposi. Non ricordo con esattezza però la prima volta in cui ci siamo incontrate, forse in occasione della riunione di quel gruppo ristretto di docenti che, nel 1989, sarebbero stati impegnati nel progetto della prima SSIS ideato dalla compianta Clotilde

Pontecorvo, oppure, forse, in uno dei molteplici seminari sull'uso dei corpora proposti da John Sinclair. Sia in un caso sia nell'altro, le aree d'interesse che allora condividevamo, erano la formazione dei docenti di lingua, ma, in particolare, la linguistica inglese e quella applicata.

Questi i campi e i settori di cui Stefania Nuccorini è sempre stata non solo un'esperta riconosciuta, ma dei quali, ben comprendendone il costrutto, ne aveva ideato e sostenuta la corretta applicazione in termini di crediti, di ambiti di intervento, di prove di accertamento, nonché dei ruoli sia dei docenti sia dei collaboratori esperti linguistici (CEL). Da subito mi sono sentita confortata e rassicurata nel riconoscermi nelle proposte di Stefania in termini di scelte didattiche e metodologiche negli insegnamenti di linguistica inglese, scelte che nella mia esperienza precedente all'arrivo a Roma Tre nel 2006, avevo fatto da sola, senza la possibilità di un confronto.

Nella mia prima 'visita guidata' alle lezioni di inglese a Roma Tre, ricordo quanto la vista del testo che era stato adottato per il secondo anno della triennale - *Working with texts* di Ron Carter - mi rassicurò, mi fece capire quanto le proposte di Stefania fossero in linea con gli obiettivi formativi degli insegnamenti linguistici. Il testo era, e rimane, per molti aspetti, innovativo sia negli obiettivi sia nelle attività proposte, in linea con i principi della 'language awareness' e del 'knowledge about language'(KAL) di scuola inglese, sia della linguistica educativa italiana. Ideato da "practitioners, with much experience of language teaching, curriculum development work, inservice training, examining and writing", lo scopo del testo era:

> «to provide a foundation for the analysis of texts, in order to support students in any discipline who want to achieve a detailed focus on language. No previous knowledge of language analysis is assumed; what *is* assumed is an interest in language use and a desire to account for the choices made by language users» (Carter *et al.*, 2001:13)[1].

Sempre coraggiose le scelte istituzionali e didattiche di Stefania che implicavano il continuo coinvolgimento di colleghi e dei collaboratori esperti linguistici (CEL), questi ultimi troppo spesso isolati, e che lei riusciva invece sempre a coinvolgere, grazie alla sua riconosciuta competenza, in attive collaborazioni, ad esempio nella ideazione e realizzazione di forme di valutazione degli apprendimenti linguistici,

[1] Carter *et al*, (2001). *Working with texts*. London: Routledge.

cui dedicava attenzione e costante controllo. Proprio in questi campi, nei tredici anni di collaborazione a Roma Tre, ho avuto modo di apprezzare la qualità sia degli interventi sia delle azioni da lei portate avanti con professionalità, e con molto, molto coraggio. Sì, perché una delle qualità di Stefania è sempre stato il coraggio delle azioni da lei intraprese - soprattutto a livello istituzionale - tutte sempre tese a creare le condizioni per favorire lo sviluppo delle competenze linguistiche degli studenti, programmando azioni mirate e congiunte dei docenti e dei CEL, nonostante contesti spesso poco sensibili. E i risultati si sono sempre visti: il numero crescente degli studenti che ogni anno chiedevano di iscriversi ai nostri corsi di laurea, in particolare alla triennale in mediazione linguistica e culturale.

Vorrei chiudere con un riferimento a due caratteristiche di Stefania: la sua innata curiosità e l'onestà intellettuale con cui esprime i suoi dubbi e le sue perplessità. Ci siamo spesso scambiate informazioni e pareri su eventi a volte solo parzialmente legati al nostro campo di lavoro – mostre, seminari, convegni, interviste cui lei partecipa attivamente ancora oggi. Ricordo, ad esempio, l'interesse suscitato dalle ricerche fatte sugli studi sull'inglese lingua franca (ELF), tanto che quando Marie Luise Pitzl dell'Università di Vienna (ora Elise-Richter Research Fellow at the Austrian Academy of Sciences) venne nel 2015 al nostro dipartimento come visiting professor, e fece una presentazione su "Linguistic creativity in English as a Lingua Franca: creative use of idioms and metaphors", Stefania partecipò con molto interesse, ma alla fine ne uscì con molti punti interrogativi su cui si è continuato a discutere! Più convinta Stefania lo fu, invece, dalla visita del prof. Joseph Lo Bianco dell'Università di Melbourne, 'visiting professor' per tre mesi nella laurea magistrale con una serie di interventi sulle politiche linguistiche, e dal suo Seminario su "Language Policies and Planning" da lui presentato in una affollatissima Sala Ignazio Ambrogio.

Cara Stefania, chiuderei qui con un ringraziamento di cuore per essere sempre stata una collega 'davvero speciale', che ha profuso con onestà e coraggio il suo impegno per sostenere al meglio lo sviluppo e il progresso degli studenti, sempre con proposte di collaborazione fattiva tra colleghi, e a livello istituzionale, documentandosi sempre, sempre curiosa e sempre sincera!

Grazie, davvero!

Martina Nied Curcio

Per Stefania

Era il 2013 quando il collega Stefan Schierholz della Friedrich-Alexander-Universität di Erlangen-Nürnberg mi chiese se ritenessi che l'Università di Roma Tre potesse aderire al consorzio dell'*European Master of Lexicography* (*EMLex*). Sul momento rimasi sorpresa… Lessicografia... Non me ne ero più occupata dai tempi del mio dizionario della valenza, nel 1999. Ma la lessicografia mi ha sempre affascinato. Naturalmente, non potevo diventare membro del consorzio da sola, altri colleghi dovevano collaborare tra coloro che condividevano la mia passione per la lessicografia e che parlavano inglese e tedesco - un prerequisito per la partecipazione a questo Master.

Poco prima di questa richiesta, avevo letto dei contributi di Stefania sull'uso dei dizionari, che mi erano piaciuti molto. E così è stato chiaro che Stefania fosse la persona più adatta con cui condividere questa esperienza. Per quanto ricordo, accettò la proposta con molto entusiasmo... e così iniziò l'avventura comune.

Per prima cosa, ovviamente, era necessario superare tutti gli ostacoli burocratici. Un master congiunto, un Joint Master Degree: come dovrebbe funzionare? Stefania, che all'epoca era presidente del Corso di Laurea, mi è stata vicina con consigli e sostegno. Insieme abbiamo cercato di trovare un modo per integrare il Master in un corso di studio del nostro Dipartimento, studiare nel dettaglio il regolamento, stipulare accordi con tutte le università partner, valutare le possibilità di insegnamento e molto altro ancora. A volte gli ostacoli erano così grandi che sono stata spesso sul punto di arrendermi. Ma Stefania riusciva sempre a trovare un modo per risolvere i problemi.

Nel 2014 è arrivato il momento e Roma Tre è entrata a far parte del consorzio *EMLex.* Nel 2015 abbiamo avuto i nostri primi studenti. Erano in tre: Cristian, Flavia e Stefano. Stefania e io abbiamo riorganizzato le nostre lezioni per i moduli a Roma Tre. L'argomento era la lessicologia e la lessicografia; entrambe ci siamo concentrate sulle collocazioni, sui fraseologismi in senso lato e sulle loro rappresentazioni nei dizionari. Non solo gli studenti *EMLex*, ma tutti coloro che frequentarono quei corsi, l'hanno trovato interessante e ne hanno tratto beneficio.

Con il lavoro nel consorzio sono arrivati anche i viaggi. Poiché il semestre estivo 2016 si sarebbe svolto a Budapest, nell'autunno 2015 abbiamo partecipato a un incontro preparatorio - il nostro primo viaggio insieme. Gli studenti si sono poi recati a Budapest nella primavera del 2016, dove ci siamo recate entrambe per insegnare in diversi moduli. Al ritorno, due dei tre studenti hanno ricevuto il Premio Erasmus a Roma Tre per gli ottimi risultati ottenuti. Quindi l'inizio dell'avventura è stato molto positivo.

Poco dopo è arrivata una nuova sfida. Si pensava di fare domanda all'Unione Europea per un finanziamento Erasmus Mundus. Una quantità immensa di lavoro e una domanda di oltre 120 pagine... ma insieme ai colleghi di Santiago, Braga, Nancy, Katowice, Erlangen e Stellenbosch, ce l'abbiamo fatta e nel 2016 abbiamo ricevuto una somma considerevole per promuovere il corso di studio in tutto il mondo. Per poter accettare degli studenti è stato necessario creare un organo per la valutazione e la selezione degli studenti, la *admission committee*, un ulteriore compito che abbiamo svolto insieme ad altri colleghi. I primi studenti Erasmus Mundus provenivano dalla Malesia e dalla Russia. L'anno successivo sono arrivati studenti dalla Germania, dall'Ucraina e dalla Russia.

Nel 2018, il team è stato ampliato con l'adesione di Paolo Vaciago, in quanto avevamo bisogno di un supporto per la lessicografia storica e la preparazione del semestre estivo che si sarebbe tenuto a Roma nel 2019. Il semestre estivo è stato una maratona: 21 studenti provenienti da 17 paesi per un totale di 32 lingue. Più 48 colleghi da tutto il mondo che insegnavano nei vari moduli o che tenevano delle conferenze, il tutto in un periodo compreso tra febbraio a maggio. Senza i consigli e il supporto di Stefania, il semestre estivo *EMLex* non sarebbe stato possibile.

Stefania è diventata, e lo è tuttora, un membro molto stimato della *EMLex family*. Ha insegnato in ogni semestre estivo nel modulo *Learner lexicography*: a Katowice, Nancy, Erlangen, Braga. Quest'anno andrà di nuovo a Budapest. Oltre all'insegnamento è anche responsabile di un modulo articolato in video-conferenze, sulla piattaforma *EMLex*, rivolto agli studenti del terzo semestre.

Oltre al lavoro e alle tante sfide comuni, abbiamo avuto l'opportunità di viaggiare insieme e quindi le conversazioni non si sono limitate a *EMLex*, ma sono diventate anche più private. Stefania è diventata una mia cara amica.

Ho una grande stima per Stefania e le sono infinitamente grata

per aver affrontato questa avventura con me e la ringrazio molto per la sua preziosa collaborazione, il suo grande impegno e la sua disponibilità che mi consente di consultarla in diverse occasioni. Sono particolarmente felice che, tramite EMLex, continueremo ad avere la possibilità di collaborare, di viaggiare e di passare bei momenti insieme ai nostri cari colleghi di *EMLex*.

Serenella Zanotti

Per Stefania

La carriera accademica e scientifica di Stefania Nuccorini si è distinta per una continua e autorevole attività di ricerca e di insegnamento nell'ambito della lingua e della linguistica inglese, che le ha permesso di raccogliere grandi apprezzamenti e importanti riconoscimenti in Italia e all'estero.

Per la sua ampia e prestigiosa attività di ricerca, Stefania è riconosciuta tra le maggiori esponenti della ricerca lessicologica e lessicografica in campo nazionale e internazionale, come testimoniano le numerose e qualificate pubblicazioni apparse in sedi prestigiose e internazionalmente riconosciute e la partecipazione a convegni, seminari e progetti di alto rilievo internazionale. Oltre ai volumi sulla lessicografia (*English Lexicography in Time: Social and Cultural Issues*, numero monografico della rivista *Textus*, 2020) e sulla fraseologia inglese (*Phrases and Phraseology: Data and Descriptions*, Peter Lang, 2002; *When a Torch Becomes a Candle: Variation in Phraseology*, numero monografico di *SILTA*, 2001), sono pioneristici i suoi due lavori monografici: il primo, pubblicato nel 1993, dedicato ai dizionari pedagogici (*La parola che non so. Saggio sui dizionari pedagogici*, La Nuova Italia, 1993), il secondo incentrato sul cloze test come strumento per misurare la comprensione linguistica (*Il cloze test per l'inglese L2: Ricerca, metodologia, didattica*, Carocci, 2001). Entrambi i lavori sono caratterizzati da linee metodologiche innovative che hanno contributo ad aprire la disciplina a problematiche nuove e mai affrontate in precedenza.

La sua intensa attività di ricerca ha attraversato molteplici ambiti di studio all'interno della linguistica inglese, distinguendosi sempre per il rigoroso approccio metodologico sia negli studi a carattere sincronico che nell'indagine di taglio più propriamente storico-diacronico. Le sue ricerche si sono concentrate in particolare sui *Learner's Dictionaries*, i dizionari di collocazioni, la lessicografia bilingue, la lessicografia specialistica e il '*dictionary criticism*'. Si è inoltre intensamente occupata di lessicologia, di aspetti contrastivi tra italiano e inglese, di *comprehension skills*, di pragmatica e retorica, di aspetti relativi alla traduzione e ai rapporti tra norma e uso. In anni più recenti, i suoi

studi si sono concentrati sui rapporti tra fraseologia e lessicografia, in chiave sincronica e diacronica, sulla storia dell'insegnamento della lingua inglese, su aspetti socio-culturali in ambito lessicografico, su descrittivismo e prescrittivismo. Ma il nome di Stefania Nuccorini è noto anche ben oltre l'ambito dell'anglistica. Per anni è stata infatti co-direttrice della prestigiosa rivista di *Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teorica e Applicata* (*SILTA*), fondata da Enrico Arcaini.

Ma ripensare una carriera universitaria attraversata, ed anzi interpretata, con dedizione assoluta, come quella di Stefania Nuccorini, obbliga felicemente colei (o colui) che - come me - ha avuto l'onore di vederla a lavoro a ripercorrerne il percorso non solo di studiosa, ma anche di docente.

Al di là degli indubbi meriti scientifici, la sua può essere definita una vita per la didattica. "Non avrei scelto questo mestiere non fosse stato per la didattica", ha sempre detto. Perché l'insegnamento per Stefania è stata una vera e propria vocazione: non solo un compito sociale, ma un impegno etico, una professione morale.

Il rispetto per i (le) discenti è sempre stato, per Stefania, regola aurea. Mi ha sempre colpito come, dietro una apparente severità, si celasse l'immensa disponibilità e umanità di una persona realmente al servizio delle studentesse e degli studenti. Stefania è sempre stata la docente che si rendeva disponibile al di fuori delle aule, capace di trasformare le ore del ricevimento in momenti di lavoro individuale. Nella relazione duale discente-studente Stefania ha sempre creduto e, non a caso, in molti ricordano la perfezione delle tesi da lei seguite, le presentazioni impeccabili, l'estrema precisione del dettaglio. Stefania ha sempre concepito non solo la scrittura della tesi, ma anche gli stessi esami, come momento squisitamente didattico, l'unico momento, diceva, in cui era ancora possibile riuscire ad insegnare qualcosa. Animata da un profondo senso della correttezza e della giustizia, Stefania ha fatto dell'essere sempre dalla parte degli studenti, sempre in difesa degli interessi degli studenti, un imperativo categorico: non solo come docente, ma anche coordinatrice dei corsi di laurea, ha sempre messo al centro i diritti degli studenti, non solo i loro doveri.

Ma la forza del suo insegnamento risiede anche nell'esempio che ha saputo offrire a chi, come me, ha avuto la fortuna di lavorare con lei. Stefania è stata una guida competente e carismatica per tutti i docenti del corso di laurea, ma anche, e soprattutto, per le colleghe più giovani, che hanno sempre avuto in lei un riferimento capace di trovare soluzioni, di offrire suggerimenti mai banali, di guardare le cose dalla giusta

prospettiva. Stefania è stata per molte di noi non solo un riferimento, ma anche un modello da cui trarre quell' 'insegnamento esemplare' di cui parla George Steiner in *Lessons of the masters*.

La capacità di promuovere e coordinare l'impegno di colleghe ed allieve è sempre scaturita dalle qualità che più la caratterizzano: la generosità e l'umiltà. Stefania è stata una mentore curiosa e aperta, capace di confrontarsi anche con tematiche lontane dai propri interessi scientifici; una collega attenta e premurosa, sempre pronta a chiederti se avessi bisogno di un aiuto, sempre capace, cioè, di mettersi nei panni degli altri.

Infine, vorrei ricordare la dedizione di Stefania verso l'Istituzione. Come Presidente del Collegio Didattico di Lingue e Linguistica dal 2008 al 2013, Stefania ha avuto un ruolo fondamentale di indirizzo, definendo l'impianto attuale dei corsi di laurea in Lingue e Mediazione linguistico-culturale e in Lingue moderne per la comunicazione internazionale, curandone il coordinamento in momenti cruciali della loro storia. Nel 2013 è stata poi una delle protagoniste del processo di costituzione del Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Culture Straniere. All'interno dell'Ateneo di Roma Tre Stefania ha ricoperto altri importanti incarichi. Nel 2013 è stata eletta componente del Senato Accademico, carica che ha ricoperto fino al 2016, dando un importante contributo all'interno della commissione Didattica del Senato Accademico.

Un esempio didattico *assoluto*, come si vede; che resta, anzi ha informato e informa di sé chi l'ha vista agire quotidianamente. Un esempio di dedizione assoluta, alla lingua e, di conseguenza, secondo il suo stile inimitabile, alle cose più profondamente umane.

Henri Béjoint*

Usage Labels in the History of English Dictionaries

ABSTRACT:
The paper examines what usage labels, i.e. labels indicating the conditions in which a word is used or should be used, have been used in monolingual general dictionaries of English since the early 17th century. The first dictionaries were dictionaries of hard words and they had few labels. The general dictionaries of the 18th century that followed had more, and standardizing dictionaries like Johnson's *Dictionary* of 1755 and Webster's *American Dictionary* of 1828 had an abundance of labels and notations expressing the opinions of their authors. The *Oxford English Dictionary* and the historical dictionaries of the 19th and 20th centuries aimed at being descriptive and therefore had labels that were more objective and expressed the views of the social class of their compilers and users. In the 20th century, the dictionaries for native speakers as well as the learners' dictionaries added a large number of new labels to improve the portrait of their entry words. They particularly generalized the use of the label *offensive* that expresses the potential effect of the use of a word or phrase on the receiver of the message. In the last 50 years, most general dictionaries, electronic or on paper, have replaced or complemented their labels by usage notes.

KEYWORDS: Dictionaries, Usage labels, Usage notes, Prescriptiveness, Standard, Norm

1. *Introduction*

In English as in other languages, dictionaries have typically included indications of the sort of discourse in which their entry words were, or should be, used[1]. These indications have been in the form of words or of phrases inserted before, after, or within the definitions, or sometimes of longer comments. The words that were used – usage labels proper – were adjectives or adverbs, and they were often abbreviated because lexicographers needed to pack as much information as possible in as little space as possible. They have been described by many authors

* Centre de Recherche en Terminologie et Traduction, Université Lumière Lyon 2.
[1] Parts of the present article were written at a time when universities and public or private libraries were closed because of the Covid pandemic. Therefore, dictionaries and other sources not in my personal collection could only be accessed on the Internet.

and classified in simple, two-tier hierarchies. Atkins & Rundell (2008: 227-230) distinguish Domain (*Math*, *Mus*), Region (*Australia*, *Yorkshire*), Register (*slang, jargon*), Style (*archaic*), Time (*obsolete*), Attitude (*pejorative*, *derogatory*), and Meaning type (*lit*., *fig*.). Svensen (1993: 181-187) distinguishes Subject field (*Biol*., *Med*.), Style (*poetical*, *colloquial*), Time (*archaic*), Geography (*Scot*., *Ir*.), Metaphor (*figurative*), *Abstract* and *concrete*, Speaker's attitude (*ironical*, *derogatory*), Frequency (*usually*, *often*), and Occurrence of concept (*formerly*). Other authors have used more esoteric language. Hausmann (1977, chap. 8; 1989) proposes eleven categories: diachronic (*obsolete*, *archaic*, *neologism*), diatopic (*dialectal*, *US*), dia-integrative (language of origin), diamedial (*oral*, *written*), diastratic (*popular*), diaphasic (*colloquial*), diatextual (*poetry, science*), diatechnical (*chemistry*, *law*), diafrequential (*rare*), diaevaluative (*euphemistic*, *ironical*), dianormative (*criticized use*). The categories of the different authors do not perfectly overlap, but the basic units remain the same.

Usage labels are about words, not about things. They say "the word X is typically used in the context Y", where Y can be a science, an art, a region, a style, a period, a social class, etc[2]. Functionally they are 'traffic signals', telling the user to "'go slow', or 'caution', or 'stop'" (Cassidy, 1997: 97). They are important because they define normal or typical usage negatively: words and phrases that are not labelled are part of the norm, or standard (Landau, 2001: 259 ff.; Nuccorini, 2020).

The literature on usage labels is abundant[3] but it does not say much on their history. The general treatises on lexicography (Zgusta, 1971, Svensén, 1993, 2009, Landau, 2001, van Sterkenburg, 2003, Atkins & Rundell, 2008, Jackson, 2013, Durkin, 2016, etc.) are mostly synchronic. In the histories of dictionaries (Starnes & Noyes, 1946, Cowie, 2009, etc.), usage labels are treated briefly. Osselton's study of 'branded' words (1958) is excellent, but stops at Johnson. There are very good articles, but most are specialized: Norri (1996) on regional labels, Iamartino (2000) on Johnson's labels, Mugglestone (2000b) on labels in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Norri (2000) on derogatory labels, etc. Cassidy (1997) may be the only historical study, but it is more detailed on the period before Johnson than on the more recent history.

[2] Some, words or abbreviations, e.g. *neol/ogism*, do not signal a particular context. Are they really usage labels?

[3] Though in a study of 25 years of the *International Journal of Lexicography, Dictionaries*, *Lexicographica* and *Lexikos*, the word *label* is not among the hundred most used words (de Schryver, 2012: 472, 473).

The history of usage labels in English dictionaries would deserve a volume. The present paper can only be a modest contribution. It covers the period from the early 17th century to the present but it is very limited in scope: not only does it consider only dictionaries produced and used in Britain (with barely a glance at America), and only monolingual general dictionaries, but it only observes what labels have been used, not whether they were used appropriately and consistently.

2. *First labels in dictionaries of hard words*

Robert Cawdrey's *A Table Alphabeticall, conteyning and teaching the true vvriting, and vnderstanding of hard vsuall English wordes, borrowed from the Hebrew, Greeke, Latine, or French. &c.*[4], published in 1604, is usually considered as the first monolingual dictionary of English. It was a dictionary of hard words, with about 2,500 nouns, verbs and adjectives that were frequent enough (*vsuall*) but difficult to understand (*hard*) for many people, esoteric enough to deserve an explanation yet common enough for the explanation to be useful. It was not very different from the glossaries that had been used before: it was a sort of glossary for a limited number of texts. Its simple microstructure – in most cases a single word to explain a hard word, with sometimes a short definition – did not have usage labels. It was only enriched by two abbreviations inserted between the word and its explanation. One was the indication of the language of origin of the word, [fr] for *French* in most cases, with a few [gr] for *Greek*.

> CHAUNT, [fr] sing
> MIRROUR, [fr] a looking-glasse
> GENESIS, [gr] beginning

The other was [k] for "kind of": "CROCODILE, [k] beast"; "CITRON, [k] fruit", etc. Cawdrey did not like words that he thought were excessively obscure: "Some men seek so far for outlandish English, that they forget altogether their mothers language, so that of some of their mothers were aliue, they were not able to tell, or vnderstand what they say", he

[4] It is reproduced in Simpson (2007). Also, all English dictionaries published between 1470 and 1700 can be found on Early English Books Online (EEBO): https://eebo.chadwyck.com/home

wrote (To the Reader), but he did not mark his disapproval.

The second monolingual dictionary of English was, in 1616, *An English Expositor*, *Teaching the Interpretation of the Hardest Words Used in Our Language,* by I. B. (John Bullokar). It was also a dictionary of hard words, with simple entries like Cawdrey's ("Contagious. Infectious"), and indications of the origin of some entries: "In the Greeke tongue …", "An Hebrew word …", etc. But Bullokar was the first lexicographer to introduce usage labels: in a few entries, he noted the domain to which the word belonged:

> Chattel. A Law tearme …
> Geules. A tearme among Heralds …
> Homonymie. A terme in Logicke…

He was also the first to signal obsolete words, "onely used of some ancient writers, and now growne out of use" (Preface). He did that by means of an asterisk.

> *Bale. Sorrow : great miserie
> *Bardes. Poets

or occasionally in the definition: Corodie. "An ancient term…".

In 1623, a third dictionary of hard words was published, *The English Dictionarie: or, An Interpreter of Hard English Words,* by H. C. (Henry Cockeram). It was in three parts: a dictionary of hard words, a dictionary of common words and a thematic, quasi-encyclopedic dictionary. It had no usage labels, not even for domain or for obsolescence. Cockeram ridiculed words that were excessively obscure, but there is no trace of his opinion in the dictionary.

Glossographia: or, A Dictionary Interpreting all such Hard Words, whether Hebrew, Greek, Latin, […], *as are now used in our refined English Tongue*, published in 1656 by T.B. (Thomas Blount), was richer than its predecessors, with about 10,700 entries. It cited authorities (Dr. Bullocar, Chaucer, Browne, my Lord Bacon, etc.), to 'authorize' words: "that I might not be thought to be the innovator of them" (To the Reader). He mentioned the language of origin of most of his entry-words and often gave the Latin or Greek word from which the English was derived – a first in monolingual dictionaries (Osselton, 2009: 141), and he indicated domains, like Bullokar, in a few entries:

Alay, a term in hunting ...
Aperture, in Geometry, is …
Aperture, in Opticks, is

But there were no other labels.

3. *More labels as dictionaries become more general*

The New World of English Words, or a General English Dictionary Containing the Interpretations of such hard words as are derived from other Languages..., published in 1658 by E. P. (Edward Phillips), was the first to use the word 'general' in its title. It had about 11,000 words, with many hard words but without the more common ones: *bed, book, boot, bread, cat, dog, mouse, table* or *pot* were absent: clearly, it was not general in our modern sense. Phillips signalled obsolescence, like Bullokar, by the label *old word*:

Agast, (old word) dismaid with fear
Eyg, (old word) to build
Swink, (old word) labour

He also had a few indications of domain:

Croutade, (*Fr*. in *Cookery*) a particular manner of dressing a loin of mutton
Tarpawling, a Term in Navigation …

Also, like his predecessors, he noted that some words were "so monstrously barbarous, and insufferable, that they are not worthy to be mentioned" (Preface), but he did include some, "fewer then in other books of this kinde" (Preface), that he signalled by a dagger sign, particularly in the first letters of the alphabet:

† Agamist, a despiser of marriage
† Bulimy, (Greek) Insatiable hunger
† Spurcidical, (lat.) speaking filthily or uncleanly

"[T]he undistinguishing sort of Readers", he wrote, "would take it very ill if they were not explained" (Preface)

In 1676, Elisha Coles published *An English Dictionary, Explaining the difficult Terms used in Divinity, Husbandry, Physick, […] containing Many Thousands of Hard Words […] more than any other Dictionary or Expositor*. It had about 25,000 words, including hard words, words taken from Chaucer, Gower, etc., and dialect words. The microstructure, again, was very simple: "Chose, a thing", "Raskail, trash", "Alexander, Conquered the world, and was poysoned". There were also about 200 slang words: knowing such words, Coles said, "may chance to save your throat from being cut, or (at least) your Pocket from being pickt" (To the Reader). He marked them by a 'c' before the definition.

> Cloy, c. Steal
> Colquarron, c. A [man's] neck

Coles was the first lexicographer to provide a list of abbreviations in the front matter (Osselton, 2009: 146): in addition to the C for *Canting*, there was language of origin (l., g., h., etc.), obsolescence (O. for *Old word*) and region of use (Che. for *Cheshire*, E. for *Essex*, etc.).

In 1702, J. K. (John Kersey), published *A New English Dictionary: Or, a Compleat Collection Of the Most Proper and Significant Words, Commonly used in the Language; With a Short and Clear Exposition of Difficult Words and Terms of Art* (note the 'compleat')[5]. It had about 28,000 words, and the author said that he refused to include the most esoteric words that had been listed by his predecessors. He wanted "only to explain such *English* Words as are genuine, and used by Persons of clear Judgment and good Style" (sub-title), "all the most proper and significant *English* Words, that are now commonly us'd either in Speech, or in the familiar way of Writing Letters, &c.". This was clearly a step in the evolution towards the general dictionary. The microstructure was still very simple, but the common words were there, admittedly with strange definitions:

> A Book, that treats of a particular Subject.
> A Dog, a well-known Creature.
> An Egg of a Bird.
> An Elm, a Tree.

[5] The copy I could consult on Google Books is a later edition (1757).

There were a few indications of domain, in the definitions ("in *Heraldry*", "in a *Ship*" "among *Chymists*", "in *Common Law*", etc.), but there were no other usage labels.

In 1706, John Kersey published *The New World of Words, or Universal English Dictionary* (note the 'universal')[6], which was a revision of Phillips's dictionary of 1658. The first page said that it contained "[t]he Terms, Definitions, and perfect Interpretations of Hard English Words, […] that are useful, or appertain to the Language of our Nation": that was, to my knowledge, the first time a dictionary described its role as the representation of the language of the 'Nation', an important notion in the study of usage labels. All the common words were there, almost all (BOOK isn't), still defined briefly ("DOG, a well known creature"), and there were words from well known authors: "ACALE, a Word in *Chaucer* signifying Cold", etc. Kersey also noted the domain of use:

> ABUNDANT NUMBERS, (in *Arithmetick*) are those …
> ACCENT, in Musick, is a Modulation …
> BRISURE, a Term us'd by the *French* Heralds

Kersey's last dictionary was his *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum: Or, A General English Dictionary,* published in 1708 ('general', like Phillips 1658)[7]. More clearly even than in his preceding dictionary, Kersey sang the praise of the "vast Treasures of our English tongue, which is so superlatively Eminent, even above most other European languages, for its copiousness, elegancy, variety of phrases, and other admirable beauties" (Preface). The *Dictionarium* had about 35,000 words, with "hard words and terms of art" (Preface) as well as most common words – though *book, boot, fish, fork*, etc. were absent. The definitions of common words were still very brief: CAT "a well-known Creature". Like Coles, Kersey had an alphabetical list of labels at the end of his Preface. He had labels for domain (*C.L.* for *Civil Law*, *C.T.* for *Chymical Term*, *F.L.* for *Forest-Law*, *H.P.* for *Hunting-Phrase*, etc.), and in many entries the domain was given in full:

> BAR, (in *Musick*) …
> BEAKING, (in *Cock-fighting*) …
> BEARING, (in *Navigat.*) …

[6] Google Books has a copy dated 1720, which Starnes & Noyes (1946: 89) say is identical with the original of 1706.
[7] Available on Google Books.

There were also labels for language of origin, regional varieties (*N.C.* for *North Country Word*, *W.C.* for *West Country Word*), obsolescence (*O.* for *Old Word*, *O.P.* for *Old Phrase*), 'register' (*P.W*. for *Poetical Word*) and a hitherto unknown category: *C.* for *Country-Word* and *C.P.* for *Country-Phrase*: Bag or Big, "(*C.*) a cow's udder".

In 1721, Nathan Bailey published *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* ('universal' like Kersey, 1706)[8]. With more than 40,000 words, including all the common words (Goose "A Fowl well known"), it was really a general dictionary: Bailey made "no distinction between Words of approv'd Authority, and those that are not" (Preface to his second volume – see below). The long introduction contained a list of abbreviations: *Cant.* for "Canting Word", *C* for "Country Word", *O* for "Old Word", *P.W.* for "Poetical Word", etc. Those were placed after the definition:

> Crap, Money. *Cant*.
> Fambles, Hands. *Cant*.
> Crok, The turning up of the hair into curls. *O.*

The domain of use was placed before the definition between square brackets, sometimes by naming the trades or professions: *among Anatomists*, *among Carvers*, *with Gardeners*, *with Philosophers*, *with Surgeons*, *with Romanists,* etc.

In 1727, Bailey published an addendum, entitled *The Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, volume II[9], with many words omitted from the first volume. The dictionary was an important step in the history of usage labels: it was clearly designed to "guid[e] members of the new rising middle class who desire[d] to use the language of those better educated or socially superior to them" (Cassidy, 1997: 104). "Words of approv'd Authority and imitable by the Illiterate", Bailey writes, will be "prefix'd by an Asterism (*)", those that are not will be prefixed by "an Obelisk (†), and some which I would not determine for or against, I have omitted to prefix any mark at all, leaving them to be used or not, according to the Judgment of the User" (Preface). He added that the words marked by an obelisk could be used but with caution, and not by "Persons of a slender acquaintance with Literature".

[8] Available on Internet Archive: https://archive.org/details/universaletymolo00bailuoft/mode/2up: last accessed May 10, 2020.

[9] The third edition is available on Internet Archive: https://archive.org/details/universaletymolo02bailuoft/mode/2up: last accessed 10 May 2020.

Bailey's *Dictionarium Britannicum*[10] (1730), with about 48,000 items, "sought to include the entire vocabulary of English" (Cassidy, 1997: 104). It was both 'universal' and 'compleat', the title page said, but it only had labels of domain.

Benjamin Martin's *Lingua Britannica Reformata: Or, A New English Dictionary*, published in 1749[11], was 'universal', i.e. "Containing a Definition and Explication of all the words now used in the English Tongue, in every Art, Science, Faculty or Trade" (title page), though it had only about 24,500 words. Martin marked with an obelisk "many Words which are not to be used in common Discourse, or the general Diction; but on particular Occasions only; as *to decapitate*, *to decease*, &c." (Preface: XI), but the only other usage labels were rare indications of domain.

4. *A deluge of labels in standardizing dictionaries*

4.1. Samuel Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language, in which the Words are deduced from their Originals, and illustrated in their Different Significations by Examples from the best Writers*, published in 1755, was general: it had 'all' the words of the language (about 42,000), at least all those that Johnson had found in his 'corpus'. Johnson was concerned about the state of the language and he thought it was his duty as a lexicographer to preserve it from decay: "every language has likewise its improprieties and absurdities, which it is the duty of the lexicographer to correct or proscribe" (Preface, paragraph 7); "[A]dulterations [are] to be detected […] and modes of expression, to be rejected or received" (Preface, paragraph 4).

Johnson's dictionary has been so extensively studied that a few words will suffice here. Perhaps the specialists of lexicography have not insisted enough on the importance of the choices Johnson had to make: what words were English and what words were not? What words were 'standard' and what words were not? Where were the limits? Those choices naturally determined the use of labels, a feature for which, among other things, the dictionary is remarkable. Johnson had more labels than his predecessors, and his labels were more picturesque. There were a few

[10] Available on Google Books.
[11] Available on Google Books.

notes of appreciation: "*a good word*", "*elegant and useful*", "*elegant and expressive*", etc. (see Iamartino 2000), but most were condemnations.

The words which our authours have introduced by their knowledge of foreign languages, or ignorance of their own, by vanity or wantonness, by compliance with fashion, or lust of innovation, I have registred as they occurred, though commonly only to censure them, and warn others against the folly of naturalizing useless foreigners to the injury of the natives. (Preface, paragraph 31)

Some of his labels had been used by his predecessors (*obsolete*, *cant*, *old*, etc.), but he had others that were more original: adjectives (*improper*, *corrupt*, *barbarous*, *ludicrous*, *affected*, *mistaken*, *bad*, *burlesque*, *false*, *provincial*, *uncircumstantial*, *vile*, *vitious*, *wanton*, *inelegant*, *ungrammatical*, *unworthy*, etc.) and adverbs (*corruptly, erroneously*, *ignorantly, incorrectly, inaccurately, licenciously*, etc.). Allen (in Cassidy, 1997: 105-106) found 217 occurrences of *low*, 96 of *improper*, 94 of *corrupt*, 94 of *cant*, 38 of *barbarous*, 32 of *ludicrous*, 27 of *erroneous*, etc.: clearly labels were far from being used in all the entries. But there were also all sorts of more or less picturesque phrases: "in low and ludicrous language" (ABOMINABLE), "A cant word not used in pure or in grave writings" (TO BAMBOOZLE), "a low word unworthy of use" (COXCOMICAL), "the word, though supported by great authorities, ought to be ejected from our language" (TO DISSEVER), "a sense not proper" (EMERGENCE, EMERGENCY), "a woman's word" (FRIGHTFULLY), "not yet received, nor is it wanted" (OPINIATRETY, OPINIATRY), "a word out of use, and unworthy of revival" (TO OPINION), "a barbarous expression of late intrusion into our language" (RATHER, TO HAVE RATHER), "A French word neither elegant nor necessary" (RUSE), "ought not to be admitted into the language" (SHABBY), "a doubtful word, not authorized by any competent writer" (TO TUFT), etc. (see Iamartino, 2000; Barnbrook, 2005).

After Johnson, not much happened in the lexicography of English until the second part of the 19th century. Charles Richardson's *A New English Dictionary*, published in 1837, had few usage labels, just the occasional *formerly*, or *an old word*. Richardson argued that usage labels were not necessary: words "that seemed to deserve notice for any rarity or peculiarity of usage, are distinguished by a reference to the name of the author, in whose writings they have been found" (Preface ix).

4.2 For a long time, there was no general dictionary of the American variety of English, but by the end of the 18th century Noah Webster claimed that the time was ripe, and in 1806 he published his first dictionary, *A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language* (note the 'compendious'), a modest volume that had no usage labels. *An American Dictionary of the English Language*, published in 1828, had plenty. Webster noted words "mostly as used by past authors but now to be avoided" (Cassidy, 1997: 109) by 'objective' labels such as *not used*, *not in use*, *little used*, *rarely used*, *less common*, *not usual*, *unusual*, and he also expressed his opinion in terms as picturesque as Johnson's, by means of labels (*low*, *bad*, *barbarous*, *vulgar*, etc.) or phrases: "this use is hardly allowable" (ABET), "not agreeable to the English idiom" (ABHORRENT FROM), "not an English word. It may be well to let it pass into disuse" (ABORIGINES), "a popular or vulgar use of the word" (BOGGLE), "a vulgar word in America" (CHUCKLE-HEAD), "a word used in familiar discourse, but not deemed elegant" (CRUSTY), "This is a common word, very expressive and useful, but not admissible in solemn discourse or elegant composition" (DODGE), etc.

The following editions of Webster's 'unabridged' dictionary, until 1934, continued using clearly prescriptive – though less picturesque – labels. The 1961 edition (probably the last paper edition), called *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged* (W3), however, was different in many ways, particularly in its use of labels. The story is well known. The editor, Philip Gove, wanted his dictionary to be impeccably descriptive, and he decided to record everything that was used, even those usages that were disapproved of by a large number of people – the case of *ain't* is famous (Nuccorini, 2020) – and he did without most of the usage labels of the preceding editions, including *informal* and *colloquial* (Landau, 2001: 234 ff.). He thought, like Richardson 124 years before him, that the users would be able to deduce the actions of usage from the definition and quotations – a decision that the public did not understand and did not like.

5. *'Objective' labels in historical dictionaries*

The publication of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) in 1928-1933 was another landmark in the history of English lexicography. The editors were guided by Dean Trench's (1857) programme and subscribed

to the idea that the OED should describe usage, not pass judgement on it. In fact, some of the labels (words or phrases) were 'objective'[12] (*obs*, *arch*, *dial*, *fig*, *lit*, *tech*, etc.), but there were others that were more Johnsonian: *abusive*, *affected*, *coarse*, *foul*, *needless*, *pedantic*, *ludicrous*, *erron(eous(ly))*, *low*, *improper(ly)*, *illiterate*, *ignorant*, *vulgar*, *bad*, *offensive* (to which we will return below), even *emotional feminine, shoppy*, etc. The least objective 'label' was the paragraph sign ¶, used for "Catachrestic and erroneous uses, confusions, and the like" (ABOARD and ABROAD, HARDINESS and HARDNESS, etc.; see Mugglestone, 2000a: 192), though the distinction with *erron*. (PLENTITUDE and PLENITUDE) was unclear (Mugglestone, 2000b: 24).

There are so many publications on all aspects of the OED that a few examples will suffice here[13]: FULL ("Having eaten or drunk to repletion"), GENT (for 'gentleman'), etc. were *vulgar*; PAPISH (in the sense of 'papist') was *illiterate*; COMPOTATIONSHIP and LINGUACIOUS were *bad*; DARLING ("sweetly pretty and charming") was *affected*; AMBILOGY was *needless*; FORFEX was *pedantic*; PARTY (in the sense of 'person') and PANTS were *shoppy;* SENSIBLE (in the sense "reasonable; judicious; wise") was "*low conversation"*; SHAMBLING ("moving awkwardly or irregularly") was "*a low bad word*"; HORRID was "*very bad or objectionable*"; etc. Some entries had longer comments: ENTHUSE was "an ignorant back-formation from enthusiasm"; EXPECT in the sense of 'suppose' was "very common in dialectal, vulgar or carelessly colloquial speech in England"; POST (the preposition) was "Usu. found in contexts where after would be equally appropriate and more agreeable"; FRUITION had "Erroneously associated with fruit" and the note "The blunder is somewhat common in both England and in the U.S. but is not countenanced by Dictionaries in this country, nor by Webster or Worcester"; etc.

Some of the labels in the OED may have been as prescriptive as Johnson's, but they did not express the views of a single authority; they were based on evidence – around 5 million quotations – and arrived at after a long and sometimes difficult discussion between the members of the lexicographic team (Mugglestone, 2000b). They were, or aimed at being, the views of the social class to which those members belonged.

[12] Though Mugglestone (2000b) shows convincingly that there is some subjectivity even in them.

[13] Most of the following examples are from Mugglestone (2000a and 2000b), who had access to the archives of the OED and to James Murray's papers.

6. *Political labelling in 20th century dictionaries*

6.1 English and American lexicographers of the 20th century used a large number of new labels in addition to the traditional ones, no doubt to provide a more precise characterization of their entry words: *abusive*, *applied opprobriously*, *appreciative*, *approvingly*, *child's word*, *depreciatory*, *derisive*, *disapproving*, *disparaging*, *disrespectful*, *emotive*, *emphatic*, *facetious*, *feminine*, *hostile*, *humorous*, *insult*, *ironic*, *jocular*, *journalism*, *laudatory*, *masculine*, *male*, *not polite*, *patronizing*, *pompous*, *rhetorical*, *sexist, taboo, term of abuse, term of reproach, term of reprobation, term of vituperation, used for expressing annoyance or dislike, written*, etc. (the list is incomplete). Some of these were probably used for the first time, and some would justify a study in themselves. Of course, more labels also meant more difficulty in distinguishing their meanings, and "no dictionary has given an entirely satisfactory description or explanation of its policy and practice in this respect" (Brewer, 2016: 493). Often modern dictionaries add a modifying adverb of intensity (*very*, *extremely, mildly*) or of frequency (*sometimes*, *usually*, *often*, *frequently*, *generally, chiefly*, etc.), and more and more often there is a double or even triple label: *informal disapproving*; *formal, literary*; *taboo, slang, disapproving*; *old-fashioned, slang, disapproving;* etc. (Norri, 2000: 77, 92).

Particularly interesting was the generalization of the use of the label *offensive*. Many dictionaries had used *contemptuous/ly*, *in/with contempt*, *a term of reproach*, *pejorative*, *derogatory/rily*, *disparaging/ly*, etc. that reflected the attitude of the user of the word, but the label *offensive* is different: it evokes the more or less probable reaction of the receiver of the message; it says to the user: "Be careful, you might cause offense; you risk hurting the person who reads or hears your message". It had been used before, by Joseph Wright in his *English Dialect Dictionary* (1898-1906), by the OED in a few entries, by W3, whose entry for NIGGER (an overused, and admittedly special example[14]) said "usually taken to be offensive". But it began to be used more systematically in general dictionaries in the second half of the 20th century, a lexicographical consequence of the social success of the concept of political correctness. This seems to have happened first in American dictionaries: in 1969, the *American Heritage Dictionary* for NIGGER had "An offensive term used derogatorily", *Webster's New*

[14] See Landau (2001 : 234).

Collegiate Dictionary in 1975 had "usu. taken to be offensive", etc. After that, most American dictionaries used it more or less consistently for NIGGER, COON, HALF-BREED, HONK(EY), WHITEY, MORON, BITCH, WHORE, SLUT, PRICK, BASTARD, SOD and many other words. The dictionary that used it most was the *Encarta World English Dictionary* (1999): it used it for words such as MADNESS, NUT, NUTCASE, WEIRDO, OFF HIS (OR HER) ROCKER, SCREWED UP, SCHIZOID, HANDICAPPED, JERK, SLOB, SCHNOOK, KLUTZ, LOONY, CRAZY, etc., Landau (2001: 234) noted, failing to distinguish "between words used humorously or affectionately and words used to insult" (Landau, 2001: 234). There seems to be no end to the list of words that dictionaries now feel they have to label *offensive*: words denoting mental or physical handicap (MIDGET, etc.), sexual orientation (GAY, BISEXUAL, etc.), addiction (ALCOHOLIC, etc.), etc.

British dictionaries started generalizing the label *offensive* slightly later. The 1982 edition of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* used an **R** indicating "a use that is regarded as offensive by members of a particular ethnic or religious group" (xi): NIGGER was "derog., **R**." The OED used it in its second edition (1989) for NIGGER, DARKY, CHINAMAN, etc., and also for CHICK, etc. (Brewer, 2016: 497). After that most British general dictionaries used it, and more and more for the same categories of words as in American dictionaries.

6.2 The first monolingual learners' dictionary (MLD), the *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary*, published in 1942, only had a few traditional labels, *colloq*., *slang*, etc. The second edition, called *The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (ALD, 1963), explained the importance of usage restrictions for the foreign learner, as well as the difficulty of defining the labels. It gave examples of words that are "better avoided in conversation", FOE, WARRIOR and FORLORN, and are accordingly labelled *poet*., *liter*. and/or *rhet*. – the latter in fact had no label in the dictionary! The numerous MLDs that followed used the same labels as the dictionaries for native speakers except perhaps that they used them more generously (Norri, 2000: 75, 91, 103). The *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary* (COBUILD), in 1987, added more 'discursive' comments: "an informal word used especially in American English" (HOMEY), "a rather informal use in British English" (PUDDING), etc., sometimes included in the definition: "If you describe someone as pigheaded, you are critical of them because…".

MLDs started using the label *offensive* at the same time as dictionaries

for native speakers, in the 1980s. COBUILD, for CRONE, had "a literary word that is used offensively in informal English", three labels in one. The 1989 edition of ALD had a stop-sign for "words or senses likely to be thought offensive or shocking or indecent (though not necessarily by everyone and on every occasion)": WOP, NIGGER, CHRIST!, FUCK, PRICK, SHIT, PISS. The 1995 edition had "sometimes offensive" for MIDGET. Again, COBUILD provided details that simple labels could not give, particularly the fact that not all people agree on the characterization of a word: "an informal use which some people find offensive" (FROG(GY)); "many people who have a disability find this word offensive" (HANDICAPPED), etc.

Another near-innovation of 20th century dictionaries was the use of usage notes. Again, this was not totally new: notes had been used before, often on synonymy or encyclopedic knowledge, but notes began to be used more often on points of usage, and they were clearly set apart from the definitions, in special boxes, and/or in a special font, and/or in a special colour. In 1969, the *American Heritage Dictionary* had notes that summed up the opinion of its panel of 'experts' on disputed usages:

> *Flammable* is as acceptable as *inflammable* in all areas of speech and writing, according to 61 per cent of the Usage Panel, though *inflammable* is more common outside technical contexts.

Notes then became a regular feature of most dictionaries, "for commenting upon controversial grammatical issues, but also for discussing objections made to particular lexical items" (Norri 2000: 78), no doubt because they were "much more explicit (and visible)" (Brewer 2016: 494) than labels. In the entry for NIGGER the 2004 edition of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* had the label *offensive* plus the note:

> The word NIGGER has long had strong offensive connotations and is today one of the most racially offensive words in the language. However, it has acquired a new strand of use in recent years: it is sometimes used by black people as a mildly disparaging way of referring to other black people, in much the same way as *queer* has been adopted by some gay people as a term of self-reference, acceptable only when used by those within the community.

The sensitivity to political correctness was sometimes taken to extremes, as when the word *offensive* was repeated twice, three times

or even more in the entry, as a signpost, as a label and in a note, "out of fear that they [dictionaries] will be taken to be insensitive to some group" (Landau, 2001: 234). Landau (2000: 115) noted that the *Encarta World English Dictionary* (1999) definition of MINORITY 4 was "OFFENSIVE TERM offensive term for minority member, now avoided by careful speakers because it can cause offense (*offensive*)." "Of the 18 words used", Landau comments, "two define it – 'minority member' – and the rest warn us not to use it".

7. *Conclusions*

The history of usage labels mirrors the history of dictionaries. In England, the first dictionaries were lists of difficult words, and the first labels introduced by Bullokar in 1616 naturally noted where those words came from, i.e. special domains and obsolete discourse. When dictionaries began listing more common words, they needed more usage labels to distinguish 'categories': in 1658 Phillips noted 'barbarous' words and in 1676 Coles noted cant words and regional words. Johnson, who wanted to standardize the language, expressed his opinion on many of his words and did this by using more or less picturesque labels. The OED was a historical account of the lexis of the language aiming at being impeccably descriptive, but it still had a number of labels that were quasi-Johnsonian, though they aimed at expressing the views of the language community, not of a single author. The dictionaries of the 20th century, whether for native speakers of for foreign learners, were firmly descriptive (at least most of them). They listed more 'marginal' words and therefore needed a large number of labels, some of which were invented for the purpose. The label *offensive*, that evokes the possible reaction of the receiver, was more and more used to show concern for social, racial, sexual etc. groups that were the objects of criticism or contempt. The 20th century also added usage notes when the labels proved insufficient to describe the niceties of usage. Those are bound to be more and more used in the e-dictionaries that are quickly taking the place of paper dictionaries.

Labelling is one of the most difficult problems of the lexicographer (Norri, 2000: 71; Landau, 2001: 238). Notions such as 'colloquial', 'informal', or even 'slang' are notoriously difficult to define, and the

effect produced by the use of a word or phrase depends on a large number of variables that are difficult to quantify and even to identify. It has often been observed that some words can be insulting in some circumstances and terms of endearment in others (Landau, 2001: 233). As a consequence, different dictionaries use labels more or less liberally, they use different labels, or no label at all, for the same words (Norri, 1996: 26), and it is extremely difficult to devise a practice of labelling that would be both scientifically impeccable and easy to process for the dictionary user. The few who tried to innovate, like Gove, were soon chastised. Some lexicographers have asked linguists to help them (Atkins & Rundell 2008: 405), but so far linguistics has not contributed much.

What next in labelling? It seems difficult to imagine a dictionary without usage labels or notes. They are expected by the dictionary user because they are part of the portrait of the language, even though they are not much consulted. Obviously, the use of a corpus makes it easier for the lexicographer to identify the type of discourse in which a word or phrase typically occurs (Landau, 2001: 268-272), but it does nothing to help her/him use the 'right' label.

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Hugo Bowles*

Dickens's Shorthand Teaching Notebooks

ABSTRACT:
Dickens's shorthand manuscripts cover the whole spectrum of his written production formats. They include longhand texts with individual shorthand symbols, letters written in shorthand either before or after their longhand version was composed, stenographic memoranda at the margin of texts, and notebooks used to teach shorthand to his pupils. This chapter focuses on these teaching notebooks, describing the changes and improvements that Dickens made to them throughout his life and what these changes tell us about his use of shorthand and his teaching style.

KEYWORDS: Dickens, Notebooks, Shorthand

1. *Introduction*

Dickens learned shorthand at the age of 16, in or around the year 1828, with a view to becoming a shorthand reporter in the law courts. He learned it from Gurney's *Brachygraphy* shorthand manual (henceforth *GBr*), probably using the 15th edition of 1825, and this was the system that he used and taught up until his death. In the course of his life, Dickens taught shorthand to at least three pupils – to his brother-in-law in the early 1830's, to Arthur Stone, the son of his friend and neighbor Frank Stone, in 1859, and to his son Henry in the mid-1860's, a few years before his death. Nothing is known about his early teaching to his brother-in-law and very little about the lessons he gave to Henry and Arthur, so the first question that needs answering is whether the teaching notebooks relate to these particular pupils.

2. *The three teaching notebooks*

The first set of notes is a 12-folio manuscript, currently in the John Ryland Library in Manchester; for this reason, it will be referred to here as the "Manchester notebook" or MN. The notebook is written

* Università di Foggia.

in Dickens's handwriting but it is difficult to establish a date for it. It follows the structure of *GBr* fairly closely (see below) and although Dickens could conceivably have written it as a set of guidelines to make the system more comprehensible *to himself*, it seems to have been written with a specific pupil in mind. In the section headed "Dots as vowels", he writes "But when you are more proficient and know the characters reading by sight, you will find it necessary to express very few vowels". The deictic marker "you" is clearly addressing a pupil. It should be noted that unlike many of Dickens's shorthand material, the MN is completely transparent, inasmuch as none of the shorthand in the document requires deciphering because all the shorthand forms have Dickens's transcription beside them or underneath.

The second set of teaching notes are contained in the papers of William Carlton in the Dickens Museum in London. Carlton, a well-known Dickens scholar of the first half of the 20th century, was the first and only researcher to study Dickens's life as a shorthand writer (Carlton, 1926). Carlton also had his own extensive collection of stenography and spent a great deal of time trying to seek out and decipher any evidence of Dickens's shorthand. Carlton's shorthand papers are particularly valuable because they contain correspondence with other stenographers on the intricacies of Dickens's shorthand style and why it was difficult to decode. The papers also contain undeciphered fragments of Dickens's shorthand as well as transcriptions by Carlton of items of Dickens's shorthand. The teaching notes in Carlton's papers comprise four typewritten pages of shorthand symbols and their transcriptions. There is a letter accompanying these pages which explains that Carlton's script is a facsimile of an original manuscript owned by Dickens's son Henry and that the facsimile had been compiled for a conference on shorthand because Henry thought that the original leaves of shorthand were too precious to be exhibited. Carlton's making of a facsimile showed admirable foresight because only two of the original four pages have survived. This means that the teaching notes in the Carlton papers, which will be referred to in this chapter as "Henry's notebook" (or HN), clearly belonged to Henry and can be directly connected to his teaching of shorthand to Henry in the 1860's.

The third and final set of teaching notes are contained in four booklets that were compiled for his pupil Arthur Stone and which are now part of the Benoliel collection in the Free Library of Philadelphia. A note from Arthur attached to the booklets runs as follows:

> «This paper book was made up by the late Charles Dickens at the end of the year 1859 when
> he was kind enough to give me lessons in Shorthand. A large part of it is in my writing,
> probably from his dictation, but the "combinations" were written by him. His handwriting will
> easily be recognized»

Although the note suggests that the collation of the booklets was done ("made up") by Dickens himself, the booklets are exercise books that contain mostly Arthur's work with additional shorthand notes by Dickens. The fact that Dickens's work is mixed up with Arthur's means that Dickens's contribution to the booklets (henceforth "Arthur's notebook" or AN), is not as clear cut as in the other two teaching notebooks and can only be identified by looking for his distinctive longhand script or the unique features of his shorthand writing style. Arthur's note about "combinations" is particularly interesting because it shows Dickens's focus on an aspect of shorthand writing which is not present in the Gurney manual itself. Other important contents of Arthur's notebook, which will not be discussed in this chapter but have been analysed elsewhere (Bowles 2017), are five dictation exercises entitled "Sydney Smith", "Travelling", "The Two Brothers", "Anecdote" and "Nelson", three of which have separate versions written by Arthur and Dickens. Although these texts are extremely important for an understanding of how Dickens taught and used shorthand, this chapter will focus on the notes and lists in Arthur's notebook that are directly comparable to MN and HN.

3. *Dickens's learning and teaching of shorthand*

Each of the three notebooks are digests of Gurney's *Brachygraphy* (*GBr*). When Dickens set out to learn shorthand in 1828, a lot of different shorthand systems were available to learn from, but *GBr* was the system recommended for legal and parliamentary reporting and it seemed the obvious choice for Dickens to make. However, Dickens's attachment to *GBr* for teaching purposes in his later years is more curious. By the mid-nineteenth century, Isaac Pitman's popular *Stenographic Sound Hand*, published in 1837, had cornered the shorthand market because

its unique phonographic method was much easier to learn and use than other systems. Pitman's system was being increasingly used in the law courts and parliament and Gurney's much less, so the usefulness of *GBr* for employment purposes in the mid 19th century was questionable. Dickens also knew full well that the *GBr* was fiendishly difficult to learn and had even described the torments he had suffered in learning it in *David Copperfield*, so it is striking that he was recommending it to Arthur Stone and Henry as late as 1860. He must have done so because he thought that the system was still relevant and could be taught if it was done in the right way. According to the account of shorthand learning in *David Copperfield*, Dickens was largely self-taught and worked directly from *GBr* with help from outsiders who dictated to him when he had to practice it. The fact that Dickens, who had never had a proper shorthand teacher, actually took on his own pupils means that he recognized that it was much easier for learners to work through the system with a teacher who knew the ropes and could explain to them the system's shortcuts and pitfalls rather than learning by themselves.

There is much to be gained from making a thorough exploration of these teaching notes. Firstly, it will show us how Dickens managed the savagery of Gurney and the extent to which he took account of its difficulties of the Gurney system in teaching it to his pupils; this in turn will tell us something about his abilities as a teacher. Secondly, we will find out more about the system itself. Dickens made alterations to the symbols themselves and to the rules of the system and these changes may help us in the decoding of Dickens's own stenography, particularly those of his shorthand texts that remain undeciphered.

Analysis of the notebooks is necessarily comparative. The starting point is obviously *GBr* itself. We cannot know if Dickens used an edition of Gurney during his teaching or whether he just used his notebooks for teaching and copied the Gurney system into it from memory. In either case, the baseline Gurney data with which to compare the shorthand characters that Dickens was teaching to his pupils is the same[1]. We will begin our comparison by looking at the structure of *Brachygraphy* and whether it is matched by a similar structure in the teaching notebooks.

[1] If Dickens and his pupils were using GBr directly, the 15th edition came out in 1825, the 16th in 1835 and the 17th in 1869, after Dickens's death. So the versions that he might have referred to when teaching from 1830 onwards would have been either the 15th or 16th editions, which are identical in terms of content. So whether we are comparing his teaching notebooks with the written Gurney system or Dickens's memory of the system, the baseline data is the same.

4. *Structure of Gurney's* Brachygraphy *(GBr)*

Gurney's *Brachygraphy* has five main sections, shown in Table 1 below. The overall sequence of categories in the Gurney volume is shown in the left-hand column and the category's exact title is given in the right-hand column.

		Gurney's *Brachygraphy*
Alphabet letters		"The Alphabet" – "Letters"; "Words"
Vowels		"Of the Vowels"
Arbitrary characters	**general**	"Arbitrary characters"
	specific	"Prepositions and terminations"
Abbreviation		"Abbreviating rules"
Examples and practice material		- "Examples of the Persons, Moods and Tenses" - Examples of famous texts written in Roman script and shorthand

Table 1. The structure of Gurney's *Brachygraphy*

The Gurney system is alphabetical, which means that it is based on shorthand symbols representing individual letters (e.g. the symbol representing the letter < l >). Most of the words written in Gurney shorthand are characters that are composed of these individual symbols. Furthermore, these alphabetical symbols mostly represent consonants; shorthand requires brevity and, like many other alphabetical shorthand systems of the period, Gurney required words to be written almost entirely in consonant form like the modern text message. For example, the character for the word "beginning" is made up of symbols that stand for the consonants letters <b>, <g>, <n> and <ng>. Since alphabetical symbols are the core of the system, it is logical that a list of them appears on page one of GBr. There is a column of symbols, a column for the letters represented by the symbols and a column for a keyword beginning with that letter. So, for example, the symbol stands for the letter <d> and the word *did.*

Having established the basics of an alphabetical system based on consonants, the next page of GBr ("Of the Vowels") is an explanation of how to represent vowels. It sets out a set of rules involving the

positioning of dots to stand for vowels in particular circumstances. This is one of the most problematic areas of the system and one which caused Dickens particular difficulty according to the account in *David Copperfield*.

The third section is devoted to what are called "arbitrary characters". Arbitrary characters are completely different from other shorthand symbols in the system because the symbol in its entirety represents an entire word. So, for example, the arbitrary character represents the word *contempt*. An arbitrary character representing a whole word does not have to be broken down into constituent letters. So *contempt* does not have to be broken down into c+n+t+m+p+t like the word *beginning*, which is constructed out of the letter symbols for b+g+n+ng. These "whole word" characters are "arbitrary" in the sense that there is no connection between the shapes of the symbol and the letters of the word that it stands for – the character just stands on its own to represent *contempt* and has to be memorized as such. The GBr classifies arbitrary characters into two types and gives them separate pages. The first page are general arbitrary characters (representing contempt, for example), while the second page (entitled "Prepositions and Terminations") refers to symbols that represent grammatical features, i.e. symbols for morphemes such as *-able* or prepositions like *under*.

After the section on arbitrary characters, the *GBr* has a page of "abbreviating rules", which explains how to deal with specific problems, such as diphthongs. Finally, there is a long section in which Gurney provides examples of how words should be reduced (such as *beginning* becoming <b-g-n-ng>) and then transcribed into symbols. The *GBr* exercise material at the end of the manual provides a number of passages for illustration and practice; this practice material includes original texts, often Biblical ones, and the Gurney shorthand version of the original. We will now look at how each of Gurney's original sections are adapted in the three teaching notebooks.

5. *Alphabetical symbols*

The first area of analysis is the page of symbols that stand for a letter of the alphabet or a particular word. These symbols are individual characters, shown in the left-hand column of table 2, whose primary function is to represent a letter of the alphabet. However, as well as

representing a particular letter, they may also represent a particular keyword. So, for example, in *GBr*, the symbol ◡ represents both the letter < l > and the words "lord" or "lordship". For the most part, the Dickens notebooks follow the *GBr* quite closely, but there are a number of interesting differences in the keywords, which have been highlighted in grey in table 2:

	GBr		**MN**		**AN**		**HN**	
Heading	"The Alphabet"		"Alphabet" (part 1)		1 page – no heading		"The Alphabet"	
Symbol	**Letter**	**Word**	**Letter**	**Word**	**Letter**	**Word**	**Letter**	**Word**
	a		**a, s, z**	as, is, his	**a, s, z**	as, is, his	**a, s, z**	as, is, his
	b	be, but	**b**	be, but, bee	**b**	be, but	**b**	be, but, bee
	c k	See	**c k**	see, sea	**c**	see, sea	**c k**	see, sea
◡	**l**	lord, lordship	**l**		**l**	lord, lordship all	**l**	lord, lordship large, all, hall,
	n	In	**n**	in	**n**	in	**n**	in, inn
	o	How	**o**	how, on, own, one	**o**	how, on, owe, one	**o**	how, on, own, one
	s z	is, his						
	t	It	**t**	it, at, out	**t**	it	**t**	it, at, out
	u	You	**u**	you	**u**	you	**u**	you, yew
	x	Christ	**x**	Christ, cross	**x**	cross	**x**	Christ, cross
	Y	why, ye	**y**	why	**y**	why	**y**	Why

Table 2. Treatment of the alphabet letters in the three notebooks

The table shows that in some cases, the notebooks have expanded the range of keywords that the symbols can represent. In the case of the symbol , for example, Dickens has added the words *on*, *own*, and *one*. The thinking behind it is clear. His experience of using the system has taught him that there are a lot of frequently used words in English which ought to have their own shorthand symbol (an arbitrary character) instead of having to be laboriously spelt out with alphabetical symbols. What he has done in the case of is to use the letter symbol to represent three more words (*on*, *own* and *one*), which begin with the letter that the symbol represents.

What is particularly striking about these additions is that they all have something which makes them easy to remember. For example, the fact that *on*, *own*, and *one* all begin with the letter <o> makes it easier for the user to recall the word that the symbol represents. Other

additions such as *bee* added to *be*, *sea* added to *see*, *inn* added to *in*, and *yew* added to *you* are easy to remember because they are homophones. The word *cross* is easy to recall because it describes the cross symbol that it is represented by (X). Another visual mnemonic is used for the word *large*, which is represented by a larger version of the symbol for the letter <l>. The addition of *at* and *out* to *it* (all represented by the symbol for the letter <t>) is memorable because of the assonance of *it-at-out*.

6. *Vowels and Abbreviation*

The structural treatment of vowels in the three notebooks compared to *GBr* is shown in table 3 below:

	GBr	MN	AN	HN
Vowels	"Of the Vowels"	"Dots as vowels" (part 3)	"Vowels"	-
Abbreviation	"Abbreviating rules"	"Dots" (part 2)	1 and a half pages of notes on "dots"	-

Table 3. Treatment of vowels in the three notebooks

Since the HN does not have a section on vowels, analysis will concentrate on MN and AN. Looking at differences in vowel representation, the most interesting is the MN, which shifts vowels to "part 3" under the heading of "Dots as Vowels". Here, Dickens has clarified the use of dots, which he identified in DC as a confusing issue for a learner and decided to separate the explanations, putting a general explanation of dot usage first and the explanation of vowels second. He is also careful in his wording. For example, Gurney's original wording of "a and e even with the top of the letter" is much more precisely rewritten by Dickens as "the vowels "a" and "e" are expressed by a dot level with the top of the preceding consonant". His note at the bottom of the page "But when you are more proficient and know the characters reading by sight, you will find it necessary to express very few vowels" is another crucial piece of pedagogical advice and explains why Dickens relegated "Dots as Vowels" to part 3. He is saying that one of the keys to learning the Gurney system is being able to read it back "by sight" and that using dots for vowels is largely superfluous for the learning process.

It also gives us an important clue about how to decipher Dickens's own stenography – namely that we need to be aware that he used very few dots in his shorthand and that vowels will have to be deduced primarily from consonant skeletons.

The AN description of vowel usage is written in Arthur's handwriting and is much less bound to the original and not particularly systematic. The "Vowels" heading is the same as the original, but the rules for dot usage appear over several pages without headings and Arthur often uses his own examples to illustrate rules. One interesting aspect of Arthur's notes on vowels is that there are penciled corrections above certain words, although it is hard to be certain whether Dickens or Arthur has done the correcting.

7. *Gurney's arbitrary characters: letter-symbols and "Prepositions and terminations"*

The treatment of arbitrary characters is the most important area for understanding how *GBr* was pedagogically adapted by Dickens. The three notebooks maintain the original *GBr* distinction between "alphabet" letter-symbols and "arbitrary character" symbols but they classify arbitrary characters differently and have different numbers of them in each notebook.

The original *GBr* has two categories of arbitrary character. The first is called "Arbitrary characters", made up of 24 symbols that are actual letters (like the letter-symbol *b* representing *bankrupt* or *m* representing *multitude*); calling these letter-symbols "arbitrary" is in fact misleading since there is a clue in the letter as to what the letter represents (*m* for multitude). None of the notebooks has a section on these 24 letter-symbols, suggesting that Dickens did not find them useful for learning purposes. The only letter symbols included in the notebooks are five new ones (shown in table 5 and discussed below).

Gurney's other category of arbitrary character, called "Prepositions and Terminations", is specifically focused on symbols representing grammatical words like *would* or suffixes like *-able*. This separate section is maintained in MN under the heading "Terminations" and in AN under the heading "Sounds and Terminations". HN does not have any named sections but only three pages of characters representing words (grammatical or lexical), morphemes and suffixes.

Within these different structures, the notebooks show considerable variation in the number and type of arbitrary characters that they contain as well as big differences in the number of Gurney's original characters that they have decided to include. There are also a number of symbols which are hybrids ("combinations" in Arthur's terms) of different arbitrary characters or variations on an original arbitrary symbol. Table 4 below shows the structure and frequency of the arbitrary characters used in the respective notebooks.

		GBr	MN	AN	HN
Arbitrary characters	**general**	No heading **24 symbols**	Arbitrary characters" (part 5) **72 symbols**	No heading **80 symbols** "Further arbitrary signs" **11 symbols** "	"Arbitrary characters **84 symbols**
	specific	"Prepositions and terminations" **51 symbols**	"Terminations" (part 4) **17 symbols**	"Sounds and terminations" **9 symbols**	
TOTAL		**75 symbols**	**89 symbols**	**100 symbols**	**84 symbols**

Table 4. Frequency of arbitrary characters in the three notebooks

Table 4 shows that, structurally, Gurney puts most of his arbitrary characters into the "Prepositions and terminations" section whereas MN and AN only include the suffixes in a Terminations section and consider the rest to be arbitrary characters. In terms of numbers, there are marginally more arbitrary characters in the notebooks than in Gurney, but this similarity disguises the variations in the types of symbols that have been included or excluded. What is particularly interesting is that the notebooks discard a great many of Gurney's original symbols and add symbols that are not in Gurney's original. These will now be looked at in greater detail.

There are 72 new words represented by Gurney characters in the teaching notebooks that are not represented in *GBr*. One way of representing extra words is to increase the number of words a traditional arbitrary character could represent; for example, the arbitrary character ⊢ was originally used by Gurney to represent <ob> and <ib>. Dickens

extends this to cover all the central vowels - <ab>, <eb>, <ib>, <ob> and <ub>. However, the most interesting aspect of increased word representation in the notebooks is Dickens's inventiveness in his creation of new characters. From a cognitive perspective, it is easier to write a word as an arbitrary character than to deconstruct the word into its alphabetical components and then recompose it into a shorthand character made up of the symbols that represent those components. However, we cannot easily memorize large numbers of arbitrary characters so not every new word can be given its own individual symbol. Shorthand users have to weigh up carefully the benefits of having a new symbol for a word and the ease with which it can be learned. Analysis of the notebooks can reveal how Dickens struck that balance for his pupils. Table 5 lists the new symbols and new words represented by those symbols:

Symbol	Word	MN	HN	AN
	acknowledge ment			yes
	afterwards		yes	yes
	air, hair, heir, hear	Yes	yes	
	arbitrary	Yes		
	arrow		yes	yes
	art, heart			
	attempt			yes
	before			yes
	behalf	yes		yes
	belong			yes
	bishop, behold	yes		
	charge	yes		yes
	character			yes
	circumstantial			yes
	constituent	yes		
	contempt			yes
	contradistincti on			yes
	contrary		yes	yes
	depend, -ence -ent, -ing			yes
	doctrine	yes		
	electric telegraph	yes		
	evening	yes		
	except, expect			yes
	extra	yes		

	eye	yes		yes
	eyes	yes		
	farrier	yes		
	farrow			yes
	furrow	yes		yes
	glory	yes		
	ground	yes		yes
	hand		yes	
	he said			yes
	hold, held	yes		
	ignorance, ignorant	yes		yes
	important, importance	yes	yes	
	independence, -ent			yes
	individual			yes
	inging		yes	
	interior			yes
	Ireland	yes	yes	
	is it not ?			yes
	lab-lib-lab-lob-lub			yes
	long	yes		
	manifest, manifestation			yes
	nothing	yes		yes
	on, how own one	yes	yes	
	over	yes		yes

	parallel	yes	yes	yes
	philosopher, philosophical			yes
	prerogative	yes		yes
	providence provident	yes	yes	yes
	railroad	yes		
	round	yes		yes
	Scotland		yes	
	sab-seb-sib-sob-sub		yes	yes
	shilling		yes	yes
	sometimes			yes
	sorrow	yes		yes
	square	yes		

	stand	yes		yes
	tempt	yes		yes
	terror	yes		
	themselves	yes	yes	yes
	together	yes		
	trans			yes
	under	yes	yes	yes
	United Kingdom		yes	
	up	yes		yes
	Wales			
	wards, words			yes
	withhold, witheld	yes		
	within	yes		yes

Table 5. New symbols in the teaching notebooks (not in Gurney's *Brachygraphy*)

The table shows how the new symbols are randomly dispersed across the notebooks. There are symbols which are unique to individual notebooks, shared by two of the notebooks or shared by all three. The symbols cover all types of word – nouns, verbs, adjectives, prepositions – as well as individual morphemes. As regards lexical words, Dickens followed the standard practice of shorthand manuals, including *GBr*, which was to assign an individual symbol to words that are longer and are more frequently used. So, for example, he introduced frequent, concrete words like *shilling* and more abstract ones like *change*, *evening*, *character*, *contrary* and *nothing*. His introduction of new characters also reflects industrial development in the first half of the 19th century, with new symbols for *railroad* and *electric telegraph*. There is even the novelty of a shorthand symbols for the abbreviation *Dept*. – an abbreviation of an abbreviation. Another striking deviation from the Gurney manual is Dickens's treatment of Gurney's letter symbols, like ***m*** for *multitude*. There are a restricted number of these in the notebooks, limited to new characters for *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Wales* and *United Kingdom*.

As regards grammatical words, there are new characters for frequent prepositions like *except*, *within* and *without*. Dickens follow standard stenographic practice in attributing arbitrary characters to words that derive from the same root word, such as giving the same symbol to *independent* and *independence*.

In introducing new symbols, Dickens has also paid attention to visual principles as an aid to memorization[2]. For example, the symbol ⓐ represents the word *about*. The tail of the symbol is lengthened by Dickens to produce the symbol @, meaning *around*, maintaining the shape of the original character and the diphthong sound of the word it represents as an aid to memory. The new characters for "long" (a lengthening of the symbol for <n>), "square" (a square-shaped symbol), "nothing" (a small, closed circle), and "stand" (a vertical line with a circle at the top) all contain visual clues as to their meaning. There are similar visual hints in the symbols for "together" (two vertical parallel lines), "themselves" (two diagonal slashes sloping to the left), "eyes" (two diagonal slashes sloping to the right). In these cases, the duality of the symbol points to the duality in the meaning of the word.

Finally, and most importantly, there is evidence of the involvement of structural principles, or what Arthur Stone calls "combinations", in the construction of arbitrary characters. The first of these involves *adding a symbol* to an arbitrary character to represent a new word. For example, Dickens takes the standard letter-symbol g , which usually represents the word *government*, and adds a dash behind it to produce g which he uses to represent the word *glory*. The second type of principle involves *eliding a symbol* with an arbitrary character. For example, he takes the / symbol, which stands for the letter < s >, and elides it with the ⊢ symbol, which stands for <ab>, <ib>, <ob> and <ub>, to produce a new symbol ⊢, which stands for <sab>, <sib>, <sob> and <sub>. He also elides the ∪ shape for the letter < l > with the ⊢ symbol to produce the new symbol ⊤ representing <lab>, <leb>, <lib>, <lob> and <lub>. In this way, a single arbitrary character elided with two consonant letter symbols is able to represent 15 different morphemes.

The idea of "combinations" blurs the binary distinction between a word either being represented by an arbitrary character or by symbols for letters. AN has many examples of both. Arthur himself also seems unsure of how to define his hybrid combinations. On one page we find a list of symbols in Dickens's handwriting under the "combinations", while on other pages we find the heading "further combinations" and "further arbitrary signs" in Arthur's handwriting. However, there is little to distinguish "combinations" from "arbitrary signs" in terms of

[2] It is difficult to be certain that these new characters are Dickens's own inventions. It is possible that these shapes might be present in another system. If they are, the fact that they are present in Dickens's notes might be pure coincidence or he may have copied them, although there is little evidence that he took an interest in other shorthand systems.

their construction. They all involve complex symbols constructed out of arbitrary characters and letter symbols through addition or elision in order to represent complex words (e.g. *reduction*, *mathematics*, *protection*, *rapacious*, *conceive*).

8. *Examples and practice material*

The last section of *GBr* is practice material. Here Gurney provides examples of Biblical texts like the Lord's Prayer or public speeches for the purposes of practice. Gurney first shows the texts in Roman script, then how the words of the text should be reduced to shortened forms like the modern text message and then how they should be written in shorthand. The practice texts in the original GBr are not included in the notebooks. This may be because Dickens's pupils used the *GBr* material directly or they did not use it at all. HN does not include any practice material, but MN contains three ordered pages of transcriptions for "Colours", "Days of the week" and "Qualities" ("Part 1" of the notebook), as well as two pages of examples of arbitrary characters being deployed in short, invented sentences ("Part 6" of the notebook). AN, on the other hand, which is much longer, contains pages and pages of shorthand practice. Most interestingly of all, there are parallel shorthand texts of dictated exercises in AN, one written by Dickens and the other by Arthur, taken from original source texts that Dickens was known to keep with him (Bowles 2017)[3]. AN also shows Arthur practicing "difficult" words and correcting words which we had got wrong in the dictation exercises.

9. *Conclusions*

Taken individually, one can conclude that HN and MN are personalized digests of the Gurney system, with the MN highlighting the composition of important words. AN, on the other hand, is more of an exercise

[3] There is no doubt that oral dictation was important for shorthand practice. Dickens parodies shorthand dictation practice in *David Copperfield* and although there are no signs of dictation exercises in HN, Henry described in an interview how his father would improvise parliamentary speeches as shorthand practice for him.

book with a reference facility. The three notebooks are also independent of each other in terms of composition. From a comparative perspective, there is no evidence that items were copied from one notebook to another. Indeed, there are important differences: the list of alphabetical symbols in all the teaching notebooks is copied from *GBr* but they are not identical to the original or to each other. Each notebook introduces completely new characters and excludes characters that are present in the others. These are the kinds of differences one would expect in notebooks that are produced at different times with different pupils.

Yet there are clear signs of a developmental process over time. Dickens increased the number of words that a Gurney symbol could stand for by introducing new characters and altering existing ones through combinatory principles. He kept the system economical by making single characters adaptable (fewer shapes referring to more words) and making them memorable by constructing shapes that were visually appealing and semantically accessible. These principles of economy and memorability are an interesting development because they show Dickens reflecting on his own shorthand experience in a pedagogical way and his desire to improve the efficiency of the system while keeping it learnable. Dickens's use of combinations also slightly changes the way in which arbitrary characters are conceived of within the system. In the original Gurney system, there was a clear one-to-one relation between a single arbitrary character and a single word or a single, clearly identifiable part of a word (e.g. a suffix). Dickens's combinations are less arbitrary, more complex constructions, suggesting that he was encouraging his pupils, particularly Arthur Stone, to take a more flexible approach to learning.

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Silvia Bruti*

Investigating Reporting Signals in the Harry Potter *Saga and its Italian Translation*

Abstract:
This contribution aims to explore verbs introducing direct speech ("reporting signals", Thompson 1994), which are often employed in fiction to introduce turns at speech. When they are used in this function, they condense very crucial diegetic information on the characters involved. Following in the footsteps of several works that have compared these verbs in English and Italian, the current aim is to further enquire into the role of *inquits* in the *Harry Potter* saga and its Italian translation. The first purpose is to ascertain which reporting verbs English relies on in a genre that aims at entertaining by creating strong, impactful characters, and with which frequency and patterns. The second is to verify whether in the Italian translation these aspects have been dealt with in depth and in a similar fashion.

Keywords: Characterisation, Direct speech, Harry Potter, Translation, *Verbs of saying*

1. *Introduction*

The instruments exploited by different languages to represent reality have been the object of much discussion. In particular, discrepancies between languages have been highlighted for semantic fields such as motion verbs (Talmy, 1985; 1991) or, more specifically, manner of motion verbs, which have been thoroughly investigated by Slobin (1997; 2003). In a nutshell, languages can be divided into two groups, verb-framed languages (V-languages) and satellite-framed languages (S-languages): the former group comprises those in which movement is codified in the verb, whereas the latter need to employ a preposition. Italian and English are respectively a V- and an S- language: *Il cane entrò in casa* vs. *The dog went into the house*.

More interesting, though, is the way in which the manner of action is represented. Still referring to Slobin's work, a distinction is drawn between languages that, like English, encode this type of information in the verb, *crawled,* for example, and those that, like Italian, need to

* Università di Pisa.

add an optional item, either a non-finite clause or an adverbial, *entrò ... strisciando.*

This contribution aims to further explore verbs introducing direct speech, and manner of speaking verbs in particular, which are often employed in fiction to introduce turns at speech. When they are used in this function, they become, to borrow Eco's words, "turn ancillaries", i.e. instructions on how the utterance that follows needs to be performed and understood. Consequently, they condense very crucial diegetic information on the characters involved (Bray, 2014; Ruano San Segundo, 2016; 2017)

After pinpointing that S-languages like English "have a larger and more diverse lexicon of manner verbs in comparison with V-languages" (Slobin, 1997: 458), when analysing some English and Spanish novels and their translations to compare how typological differences impact narrative styles across languages, Slobin noticed that only half of English manner verbs are translated with Spanish manner verbs (1996), the rest being either left out or neutralised. Studies that have considered both English and Italian have reached controversial conclusions, which seem to depend on the composition of the corpus analysed (Bruti, 2003; 2004; Rojo & Javier Valenzuela, 2001; Grollero, 2013; Mastrofini, 2013; Sandford *et al*., 2016). On the basis of these premises, the current aim is to further enquire into the role of *inquits* in the *Harry Potter* saga and its Italian translation. The novels in the series, all about the adventures of a young wizard overcoming dangerous obstacles to defeat the Dark wizard who killed his parents, have been an international success, with the last volume selling more than 12 million copies. Novelist J. K. Rowling crafted a magic world where characters are effectively depicted by exploiting narration and dialogue alike. The first purpose is to ascertain which reporting verbs English relies on in a genre that aims at entertaining by creating strong, impactful characters, and with which frequency and patterns. The second is to verify whether in the Italian translations – which, given the enormous success of the Harry Potter phenomenon, have recently been revised by Salani – these aspects have been dealt with in depth and in a similar fashion.

2. *Reporting signals*

In this contribution I will limit myself to analysing "reporting signals"[1] that introduce direct speech, with a special focus on manner of speaking verbs. These *inquits* allow narrators to perform various functions at the same time: they help to construct the plot of the novel and to delineate some aspects of the characters' personalities, by differentiating between their voices. So, for example, if an author says "X said angrily" or "X blurted out", s/he gives the readers an account of the actual words which were spoken, but also a clue as to how they were uttered (Ruano San Segundo, 2016; 2017), and, in some cases, how the text could be read aloud for children.

These reporting forms may appear before, after, and in the middle of a quote (cf. Banfield, 1982; Zwicky, 1971), although an analysis of *Little Women* showed that more than 70% of the total appear after the direct quote (Bruti, 2004: 176). In a conversational novel such as this, I expected manner of speaking verbs to occur rather frequently, as a characterising device, but the analysis revealed that the verb *to say* (although variously complemented) outnumbered significantly more specific *verba dicendi*. The same stylistic function of characterisation is thus undertaken by the collocates of *say*.

The subclass of verbs of saying has been described and categorised from different perspectives. After Zwicky's pioneering paper (1978), in which the morphosyntactic properties of this class were defined, others followed in the same vein, although the interest shifted to semantic properties, as in Mufwene (1978) and Levin (1993), who enlarged the original set put forward by Zwicky. Research was then developed by Fillmore, with mainly lexicographic purposes, especially on motion verbs, within his frame semantics model (Baker *et al.*, 1998; Fillmore & Atkins, 1992; 1994). Urban and Ruppenhofer (2001) apply the model to manner of speech verbs, whereas the majority of the studies that follow are still focused on verbs of motion. Thompson's survey (1994), which lies at the intersection of lexicographic and didactic studies, contains perhaps one of the most detailed accounts of verbs of reporting. Slobin (1996), following in Fillmore's footsteps and integrating Talmy's insights (1991), analysed verbs on the basis of different language

[1] The part of the report which tells you that this is a report, for example. A reporting verb such as 'say'. In some cases, punctuation marks such as inverted commas may act as "reporting signals" (Thompson, 1994: vii).

typologies, i.e. verb-framed or satellite-framed. Other studies have followed in this tradition, delving into the syntax-semantics interface of manner of speech verbs, mainly Grollero (2013), Mastrofini (2013), Vergaro *et al*. (2013), Sandford *et al*. (2016).

Some works began to adopt a contrastive perspective, such as Snell-Hornby's (1983) and Rojo and Valenzuela (2001). The former focuses on English and German and provides a detailed verb description by resorting to ample contrastive analysis, whereas the latter applies Slobin's analysis of verbs of saying to English texts and their Spanish translation. Quite interestingly, Rojo and Valenzuela found that Spanish translators were often inclined to add information, replacing generic English verbs with more specific Spanish ones.

Finally, within a stylistics framework (cf., *inter alia*, Bray, 2014 and Mahlberg, 2013), Ruano San Segundo (2016; 2017) illustrates the role of reporting verbs in the creation of fictional personalities in literary texts, by resorting to the taxonomy of speech verbs developed by Caldas-Coulthard (1987). In a very recent paper, Mastropierro (2020) analyses the use of reporting verbs for the three protagonists of the *Harry Potter* saga, e.g. Harry, Ron and Hermione, in English and Italian, and highlights some relevant stylistic implications.

Among the studies cited above, the most detailed accounts for describing verbs of saying are offered by Thompson (1994) and Sandford *et al.* (2016). In the former they are divided into two main groups, verbs showing the speaker's purpose and verbs showing the manner of speaking. Verbs in this latter category are further distinguished on the basis of five parameters, i.e. speed, volume, general behaviour, animal sounds (sometimes metaphorically extended to human beings) and various aspects of a speaker's mood. The verbs that show the manner of speaking describe the quality of speech. Verbs describing general behaviour are not strictly verbs of speaking, as they can indicate nonverbal communication, even though they are often deployed to introduce direct speech (e.g. *beam, frown, gape, gawk*). Verbs describing animal sounds can be metaphorically extended to introduce the speech of human beings, a tendency which is particularly palpable in fiction, especially if destined for younger readers (see 4 below).

The study by Sandford *et al.* (2016: 145) considers two major categories, physical-auditory and semantic-pragmatic traits: "the physical auditory components include pitch, volume, speed, and rhythm; the semantic-pragmatic components include directionality, persistence, formality, speaker's attitude, speaker's intention, and effect on the

hearer". The outcome is a very useful and complete chart with 186 entries categorised according to the ten features specified above, whose definitions have been verified with two native speakers of English (American and British) and put to the test with surveys conducted by interviewing speakers.

3. *Methodology*

For the purposes of this contribution, I first collected the digitised version of all the *Harry Potter* novels in English and in Italian to be fed into software WordSmith Tools 7 (Scott, 2016) for automatic investigation. The English novels were collected in a single text file (.txt), the HP_Eng corpus, for the first part of the research.

In studies on *verba dicendi*, different research methodologies have been used. I will rapidly go through them to explain which research method I decided to follow. Grollero (2013: 105) followed Thompson's classification (1994) and analysed manually tokens in four novels in their digital version, both originals and translations, whereas Rojo and Valenzuela analysed four English contemporary novels and their translations into Spanish by extracting randomly "100 verbs of saying from each novel and their corresponding translations into Spanish. The verbs were selected randomly: one page was chosen at random and all the verbs of saying were noted down up to a hundred" (2001: 469). Mastrofini (2013: 136-137) collected a corpus of four English contemporary novels and their translations into Italian and specifically searched for a list of 176 manner of speaking verbs, which had been singled out by Vergaro *et al*., 2013 and later employed in other studies e.g., Sandford *et al*., 2016, in which a fine-grained description of these verbs and their components was carried out by drawing examples from the COCA.

Ruano San Segundo (2017), who was not interested in translating reporting verbs but in exploring their functions in fiction, resorted instead to Caldas-Coulthard's (1987) taxonomy, in which verbs of speech are classified according to the "reporter's level of interference on the words being reported" (2017: 110). He then ran a search with WordSmith Tools in a digitised version of the text he intended to analyse, looking for regular verbs in the past by means of the suffix -*ed* after an inverted comma (e.g. a quote) in several combinations (with

the reporting signal before or after the quote) and adding some specific searches to include irregular verbs of saying (e.g. *say*).

As a first step in my investigation, I ascertained the presence of reporting verbs among the keywords of the HP_Eng corpus, by contrasting it with a reference corpus, the BNC written version. Secondly, to circumscribe the investigation, I decided to take advantage of the wildcard searches used by Ruano San Segundo in a similar investigation of reporting in Dickens' *Nicholas Nickleby*. I opted for this method for two main reasons: searching the corpus for the list of verbs of reporting used by Mastrofini (2013) still left me with many tokens of these verbs that were not reporting signals introducing speech and needed to be excluded manually; secondly, there are, occasionally, verbs that are not in themselves verbs of reporting but introduce direct speech: they may describe some of the circumstances of the situation of utterance, such as the speaker's attitude, their kinesic behaviour, etc.. The following is one such case: "'Oh… well…' she *shrugged*. 'I think they think I'm a bit odd, you know. Some people call me Loony Lovegood, actually'".

4. *An analysis: from quantitative to qualitative remarks*

4.1.

My analysis moves from some quantitative remarks on the English novels to more qualitative remarks, taking into account a limited sample from one of the English novels and its Italian translation.

As a first step in the analysis, I created a list of keywords[2] for the HP_Eng corpus, contrasting it with the BNC written corpus. Apart from very predictable results, such as the three main protagonists' names as the first three items in rank (*Harry*, *Ron* and *Hermione* respectively), interestingly, among lexical verbs, after two elements belonging to the lemma LOOK (*looked* and *looking*), a verb related to sight, *staring*, and the verb *know*, the fifth in rank is *whispered*, with 448 tokens. The second speech verb to appear is *muttered*, 161th in rank with 331 tokens. This indicates special attention being paid to the quality of direct speech, to

[2] Keywords are words whose frequency is exceptionally high in comparison with some norm, usually a reference corpus.

the circumstances of enunciation and the attitudes of speech participants.

To delve more deeply into reporting signals, I searched the HP _Eng corpus for regular verbs in the past by means of the suffix *-ed* after an inverted comma in several combinations (with the reporting signal before or after the quote; cf. table 1). The first query produced 831 tokens, of which 765 are reporting signals (some results had to be excluded as irrelevant, i.e. the proper noun *Fred*, or adjectives like *unexpected*). The second and the third, with ” followed by *he/she* and a regular verb in the past, were also manually checked, as the instances in which other verbs occurred are very numerous. In this case, I retained speech verbs only, even though general behaviour verbs can in some cases contribute to a precise description of the speech event.

Search string	Tokens
” -ed	831 > **765**
” he -ed	500 > **316**
” she -ed	227 > **141**
	TOT. 1222

Table 1. Reporting signals (other than *say*)

Overall, as can be seen from Table 2 below, *ask* and *add* are the first two verbs in rank. They are classified respectively as a structuring and discourse signalling verb by Caldas-Coulthard (1987: 155 and 163). This means that they contribute to the architecture of embedded speech within the narrative world. The other three verbs, instead, *shout*, *whisper* and *mutter* are all descriptive verbs (or manner of speaking verbs, cf. Thompson, 1994) that specify the parameter of volume. None of the first five verbs provides information concerning the other components that have been singled out as relevant in the group of verbs of speech: pitch, directionality, persistence, formality, speaker’s attitude, speaker’s intention, effect on the hearer.

” -ed		*” he -ed*		*” she -ed*		Overall	
ask	131	add	41	add	29	ask	185
shout	61	ask	38	ask	16	shout	83
whisper	48	shout	22	whisper	12	whisper	78
snap	35	mutter	19	snap	6	add	70
cry	30	whisper	18	repeat/shriek	5	mutter	19

Table 2. The five most frequent reporting verbs for the three queries

To obtain a more complete picture of the role of reporting in the corpus, I also checked instances of the main verb of reporting, *say*, in its various combinations (Ruano San Segundo, 2017: 114), with the following results: *said* appears 4,378 times, *” he said* 440 and *” she said* 259, for a total of 5,077 tokens. This means that *say* is roughly 4 times as frequent as more specific reporting verbs.

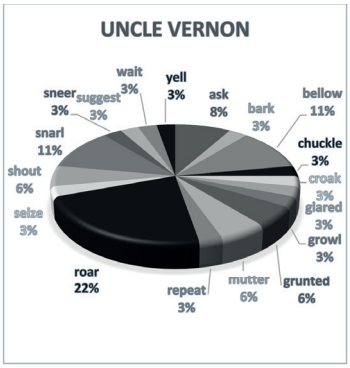
In order to evaluate the contribution of reporting verbs to implicit characterisation, drawing on Culpeper’s influential model (2001: 172)[3], it is essential to identify associations between reporting verbs and characters. To this purpose, I have selected two characters, one appearing more in the first novels, the other featuring from the fifth onwards, to evaluate which specific reporting verbs are employed to introduce their speech: Uncle Vernon, Harry’s nasty (and reluctant) legal guardian, and professor Dolores Umbridge, at first professor of Defence against the Dark Arts and later Headmistress at Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry and High Inquisitor. While Uncle Vernon (https://harrypotter.fandom.com/wiki/Vernon_Dursley) openly shows that he dislikes Harry and treats him badly, Umbridge, with her mellifluous voice and condescending ways, is often cruel and vicious in inflicting punishments against

[3] In Culpeper’s model explicit characterisation cues coincide with self- or other presentation, whereas implicit characterisation cues are textual elements that indirectly contribute to sketching characters as they convey “character information which has to be derived by inference” (Culpeper, 2001: 172).

students, Harry in particular (https:// harrypotter.fandom.com/wiki/ Dolores_Umbridge). For both characters 36 tokens of reporting verbs other than *say* are employed, whose breakdown in percentage can be seen in Chart 1. Uncle Vernon's speech is qualified as negative and critical, given that the majority of verbs used describe either unpleasant and aggressive animal sounds, e.g. *bark, bellow, croak, growl, grunt, roar*, or speech that betrays a negative disposition, e.g. *mutter, snarl, sneer*, or even loud and aggressive behaviour, e.g. *shout* and *yell*. The only neutral or positive verbs are *ask, chuckle, glared, repeat, suggest*, or even verbs that do not describe the qualities of his speech, e.g. *seize* and *wait*, verbs that are used to describe physical actions performed while talking.

Professor Umbridge's turns can instead be grouped into two main categories: on the one hand verbs that either neutrally describe her turns (*ask, enquire, demand*) and specify how discourse progresses (*continue, repeat, talk over*), on the other verbs that are descriptive, defining her voice qualities along the parameters of volume and pitch (*breathe, cry, mutter, scream, shriek, shout, trill*). In a study on the character of Hermione, Eberhardt (2017) claims that verbs characterised by a high-pitch are used as a gendered representation, in that they are associated with typical stereotypes of femininity.

There is one verb of general behaviour, *simper*, that fits the overall picture quite well, alluding to Umbridge's deceitful nature. Her prying disposition, partly to be ascribed to her role as High Inquisitor and partly to her true nature, stands out very clearly, together with her voice qualities. High-volume and high-pitch tones are more abundant than low ones (only *breathe* and *mutter*) and provide hints of her power-hungry and ruthless strategies.



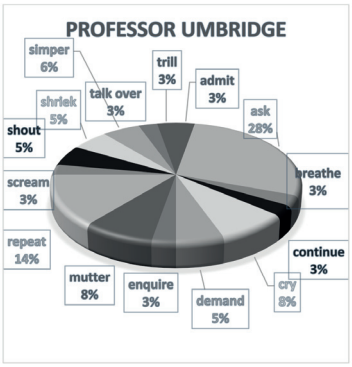


Chart 1. Reporting signals introducing Uncle Vernon's and Professor Umbridge's speech

4.2.

I decided to investigate translating strategies for reporting signals by analysing their tokens in the second chapter ("Aunt Marge's Big Mistake") of the third novel in the series, *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban*, and its Italian translation. In this chapter Harry is at the Dursleys', waiting to go back to Hogwarts. Uncle Vernon's sister, Marge, is about to arrive for a weekly visit and Harry is ordered to behave well, which he agrees to in exchange for permission to visit the village of Hogsmeade. At last, however, when Aunt Marge makes offensive remarks about his father, Harry can no longer restrain himself and accidentally uses his magic to inflate her. Harry runs away, fearing he will be punished for using magic outside school.

I also decided to take into account *say*, as it is necessary to evaluate what happens in translation: there might in fact be cases where specific verbs of saying are replaced with more generic ones, but the reverse might also occur. The verb *say* has 37 tokens, of which 12 have no form of complementation. The remaining ones offer additional information in -ing clauses, manner adjuncts, noun and prepositional phrases, temporal and relative clauses. Of these 12 instances, in the Italian translation 9 are rendered with *dire* alone, but in 3 cases *say* has been turned into more specific verbs, *chiedere*, *rispondere* and *profferire*. The first two better specify how the turn fits the verbal exchange, but the third, applying to Aunt Marge, is crucial in qualifying her speech:

> 1a. "I still don't like your tone, boy," she *said*. "If you can speak of your beating in that casual way, they clearly aren't hitting you enough.
> 1b. "Il tuo tono continua a non piacermi, ragazzo" *profferì*. "Se usi quel tono svagato per parlare delle frustate che prendi, è chiaro che non te ne danno abbastanza.

In choosing *profferire* the translator emphasises Aunt Marge's bad temper and offers the reader some hints as to how the utterance might be expressed, with rage and arrogance, thus contributing to the psychological description of the character in that precise moment of the story.

The majority of accompanying forms of *say* are non-finite clauses that illustrate actions carried out while speaking: the same structure, a gerund in Italian, is retained 9 times out of 10. The exception is

say followed by an -ing clause introducing a mental action, which undergoes an explicitation:

> 2a. "Well," *said* Harry *choosing his words carefully.*
> 2b. "Be' " *spiegò* Harry *scegliendo con cura le parole.*

The second most frequent collocate of *say* are manner adjuncts, which either refer to some acoustic properties of the utterance (cf. 3), or describe the speakers' emotional attitude (cf. 4). The former function is particularly important in underlining changes in temper and behaviour. In 2 instances the combination *say* + manner adjunct is retained in Italian, but in the remaining 4 more specific verbs have been chosen (the case in 4).

> 3a. "Hedwig," he *said gloomily*, "you're going to have to clear off for a week."
> 3b. "Edvige" *disse in tono sconsolato* "devi sparire per una settimana."

> 4a. "All right," *said* Harry *bitterly*, "if she does when she's talking to me."
> 4b. "Lo farò" *ribatté* Harry *aspramente*, "se lei lo fa con me".

As can be seen, in 4b the Italian verb *ribattere*, together with the manner adverb, suggests the suprasegmental traits of Harry's utterance and qualifies the exchange as an intense discussion in which Harry holds his ground.

In translating the combination of *say* and relative and temporal clauses, 3 and 2 respectively, temporal clauses follow exactly the same pattern, whereas with relative clauses in 2 cases more descriptive verbs are chosen, *rispondere* and *esclamare*.

> 5a. "They didn't die in a car crash!" *said* Harry, *who found himself on his feet*.
> 5b. "Non sono morti in un incidente!" *esclamò* Harry *scattando in piedi*.

In 5b the translator has evidently interpreted the original, putting the verbal and nonverbal information together: Harry's sudden movement certainly must betray his indignation on hearing lies concerning his parent's death. Hence the choice of *esclamare*, which, together with the gerund that replaces the relative clause, gives an idea of his sudden

reaction and upset mood.

In the 4 tokens of *say* followed by a prepositional or noun phrase, only in one is *say* replaced by *riprendere*, confirming a tendency to avoid repetition of the superordinate verb of reporting and at the same time defining the turn better.

Turning now to specific reporting verbs, in the chapter under investigation there are 37 reporting signals, as can be seen in table 4 below, of which 17 tokens are accompanied by forms of complementation. In what follows, I describe the strategies that have been used in translation and attempt to draw some generalisations.

	ST (reporting verbs plus forms of complementation)		TT (translation of reporting verb plus form of complementation)	
add	2	--	1 dire 1 aggiungere	
ask	1	--	1 chiedere	
bark	3	1 -- 1 + prep. phrase 1 + -ing clause	3 abbaiare	2 -- 1 + gerund
bellow	2	--	1 muggire 1 strillare	
blurt out	1	--	1 esclamare	
boom	2	--	1 esclamare 1 tuonare	
chuckle	1	--	1 dire	+ gerund *ridacchiando*
go on	2	1 + adv. 1+ -ing clause	2 riprendere	1+ adv. 1 + gerund
growl	2	--	2 ringhiare	
grunt	1	--	1 grugnire	
hiccough	1	+ -ing clause	1 dire	+ two clauses: *Le era venuto il singhiozzo. Tese una mano per interrompere il fratello.*
hiss	1	+ prep. phrase	1 sibilare	+ prep. phrase
pat	1	+ dir. object + prep. phrase	1 battere	+ dir. object + prep. phrase
roar	2	--	2 ruggire	
scream	1	+ -ing clause	1 strillare	+ adj.
shout	1	+ -ing clause	1 esclamare	+ gerund
snap	3	1 -- 1 + adverb 1 + -ing clause	1 dire 1 esclamare 1 scattare	-- + adv. + gerund
snarl	3	1 + temporal clause 1 -- 1 + prep. phrase	1 ringhiare 2 sibilare	-- -- + prep. phrase
sneer	1	--	1 chiedere	

Table 3. Reporting signals in ch. 2 of *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* and its Italian translation

There are 4 tokens of verbs of saying replaced by the more generic *dire*, but only 2 of them can be considered neutralisations (exx. 6 and 7), because in the others (8 and 9) there are additions that integrate the semantic features inscribed in the original in the reporting verbs.

> 6a. Uncle Vernon drained his teacup, glanced at this watch and *added*, "I'd better be off in a minute, Petunia, Marge's train gets in at ten."
> 6b. Zio Vernon finì il suo tè, guardò l'orologio e *disse*: "Esco tra un minuto, Petunia, il treno di Marge arriva alle dieci".
>
> 7a. "Do something about your hair!" Aunt Petunia *snapped* as he reached the hall.
> 7b. "E fai qualcosa a quei capelli!" gli *disse* mentre Harry si avviava verso l'ingresso.
>
> 8a. "Just a small one, then" *chuckled*. "A bit more than that… and a bit more… that's the boy."
> 8b. "Ma sì, appena appena" *disse ridacchiando*. "Un po' di questo, un po' di quello… come il ragazzo".
>
> 9a. "No, Vernon," *hiccoughed* Aunt Marge, holding up a hand, her tiny bloodshot eyes fixed on Harry's.
> 9b. "No, Vernon" *disse* zia Marge. *Le era venuto il singhiozzo*. Tese una mano per interrompere il fratello, gli occhietti iniettati di sangue fissi su Harry.

Example 6b shows consistent translating strategies throughout the turn, as all verbs are replaced with generic solutions: *drained*, *glanced* and *added* become *finire*, *guardare* and *dire*. In 7b, instead, the choice has even heavier repercussions, as only the imperative is preserved, but there are no indications of how the turn is uttered. *Snap* suggests that the utterance is pronounced annoyingly, bitterly, or impatiently, and this is lost in Italian. The same cannot be said for 8 and 9, where Italian cannot count on single lexemes to convey the same idea as in the original: as for 8, there is no verb to indicate that one speaks and laughs at the same time, whereas the verb *singhiozzare* exists in Italian, but it is much more frequently employed with the meaning 'to sob desperately', so a periphrasis is needed (9b).

As can be seen in Table 3 above, six reporting verbs, *snarl, snap, yell, bellow*, *boom* and *add* are translated with more than one form in Italian, as the choice is shaped by the context and the character. For example, *snarl*, which is one of the most frequent with 3 tokens and always applies to Uncle Vernon, is rendered either with *sibilare* (twice)

or *ringhiare. Snarl* is a verb reproducing an animal sound, but implies a loud volume, the speaker's anger, and his/her intention to warn the addressee (Mastrofini, 2013: 147), whereas *sibilare*, apart from requiring a low volume and a peculiar pitch, is more vague in terms of speaker's attitude and intended effects on the addressee. In the original, *hiss* is used once, in association with Aunt Petunia (reporting signals for her include *snap* and *squeal*), whereas the majority of specific reporting signals that are employed to describe Uncle Vernon's speech contain features of loudness and anger.

A comparison of reporting signals for Uncle Vernon and Aunt Marge is in Chart 2 below. *Snarl* is only used to introduce Uncle Vernon's speech, as well as *bellow*, *blurt out*, *sneer*, *snort*, *spit*, which characterize him as rough, loud, and impatient (*bellow* refers particularly to how loud the speaker talks; *blurt out* and *spit* to the speed of utterance; *sneer* to the speaker's facial expression and *snort* reproduces an animal sound; see below). Brother and sister seem to share, at least in part, the group of verbs denoting animal sounds: *bark, grunt, growl* and *roar*: *bark, growl* and *roar* are used for both, *grunt* only for Marge. Interestingly, Aunt Petunia's speech, which, expectedly, is limited given the personalities of her two partners, is carefully sketched by means of two verbs sharing low volume and pitch, *hiss* and *squeal*. Differently from her brother Vernon's, Aunt Marge's speech is depicted with contrasting features, for example*, bark, grunt* and *shout*, merging the roughness of animal sounds with loudness, but also *chuckle, hiccough, scream*, which are characterised by nervousness, fear and uneasiness.

Finally, *pat* and *sneer* are not in themselves verbs of speech, but are used to describe direct speech. Specifically, by describing the act of patting someone on the hand, a special focus is placed on the speaker's (i.e. Aunt Marge's) condescending attitude, which is reflected in speech (including paralinguistic traits) as well as in her general behaviour (e.g. gestures, body movements, gaze, etc.). *Sneer* describes a scornful expression on the speaker's face, hinting at possible vocal realisations. In translation *sneer* (ex. 10), although not rendered with *dire*, represents a case of neutralisation, as Uncle Vernon's contemptuous attitude is totally disregarded.

10a. "And why should I do that?" *sneered* Uncle Vernon.
10b. "E perché dovrei?" *chiese* zio Vernon.

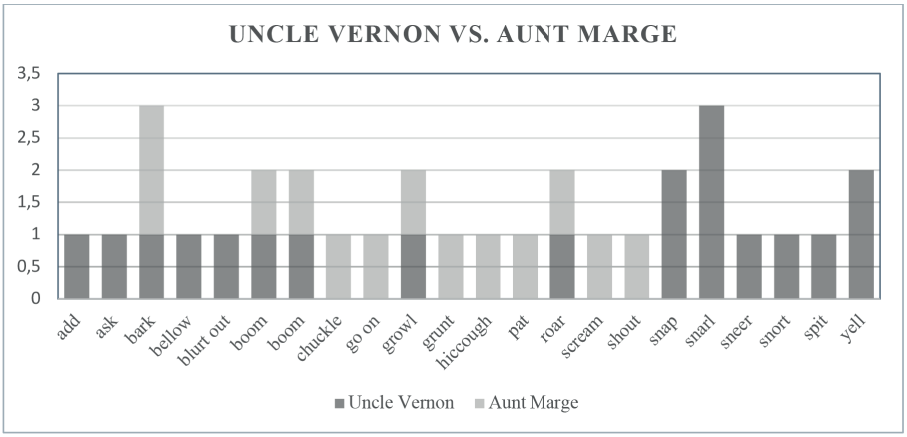


Chart 2. A comparison of reporting signals (other than *say*) introducing Uncle Vernon's and Aunt Marge's speech

5. *Conclusions*

The first part of the analysis, on the HP_Eng corpus, highlighted that the most frequent verbs introducing direct speech, apart from *say*, are *ask* and *add*, which perform respectively a structuring and discourse signalling function (Caldas-Coulthard, 1987). They help readers better contextualise turns at talk within the narrative world. The other three most frequent verbs, s*hout*, *whisper* and *mutter,* are all manner of speech verbs, specifying the parameter of volume.

To investigate the contribution of reporting signals to characterisation, I searched the corpus for reporting signals in relation to two characters, Uncle Vernon and Professor Umbridge. In both cases a vast array (36 verbs of report other than *say*) are used and regularities in the associations of verbs and characters seem to play a relevant role. Uncle Vernon's speech is depicted through a majority of verbs describing animal sounds or verbs with negative connotations, with only a few neutral structuring verbs. Conversely, Professor Umbridge's turns reflect her double nature and are introduced either by neutral or discourse-signalling verbs, or by descriptive verbs, defining her voice qualities especially along the parameters of volume and pitch (see chart 1).

The more qualitative analysis on the second chapter of *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* and its Italian translation aimed at disclosing translating strategies. Of the 37 reporting signals (including *pat* and *sneer*) used in this chapter, 35 have been rendered with specific reporting verbs other than *say*. There are two instances of generalisation with *dire*, exx. 6 and 7, and one with *chiedere,* ex. 10. Sometimes the translator has chosen descriptive verbs of speech that downgrade the strength of the speech act, for example both *boom* and *shout* are rendered as *esclamare*.

Examining reporting signals with *say* was useful in detecting possible variations on the part of the translator (see exx. 1-3), who, in fact, sometimes employed structuring or discourse-signalling verbs (Caldas-Coulthard, 1987) to replace *say*, partly to avoid repetition, which is still felt to be undesirable in written texts in Italian, partly to better clarify the dynamics of the exchange (using *chiedere* or *riprendere*). This happened in 10 cases out of 25 to obtain both precision and variation.

Overall, therefore, the differences in translation do not seem to depend on systemic differences between English and Italian (also observed by Mastrofini, 2013), as in Italian too a good number of verbs encoding manner have been used. Quite often, not only neutral structuring verbs such as *say, tell, ask, reply* are followed by forms of complementation that enrich their meaning, but this also happens for manner of speech verbs. This choice, as can be seen from Table 3 above, is closely mirrored in Italian too. This testifies to special attention being paid in describing the speech event and situation both in the original and in translation.

A certain tendency towards less emphasis and more restrained tones has been detected, together with a less evident stylistic association of specific verbs with specific characters in translation (see, for similar results, Mastropierro, 2020: 257-258). For example, *snarl*, *snap* and *yell*, which are exclusively used to introduce Uncle Vernon's speech, are rendered with a selection of different verbs, weakening the association between verb and character and making the representation of his personality slightly less defined.

Hopefully this preliminary research will be expanded by creating a parallel corpus with the English texts and their Italian translations, to better integrate quantitative and qualitative results and further investigate translating strategies.

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Elena Di Giovanni, Francesca Raffi*

The Worlds and Words of Macbeth: From Shakespeare to a Contemporary Opera Stage

Abstract:
The story of Macbeth has been the object of many original texts and their transformations over the centuries. This essay focuses on the major intersemiotic transfers that can be traced from William Shakespeare's tragedy to Giuseppe Verdi's opera, and from Verdi's libretto to some of its transpositions for today's opera performers and audiences. The concept of intersemiotic transcreation is here introduced and discussed with reference to the many polysemiotic texts that the figure of Macbeth has inspired over time. There follows a detailed analysis of two contemporary English versions of Verdi's *Macbeth*, whose differences are revealing of the array of possibilities offered by transcreative processes, but also of the variety of functions such texts are called to perform today.

Keywords: Intersemiotic translation, Opera, Theatre, Transcreation, Translation Studies

1. *Introduction*

Macbeth is the name of a Scottish nobleman who was born around 1005 A.D. and who, in 1040, killed the ruling king Duncan to become the king himself. Historical accounts report on a fair and efficient king who ruled for 14 years and was also a great promoter of Christianity, although Macbeth is indeed better known as a tormented usurper and murderer, as he was portrayed by William Shakespeare and other authors to follow.

Like few others, the figure of Macbeth has inspired endless forms of writings and rewritings: in literature, for the stage, in music, for singing, for dancing, and so on. Since the 16th century, even before William Shakespeare wrote his epic five-act tragedy, Macbeth has been at the core of stories told in different formats, partially and intersemiotically translated from previous accounts.

Shakespeare's *Macbeth,* written in 1606-07, was only published in 1623 in the First Folio – i.e. the collected works of Shakespeare – and

* Università di Macerata. The authors discussed and conceived this essay together. In particular, Elena Di Giovanni is responsible for sections 1 and 2, Francesca Raffi for sections 3 and 4.

in this printed edition some parts of the original texts were corrupted or missing.[1] A very prolific writer, Shakespeare often resorted to existing texts to create the plots of his own works: for *Macbeth,* his chief source seems to have been the *Holinshed's Chronicles* (1577), whose account of Scotland's history, and Macbeth's in particular, was in turn based on the *Scotorum Historiae*, written in 1527 by Hector Boece. Another main source for *Macbeth* was the *Daemonologie of King James*, published in 1597 and including a section on Scotland (Clark and Mason, 2015).

The first version of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* had its premiere in front of King James I in the same year of its composition, whereas the published version, more than 15 years later, may have contained several changes made after the staging of *Macbeth,* some of these changes suggested by the actors (Ibid.).

Shakespeare's tragedy, with its great success, has since inspired numerous rewritings (adaptations? translations?) of the story of this Scottish king. Among them, theatre plays, musical or symphonic versions and lyrical dramas, such as those by Matthew Locke (1672), Jean-François Ducis (1784), Carl David Stegmann (1784), Giuseppe Rastrelli (1817 and 1827), Richard Strauss (1890) and Ernest Bloch (1910), without listing the more recent and equally numerous adaptations for cinema and television. Within this prolific strand of new textual forms for Macbeth we also find Giuseppe Verdi's opera, first written and performed in 1847, then modified and performed in its second version in 1865. Giuseppe Verdi's *Macbeth* has an Italian libretto, based on both the original Shakespearian tragedy and its Italian translations. In the past decades, the frequent stagings of Verdi's *Macbeth* for non-Italian audiences worldwide, have been accompanied by the translation into English (and many other languages) of the original Italian libretto. Such translations may have different purposes: they can be for singing on stage, for a publication that accompanies a new production, for the surtitles that aim to make the libretto accessible to speakers of languages other than Italian or for deaf patrons.

The many narrations of Macbeth, briefly and only partially outlined above, point to an intricate network made of intertextuality, borrowings, rewritings, adaptations. Ultimately, they point to a series of translational processes that, stretching over more than five centuries, have kept Macbeth alive in multiple forms.

In the following sections, we will explore the concept of translation in relation to Macbeth, focusing especially on Verdi's opera and

[1] https://www.britannica.com/topic/First-Folio (accessed 15 September 2022).

its connection to Shakespeare's tragedy. We will then move to music translation, highlighting concepts and strategies in an attempt to understand where translation finishes, if it does, and where (intersemiotic) transcreation starts.

2. *Intersemiotic transcreation: Verdi's* Macbeth*, its origin, its life and afterlife*

As Lucile Desblache states in her book on music and translation (2019: 67) "searches for contemporary definitions of translation have been as interesting and troublesome, if not more, as those for music". Indeed, both music and translation cover an extremely wide span of text types, across codes and channels of communication, to such an extent that the very word 'text' is here best taken in its widest possible sense. The same width is recommended in our search for the most appropriate definition of translation, when looking at *Macbeth*'s mutations from Shakespeare to Verdi and beyond.

For Jean Boase-Beier, for instance, that of translation is a "mother concept", an umbrella term to be conceptualized metaphorically as the image of a mutant world or "as an aid to creativity" (Boase-Beier, 2007: 47-56). Speaking mainly about literary texts, Boase-Beier nonetheless points to the overarching concept of translation as a metaphorical site for mutation, for transfer. The author also refers to creativity as part and parcel of the translation process, a statement which might not apply to all forms of translation but which certainly applies to those here at stake.

Indeed, although the discipline concerned specifically with the study of translation was officially established no more than 50 years ago (Holmes, 1972), translational activities have been observed and discussed for centuries, with a constant, multidirectional practice carried out worldwide. Crossing paths with other disciplines soon after its establishment, translation studies and its core notion – translation – have come to be increasingly hybridized. The so-called cultural turn in translation studies, for instance, brought with itself many a re-definition of translation: as an act of domestication (Venuti, 1992 and 1995), as rewriting (Lefevere, 1990), as cannibalization (De Campos, 1986; Trivedi, 1996), as adaptation (Gengshen, 2003). All of these *de facto* add nuances to the large domain of translation, to the width of its wings.

One incredibly fruitful, tripartite definition of translation was provided by Roman Jakobson (1951[2012]): as is widely known,

translation for Jakobson can be intralingual, interlingual or intersemiotic. Although such definitions are based on linguistic notions, differently from what Desblache says (2019), they can certainly encompass issues of cultural and narrative equivalence between two or more texts. In particular, the definition of intersemiotic translation seems to be useful for an analysis of transmutations such as those generated over the centuries in relation to the story of Macbeth. Intersemiotic translation involves a passage from one or more codes of communications to one or more different codes and modes: when a novel becomes a film and that film is transformed into a musical, intersemiotic translation is at work, in creative ways.

Another recurrently used by-name for translation is adaptation, as has been already mentioned. In Lucile Deblache's words, "adaptation, for instance, can be understood as a translation strategy (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1995: 39) or as transfer across a range of different media, from literature to film for instance" (2019: 69). However, differently from the concept of intersemiotic translation, that of adaptation seems to be looser, more difficult to define: to what extent can a passage from one medium, or one communicative code to another, be called adaptation? Where do we draw the line between translation and adaptation, for instance, and what terms do we use when a transfer appears to be more extreme than what the notion of adaptation can hold?

With reference to the passage from Shakespeare's tragedy to Verdi's opera, for instance, the concept of adaptation seems to be inappropriate: Verdi was inspired by Shakespeare, but he did not adapt his work directly from Shakespeare's tragedy. As historical accounts tell us, Verdi had read Shakespeare when he was young. Several years later, he was captivated by the story of this king and decided to write his own music about it, for an opera whose libretto was commissioned to famous Italian librettist Francesco Maria Piave. In those same years, Verdi was acquainted with Andrea Maffei, one of the best-known Italian translators of Shakespeare, who seems to have helped Verdi to modify Francesco Maria Piave's libretto, taking inspiration from his own Italian translation of Shakespeare's work. One more aspect to consider, in relation to the genesis of Verdi's work, is that Shakespeare was almost ignored in Italy for almost two centuries, only to be revived with Romanticism. Thus, virtually no Italian translations produced at the time of Shakespeare's creation was available. The libretto for Verdi's *Macbeth* has an especially Italian flavour, with some of the main characters' names having been Italianized, starting from the very

protagonist, called Macbetto in Verdi's opera.

All this considered, it seems unlikely that the word adaptation can be used with reference to the multiple, partial, occasionally radical passages from Shakespeare to Verdi. However, since all of these passages imply creativity, besides one or more shifts of codes of communication, we would like to suggest here the notion of *intersemiotic transcreation* to refer to the transfers that the story of Macbeth have undergone, from Shakespeare to Verdi and from Verdi's opera into several forms of translation for various purposes.

As stated elsewhere, "the origins of the term 'transcreation' have to be sought in a long-gone past, at the time of the first translation of Indian sacred texts" (Di Giovanni, 2008: 33). The word seems to have been coined with reference to the very old practice of creative translation from Sanskrit, which aimed to bring the Vedic truths close to the hearts and minds of laypeople across India (Gopinathan, 2006). This process allowed for a number of occasionally radical changes to the original texts, thus surpassing the traditional notion of translation: the transcreated text had to be fluent, most significantly, it had to be fully understandable for its target audience, resorting to creativity for a better appreciation. In more recent days, the term transcreation has been applied to literature, to animation and to videogames, as well as to audio description (Di Giovanni, 2023), with the nuance of creativity always in the foreground.

In the case of our texts and transfers, intersemiotic translation can be identified in the move from Shakespeare to Verdi, both the first and the second version of *Macbeth*, where among other things Lady Macbeth becomes prominent more than she was in Shakespeare's work. As Michele Girardi recalls, Verdi distanced himself from Shakespeare in the wish to recount not so much a historical and political sequence of facts, but a fantastic story (Girardi, 2018). The first version of his libretto was therefore inspired by Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, and the second one, for which Verdi chose Paris for the premiere, implied yet another transcreative effort. With a detailed revision carried out with the support of music expert and translator Andrea Maffei, who was a great friend of, and advisor to, Giuseppe Verdi. From each of these Italian versions of Verdi's opera, countless translations have been performed, over the years, always with intersemiotic transcreation in the foreground. *Macbeth* has been translated into several languages to be published and studied (the diachronic shifts between source and target texts are not to be disregarded), to be sung and performed, to be projected onto small

screens in the form of surtitles.

The following sections will focus precisely on two of these intersemiotic transcreations of Verdi's *Macbeth*, that is surtitles and singable translation. Surtitles consist of a written transposition of the libretto projected simultaneously with the singing of the performers (Dewolf, 2001: 181) and the action on stage (Mateo, 2007: 170). They can be in the same language of the audience (intralingual surtitles) and/or produced for audiences unfamiliar with the source language (interlingual surtitles). Singable translation entails the translation of the original text (the opera libretto), which is sung with the same music of the source text. Since "music, performance and verbal text all collaborate in the creation of meaning in an opera piece" (Mateo, 2012: 115), translation, in its dialogue with adaptation and performance mechanisms, acquires a significance of intersemiotic transcreation and may imply forms of 'retelling', rather than a mere transfer of meanings, to adapt the translated texts to the new target setting(s) and function(s).

3. *Intersemiotic transcreations of Verdi's* Macbeth*: from the Italian libretto (back) to English*

Being "stylistically marked" (Freddi and Luraghi, 2011: 59) because of its text-in-music nature, the verbal text of a libretto poses several challenges to translators when dealing with forms of intersemiotic translation, and these challenges are evident in opera surtitles. The spectator expects surtitles to be "simply comprehensible", to constitute "sense blocks", compose a "logical unity", and not "give the impression of nervousness" (Dewolf, 2001: 181). After all, the ultimate function of surtitles is to facilitate comprehension of the drama without interfering with the opera on stage (Mateo, 2012: 118).

As is the case with subtitling (Ibid.: 174), strategies for text compression can be applied in surtitling both at word and sentence levels, that is "word selection and sentence organisation" (Ibid.: 177). This means omitting lexical items or entire sentences which are not vital to the comprehension of the message, and/or reformulating what is relevant in a more concise form. However, surtitlers may resort to the opposite strategy, that is text expansion or explicitation (Burton, 2009: 63), which "leads the target text [to state] source text information in a more explicit form than the original" (Shuttleworth and Cowie, 1997:

55). Since the three main criteria for surtitling, in Mateo's words, are "comprehensibility [...], accessibility and usability" (Mateo, 2007: 172), surtitlers can sometimes be said to inflate the denotative and, especially, connotative meanings of the original text, in an attempt to make the dramatic intricacies of the plot more accessible (Palmer, 2013: 22). Certain words may be added or made more transparent (word level), or the surtitler may decide to expand details of the action (Burton, 2009: 63) at sentence level.

Similarly, Low (2017: 79) suggests a "pentathlon of elements" to cope with the issues involved in the translation of singable texts: singability, sense, naturalness, rhythm, and rhyme. With reference to singability, the translation should satisfy the requirements of articulation, breath, dynamics and resonance, avoiding difficulties for singers. The translation should also communicate the same meaning as its original (sense) and be as natural as possible (naturalness), which means making sure that the result will not read as a translation. Finally, the target text has to maintain the same rhythmical characteristics of the original text: not only in terms of melody (rhythm), but also as a text (rhyme). Therefore, the translator should find a balance between all the five factors mentioned above. However, compromises are likely to be necessary and the translator generally chooses which elements are to be considered more important than others (Ibid.).

In order to better understand how intersemiotic transcreation works in the context of opera translation, the English surtitles (target text) produced for the Macerata Opera Festival (MOF) 2019, specifically for the staging of Verdi's *Macbeth*, are here compared with Francesco Maria Piave's libretto (source text). The analysis focuses on instances of text compression or expansion/explicitation (at word and sentence levels), which bring to light a process of translation that goes beyond the fidelity/freedom impasse (Katan, 2018).

To further exemplify the possible transfers that an opera libretto can undergo, and to shed light on the role of translators as agents of transcreational change, the singing translation of Verdi's *Macbeth* by Jeremy Sams[2] (based, like the English surtitles, on the Italian libretto by Francesco Maria Piave) is also taken into account. This translation, which was first commissioned by the English National Opera[3] in 1990

[2] Jeremy Sams is also a theatre director, lyricist, composer, orchestrator and musical director. His knowledge of opera mechanisms obviously influenced his translation choices.

[3] Based at the London Coliseum, this opera company only stages performances in English (Desblache, 2008: 166).

(then used by various theatres outside the UK, such as the Opera Theatre of Saint Louis, in the USA), encompasses a dynamic conceptualisation of the translation process that goes beyond the dichotomy of source text and target text, to embrace the notion of intersemiotic transcreation.

For reasons of space, in this chapter we have limited our analysis to some examples from the first two scenes of the first act of *Macbeth*, which is vital to the understanding of the opera, since the audience is introduced to all the major characters.

3.1.

The opera opens in a Scottish wood beside a battlefield, where three groups of witches appear, one after the other, amid a thunderstorm; they share stories of the evil they have been doing.

ITALIAN LIBRETTO	Example	ENGLISH SURTITLES
Che faceste? dite su! Ho sgozzato un verro.	1	- What have you done? Tell us! - I slit a boar's throat.
E tu? M'è frullata nel pensier	2	- And you? - I am thinking of
La mogliera di un nocchier:	3	a steersman's wife.
Al dimon la mi cacciò...	4	She chased me to the devil.
Ma lo sposo che salpò Col suo legno affogherò.	5	But her husband has set sail, and I'll drown him with his ship.
Un rovaio ti darò... I marosi leverò...	6	- I shall give you the north wind. - I shall raise waves.
Per le secche lo trarrò.	7	I shall drag it across the shallows.

Table 1. Scene One – first part.

The integration of more frequent lexical choices has been privileged over the need to faithfully replicate the source text into the target language. Moreover, the surtitles have been simplified "according to the norms of contemporary language" (Burton, 2009: 62). Therefore, the translator has intervened in order to favour immediate comprehension and reproduce a "text to be read" (Katan, 2018: 28). However, as we will see, the translator as creative agent also adopts variable, non-

uniform solutions (see Example 6).

In Example 2, the English text has been simplified at sentence level with a change of subject. The original text employs the third person ('è frullata nel pensier'/'it swirls around my mind') while in the translation the first person acts as the subject ('I'm thinking of') and the original subject becomes a direct object ('a steersman's wife'); thus, there is a switch from an indirect object pronoun 'mi' ('to me') in Italian to a subject pronoun in English ('I'), which simplifies the syntax (Darancet, 2020: 177).

Example 5 shows evidence of the translator's active participation in the interpretative process. In the English surtitle, the temporal order of events is made more explicit (the first emphasis is on the action of the sailor having left, then comes the detail of the witches' intention to drown him), thus bringing out more "transparency" (Dewolf, 2001: 183). Moreover, the English text makes the noun phrase more specific by adding the possessive determiner 'her', used as third person deixis and referring to an entity previously mentioned in the surtitles (the steersman's wife). Since the translated text appears and disappears in the blink of an eye, the addition of cohesive devices, such as deictics (in this case, a possessive adjective), make the surtitles easier to process for the audience.

However, in Example 6, the text might have been reduced at word level, using the principle of "simplifying modals" (Ibid.: 177), but this choice was not made. The modal auxiliary verb 'shall' has been preferred over 'will' (or the contraction 'I'll'), and this creative choice more closely renders the formal and solemn register of the original. An instance of simplification at word level can be found in the same surtitle. The Italian word 'marosi', which denotes large waves with steep crests close to breaking on the shore, has been simply rendered as 'waves', which tones down the violent crashing movement of the water.

In the second part of Scene One, the witches hear a drum (the wood is close to a battlefield) and then form a circle to dance.

ITALIAN LIBRETTO	Example	ENGLISH SURTITLES
Un tamburo! Che sarà?	1	A drum. What can it be?
Vien Macbetto. Eccolo qua!	2	Macbeth is coming. He is here!
Le sorelle vagabonde van per l'aria, van sull'onde,	3	The wandering sisters fly through the air, sail over waves,
Sanno un circolo intrecciar Che comprende e terra e mar.	4	they bind a circle through land and sea.

Table 2. Scene One – second part.

Example 3 shows two instances of text explicitation, resulting in a translation that is only loosely tied to the original and its details. In the Italian text, 'van' (i.e. 'go') is a generic verb of movement of high frequency (Treccani, 2020) and is first used together with 'per l'aria' ('through the air'), followed by 'sull'onde' ('across the surface of the water'). Instead of employing the verb 'go' or even 'move' (two valid alternatives), the English surtitler opts for semantically more precise verbs, 'fly' and 'sail' respectively. This transformative operation confirms the role of the translator as a creative agent, which is here linked to the functional nature of surtitles (whose main purpose is to facilitate comprehension).

In Example 4, the original sentence ('sanno un circolo intrecciar che comprende terra e mar') has been made more closely tied to the performance (Ladouceur, 2015: 245) by substituting the non-restrictive relative clause, 'che comprende terra e mar'/'that includes land and sea', with a prepositional phrase of place, 'through land and sea'. On stage the group of witches dances in a circle (thus visually illustrating what they are saying) and the preposition 'through' places emphasis on the idea of movement and travel. This choice stresses that the preservation of the images and the emotions of the source text (here intended as a complex semiotic whole) is central, thus making the surtitler not just a translator but, rather, a creative semiotic translator.

Scene Two opens with the witches welcoming Macbeth and Banquo, two generals of King Duncan's army.

ITALIAN LIBRETTO	Example	ENGLISH SURTITLES
Giorno non vidi mai sì fiero e bello! Né tanto glorioso!	1	- I have never seen such a fine day. - Nor so glorious.
Oh, chi saranno costor? Chi siete voi? Di questo mondo	2	- Who are they? - Who are you?
O d'altra regione?	3	Are you from this world or another?
Dirvi donne vorrei, ma lo mi vieta Quella sordida barba.	4	I should call you women, but your filthy beards prevent me.
Or via, parlate!	5	Speak!

Table 3. Scene Two – first part.

As shown in Table 3 above, transcreation can be seen as a form of neutralisation and simplification, prompting more direct comprehension (Griesel, 2009).

In Example 1, the adjectives 'fiero' ('grand') and 'bello' ('beautiful') have been condensed into a single adjective, 'fine', perhaps because this is a word that often collocates with 'day' in English to describe bright and clear weather. In Example 2 the future form of the original ('saranno'), used here to express doubt (i.e. 'who could they be?'), is lost in the English surtitle; the syntax, thus simplified, ensures a faster reception (Griesel, 2009: 124).

However, in Example 3 we find the opposite strategy, that is explicitation, at both sentence and word levels. In the first case, the first part of the question 'Di questo mondo o d'altra regione?' remains implicit in Italian (i.e. 'are you from…'), but is added to the English text. Then, in terms of lexis, Banquo suggests two possible alternatives in the source text: 'questo mondo' ('this world', i.e. the real world) or 'altra regione' ('another region'), which could be construed as a real geographic referent, another area. However, by applying the strategy of text compression and omitting the word 'region', the translator makes the meaning of the sentence more explicit in the English surtitle, because the two alternatives are 'this world' or 'another' (world), and the connotation is unmistakably supernatural, thus echoing the dramatic intricacies of the opera (Palmer, 2013: 22).

In Example 4, in the Italian surtitle, 'barba' ('beard') is used in its singular form, while in English we find the plural form of the noun, 'beards' (explicitation). Since Banquo is addressing a group of witches, this choice more strongly links the surtitles with the characters and with

what is visible on stage. Therefore, the translator acts as an interpreter of different signs and how these shape the narrative on stage. This is particularly pertinent in this context, in which the interplay between different semiotic codes is pivotal and represents a primary source of meaning and emotions.

In the second part of Scene Two, the witches predict that Macbeth will become the next King of Scotland, and that Banquo, son of the current King, will be the father of future kings.

ITALIAN LIBRETTO		ENGLISH SURTITLES
Salve, o Macbetto, di Glamis sire! Salve, o Macbetto, di Caudor sire!	1	- Hail, Macbeth, Lord of Glamis! - Lord of Cawdor! - King of Scotland!
Salve, o Macbetto, di Scozia re! Tremar vi fanno così lieti auguri?	2	(Do these prophecies make you tremble?)
Favellate a me pur, se non v'è scuro, Creature fantastiche, il futuro.	3	Tell me about the future, weird beings, if you can see it.
Salve! Men sarai di Macbetto eppur maggiore! Non quanto lui, ma più di lui felice!	4	- You'll be less than Macbeth, yet greater! - Not happy like him, but happier.
Non re, ma di monarchi genitore!	5	Not a king, but the father of kings.
Macbetto e Banco vivano!	6	Long live Macbeth and Banquo!
Banco e Macbetto vivano! Vanir...	7	- They vanished. Your sons will be kings. - And you will be king before them.
Saranno i figli tuoi sovrani. E tu re pria di loro. Accenti arcani!	8	Mysterious words!

Table 4. Scene Two – second part.

In Example 3, the surtitle has been compressed at word level, since 'pur' (meaning 'also to me') has been omitted. However, we also find an instance of text explicitation. The negative construction ('se non v'è scuro'/'if it is not obscure') has been translated as 'if you can see it', thus introducing a modal and a verb of perception (in the place of a state verb) and implying a change of subject: in the Italian text the subject is

'it' (i.e. the future), but in the translation the witches (denoted by 'you') are the agents who will potentially perform the action (i.e. see into the future).

In Example 6, the sentence 'Banco e Macbetto vivano!' has been eliminated. In this case, since the above-mentioned line is preceded by a very similar sentence ('Macbetto e Banco vivano!'), the omission has been made in order not to confuse the public (and to assure a comfortable reading speed). This is in line with the principle of not transposing unnecessary repetitions (Dewolf, 2001; Low, 2002; Desblache, 2008; Burton, 2009) which can be reconstructed by means of the non-verbal context, i.e. the singing and spectacle. Therefore, by concentrating on the essential verbal contents, the surtitles "leave the audience more time for interpreting the signs other symbolic modes create" (Virkkunen, 2004: 94).

In Example 7, we find an instance of text explicitation. In Italian we have the infinitive 'vanir' (a truncation of the verb 'vanire', i.e. 'to vanish'), whereas in English the use of the past simple 'vanished', along with the added subject 'they', makes a transparent and explanatory link between the surtitle and the scene unfolding on the stage: the witches have disappeared and are no longer visible to the audience. In this case, the surtitler appears to have deemed it necessary to clarify a detail of the action that might not be immediately clear to a watching audience (Burton, 2009: 63).

3.2

While surtitles ignore phonetic considerations (Low, 2002: 100), singing or "singable" translation (Ibid.: 99) involves adapting the source libretto to the target language "in order to be sung and facilitate access to the opera when performed" (Orero and Matamala, 2007: 263), by finding a balance between Low's (2017: 79) "pentathlon of elements". The Italian source text of the English translation below is the same as that on which the English surtitles are based, namely Francesco Maria Piave's libretto (see Section 3.1.).

Welcome sisters, it is late
Drink the cup of malice
And hate
Let the poisoned chalice say

How to hurt the sailor's wife
Who is standing in our way
For her husband is a sailor on the sea
We will show her how malicious we can be
We will blow the seas around
We will ruin his boat aground
Then the sailor will be drowned
I hear drumming! Who is near?
He is coming! Macbeth is here!
Now we whirl in mazy motion round the world and round the ocean
We describe a magic circle on the sea and through the sky

From a translational point of view, the overall approach adopted is what Newmark names communicative translation, whose aim is an "equivalent effect" regardless of word choices (Newmark, 1981: 23). As also Desblache (2004: 28) points out, when equivalent effect is sought, "faithfulness is not desirable" in terms of semantic accuracy – or "sense", using Low's (2017: 79) terminology – and priority is given to phonetic and stylistic faithfulness – "singability", "naturalness", "rhythm", and "rhyme" (Ibid.). As shown in the first line, the translation maintains the same syllable count ('Che faceste?'/'Welcome sisters') and reflects the same rhyming pattern ('Dite su […] E tu?'/'It is late […] And hate') as the source text (the Italian libretto), which is one of the main features of singing translation (Low, 2002: 100). This is not always possible because every language has its own "rhythmic and melodic flavour" (Palmer, 2013: 23). While Italian is more 'singable' than other languages, English cannot rely on words ending with a vowel due to its dependency on clear consonants and diphthongized vowels[4]. Therefore, a given type of rhyme may be replaced by another. For example, 'salpò […] affogherò […] darò […] leverò' (AAAA scheme) has been rendered into English with a rhyming couplet 'sea […] be […] around […] aground' (AABB scheme).

In terms of semantic choices, the witches refer to themselves in the singing translation as 'sisters', reflecting the same lexical choice as Shakespeare (2004: 12, italics mine) in Scene III of the tragedy, which corresponds to Scene I in the opera: "Where hast thou been, *sister*?" and "The weird *sisters*, hand in hand, posters of the sea and land, […]"

[4] Nevertheless, Engel (1972: 113) draws attention to the rich sounds and special cadences of the English language.

(ibid.: 14). The reference in the English surtitles to the 'boar's throat' has been substituted with 'the cup of malice', which alludes to the cauldron for casting spells used by the witches on stage. This is also evoked by the poisoned 'chalice', which shares the same semantic field as 'cup'. Therefore, through a reconceptualization of the source text material (where different semiotic codes interact in the production of meaning), "words have come together with visual references" (Di Giovanni, 2008: 40), highlighting the role of the translator as an intersemiotic creative agent.

Meanwhile, the references to the murder of the sailor's wife and the witches' circle (created simultaneously on stage) are maintained, but in the sung translation the movement seems to go from sea to sky (while in the English surtitles the circle passes through land, not sky, and then sea). Therefore, the primary aim is "to capture the spirit of the text [and] forget the source words" (Desblache, 2004: 29-30) by matching the musical phrasing and texture of the source text. Consequently, a certain amount of freedom, artistic licence, and poetic creativity is inevitable (Weaver, 2010), as is the case with the English translation provided by Jeremy Sams.

Let us move to Scene Two. Again, the Italian source text of the English singing translation below is the same as that on which the Italian surtitles are based (see Tables 1 and 2).

Strange that this glorious day is drowned in darkness!
Yet blazing with sunlight.
Oh, Heavens! Who are these?
Yes, who are you?
Are you of this world
Or are you from another?
Tell me how to address you.
I'd call you women
But your beards contradict me.
What would you tell us?
Hail to Macbeth, the great Thane of Glamis! Hail to Macbeth, the new Thane of Cawdor! Hail to Macbeth, who soon will be King!
Why are you trembling at these happy tidings?
Will you not speak to me, you godless creatures? Tell me all you can see; what is my future?
Not so great as Macbeth but yet much greater! He will be King, but you are twice as blessed!

For you will number Kings among your children!
Honour to Banquo and Macbeth!
They've gone! Your children will be Kings of Scotland. And you will reign here before them.
Strange revelations!

We immediately notice that imperative sentences, which are typically very short and immediate, are transformed into interrogatives (such as 'What would you tell us?'). What is more, both adjectives (e.g. '*happy* tidings') and entire sentences (e.g. 'Tell me how to address you') are added. The English translation is in fact wordier and more ornate than both the English surtitles and the Italian libretto, from which it is translated. There are two main reasons for this transcreative approach. Firstly, the need to reproduce the original rhyme encourages verbiage (Low, 2002: 102). Secondly, the English language has a characteristic preference for clear consonants, such that lines sung in English can "interrupt the flow of the melodic line" (Palmer, 2013: 23). Jeremy Sams's opera translation makes use of a number of well-chosen words to provide the singers with suitable vowels for high notes and long notes, while avoiding awkward clusters of consonants[5]. Therefore, active and transcreative translation decisions have been taken to create a 'performable' text that is "easy to pronounce" (Espasa, 2013: 320).

In addition to these phonetic factors (Herman and Apter, 1991; Mateo, 2012: 115), another type of constraint in singing translation is the need to produce a text that favours immediate comprehension (Espasa, 2013: 320), which can ironically lead to expansion (as with the projected surtitles). This strongly affects the translators' textual choices and necessarily conflicts with semantic accuracy and 'faithfulness' to the source text. Nonetheless, the spirit of the text has been captured from the very beginning and made more explicit than the Italian (both the Italian surtitles and the original libretto), thus facilitating access to the opera when performed (Orero and Matamala, 2007: 263). Signposting language is introduced to clarify logical connections, for example the addition of 'Strange that […]' and 'Yet […]'. It can also be observed that the verb 'contradict' has been used instead of 'prevent' (see Table 3, Example 4), which perhaps has the effect of expressing more forcefully Banquo's reluctance to believe that these bearded figures before him

[5] In the case of the text cited above, 242 vowels can be counted, compared to 206 in the Italian libretto on which Sams's text is based.

are women.

With regard to the line 'Di questo mondo o d'altra regione?', the word 'regione' has been omitted in Jeremy Sams's sung translation, thereby adopting the same strategy as the surtitles, bringing the 'reality—fantasy' opposition into sharper relief. Thus, the subtext of the Italian original is more effectively conveyed (Herman and Apter, 1991: 1), along with the meaning of the line from Shakespeare's (2004: 16) play: "That look not like the inhabitants o' the earth […]".

Finally, in surtitling the preservation of archaisms is usually avoided (Burton, 2009: 62), but in Jeremy Sams's sung translation we find, among other examples, 'thane'. This choice can be seen as a foreignizing translation strategy, since the term is embedded in Scottish history, thus demonstrating that singable translations need not shy away from incorporating foreignizing elements (Apter and Herman, 2016: 34).

4. *Concluding remarks*

The many stories of Macbeth, whose life and afterlife have been ensured by a complex series of intersemiotic transcreations, bear witness to the creativity which goes hand in hand with writing and translating, over the centuries and across codes of communication.

Focusing on Shakespeare and Verdi as main authors, but also on surtitles and singing translations as contemporary instances of transcreation, we have here tried to emphasize some of the strategies which have been employed in recent years to revive the story of Macbeth and make it singable on stage and also understandable by multilingual audiences. Our analysis has brought to the fore the functional nature of any process of translation (and transcreation): as Susan Bassnett said (1998), "translation never happens in a vacuum, but in a continuum". Linguistic and intersemiotic transfers are often interconnected with each other, they tell us stories of passages, but also of times when those passages have occurred. Moreover, translations (and transcreations) are carried out for specific purposes: beyond the stereotyped view of functional approaches to translation as limited to business-like settings, one cannot but see a specific purpose beyond virtually all translational activities, including the very creative ones. And this purpose determines

choices, it shapes the final format of the target texts and, indeed, it has an impact on the audiences.

Both types of translation here examined (singing translation and surtitles) recall processes of transmutation, change, (re)creation and transcreation: from Shakespeare's tragedy to Verdi's opera and Francesco Maria Piave's libretto, from the Italian libretto (back) to English, thanks to the work of the MOF's surtitlers and translator Jeremy Sams. The theoretical framework here designed with reference to the worlds and words of Shakespeare, as well as the analytical tools employed for the analysis, may hopefully lend themselves to replication with other stories and their intersemiotic transcreations. As a matter of fact, as Indian writer and translator Sujit Mukherjee (himself a master of transcreative processes) has stated several times, the afterlife of most texts is largely ensured by retellings and transformations of those same texts, for new audiences and purposes.

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Dora Faraci*

The Section Nomina arborum *in Ælfric's* Glossary

Abstract:
The present essay analyses some aspects of the chapter *Nomina arborum* of the bilingual Latin- Old English glossary of Ælfric of Eynsham, one of the most prolific authors in Anglo-Saxon England. The choice of this section of the glossary, so far not fully investigated, is based on an attempt to explain Ælfric's rationale behind the compilation of this chapter, particularly: a) the inclusion of terms belonging to different semantic fields in an entry that suggests only a list of tree species; b) the strategy of listing the various terms following an associative line; c) the interpretation of an unusual gloss indicating the absence of a vernacular term for 'cypress'. The typology of the entries chosen, widely used in literature in their literal or metaphorical value, and the way they are arranged reveal Ælfric's pedagogical intent and his ability in harmonising knowledge.

Keywords: Ælfric's glossary, Impossibility of glossing, Latin-Old English, Tree-names

In the late 10th century one of the most learned and prolific authors of Anglo-Saxon England, Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham[1], produced a grammatical triad for the instruction of young learners in Latin[2]: a Latin grammar written in Old English, which is the first Latin grammar in a vernacular in Europe, a Latin-Old English glossary appended to it[3] and a Colloquy in the form of a Latin conversation between a teacher and his pupils[4].

The number of the surviving manuscripts, the time span they cover and the re-use of these materials reflect the important part this pedagogical unit has played in medieval England. Considering the relevance of Ælfric's innovative programme it is no surprise that it has received

* Università Roma Tre.

[1] The literature on Ælfric is extensive. For his life and works see H. Magennis, M. Swan (eds.), 2009. For Ælfric's instructional programme, see Chapter 7, *Ælfric as Pedagogue*, by T.N. Hall, 2009, pp. 193-216.

[2] On Ælfric's didactic works see H. Gneuss, 2002, J. Hill, 2007, pp. 285-307; P. Lendinara, 2012, pp. 83-124.

[3] All the quoations from Ælfric's Grammar and Glossary (from now on indicated as *Gr*. and *Gl*.) are taken from J. Zupitza (ed.), 1880 [2003].

[4] Ms. London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A III contains a continuous interlinear Old English gloss to Ælfric's Colloquy; see G.N. Garmonsway (ed.), 1939.

considerable attention from the critics, mainly in the last decades.

In this paper I will look closely at Ælfric's Latin-Old English *Glossary*[5] and particularly at the section titled *Nomina arborum* in order to advance some hypotheses about the strategy governing the compilation of this specific chapter where words are placed within a broad context that stretches beyond the boundaries of the plant world and which reflects Ælfric's distinctive method of classification and selection.

Written around 993-998[6], Ælfric's *Glossary* is a class glossary[7], e.g. a glossary organized by subjects and not alphabetically and is considered the first example of a Latin-Old English bilingual dictionary. Its relationship with other texts is difficult to assess: like the 11th century Antwerp-London Glossary[8], which has a sibling relationship to Ælfric's *Glossary*, one of its main sources is Isidore's *Etymologiae*[9], or an epitomized class glossary derived from it, as many of the words, some of their definitions and the headings of the individual batches of entries show. Being a bilingual glossary, the importance of Ælfric's work lies not only in the field of English, but also in that of Latin, since it testifies to the early use of some Medieval Latin words[10].

Thanks to its didactic efficacy, it enjoyed a considerable widespread use that is proved by the number of extant manuscripts (seven, all of them from the 11th century), by later translations[11] and transcripts from it[12], and by its use for the compilation of other glossaries[13].

Moreover, one of the manuscripts that transmits Ælfric's *Glossary*, Ms BL, Cotton Faustina A.X (11th cent., with later annotations), for the multilingual (Latin, Anglo-Norman, Old and Middle English) interlinear or marginal glosses it contains, offers good evidence for language

[5] Aspects of the work have been dealt with by L. Lazzari, 2003.
[6] For the dates of composition of Ælfric's works, cf. A.J. Kleist, 2019.
[7] See P. Lendinara, 2009.
[8] On this topic, see the essays by D.W. Porter, 1999, 2010, 2011, 2014.
[9] For Isidore's text, see the edition by W. M. Lindsay, 1911.
[10] Concerning the chapter on trees, R.L. Thomson, 1981 notes (p. 159) that R.E. Latham, 1965, p. 414 records *sabina* "savin" for the 14th cent. in the form *sabina*, for the 12th cent. in the form *savina*, ignoring Ælfric's occurrence which predates both. Thomson also notes (p. 157) that in the Latin word pair *provincia vel paga* (glossing Old English *scyr*, *Gl.* 313.1), instead of classical *pagus* (a masculine noun), the feminine *paga* is used, which indicates a Celtic Latin form
[11] I refer to the *Vocabularium Cornicum*. See O. Padel, 2014.
[12] For the 16th century transcript by John Leland, which is an early witness to the interest on Anglo-Saxon studies after the dissolution of the monasteries, see. E Buckalew, 1978.
[13] See the recent paper by D.W. Porter, 2022.

contacts in post-conquest England trilingual society[14].

Ælfric's *Glossary* consists of the following sections where words are grouped according to different semantic fields: NOMINA; NOMINA MEMBRORUM, NOMINA AVIUM; NOMINA PISCIUM; NOMINA FERARUM; NOMINA HERBARUM; NOMINA ARBORUM; NOMINA DOMORUM[15].

The titles of some of these sections are misleading, because sometimes their content does not match the headings exactly[16]. Whereas other parts of the *Glossary*, such as *Nomina membrorum* and *Nomina domorum*, which also include items that the title does not encompass, have been analysed and divided into detailed sub-groups, the section *Nomina arborum* has so far received little critical attention and the different semantic fields it encompasses have not been interrelated[17]. In an attempt to explain the criteria behind the composition of this chapter, which is apparently a random mixture of words, what I wish to discuss here is its overall structure, the likely reason of the inclusion of terms which usually do not appear in glossary sections on trees, the order followed by Ælfric in assembling the items and the rather unusual statement accompanying the unglossed lemma *cypressus*. The way Ælfric lists the terms within this section and the relationship he seems to establish among them are significant in order to understand the kind of texts he meant to elucidate in his teaching activity and the vocabulary he regarded as essential for his students to learn.

The following are the items[18] in the chapter *Nomina arborum* (with the English translation of the Old English terms added in brackets)[19]:

Arbor treow (tree). *flos* blostm (flower). *cortex* rind (bark). *folium* leaf (leaf). *buxus* box (box). *fraxinus* æsc (ash). *quercus uel ilex* ac

[14] See H. Pagan, A. Seiler, 2019.
[15] For the uncommon arrangement of the items (the *Glossary* begins with *Deus Omnipotens*), see D.T. Starnes, G.E. Noyes, G. Stein, 1991, pp. 198-199.
[16] See R.T. Meyer, 1956, R.G. Gillingham, 1981, L. Lazzari, 2003 and W. Hüllen, 1999 pp. 62-66.
[17] A list of the items is in R.G Gillingham, 1981, p. 7 and L. Lazzari, 2003, p. 163 («parti di albero, alberi, arbusti, alberi tagliati, termini geografici»).
[18] The *Glossary* has generally a lemma with its Old English gloss, sometimes two lemmata and one interpretamentum and in some cases a lemma and two interpretamenta.
[19] The exact translation of the items is problematic since some plants are difficult to be identified. See H. Sauer, 1999.

(oak). *taxus* iw (yew). *corilus* hæsel (hazel). *fagus* boctreow[20] (beech tree). *alnus* alr (alder). *laurus* lawerbeam (laurel). *malus* apeldre (apple tree). *pinus* pintreow (pine). *fructus* wæstm (fruit). *baculus* stæf (staff). *uirga* gyrd (rod). *uirgultum* telgra (twig, shoot). *ramus* boh (bough). *glans* æceren (acorn). *granum* cyrnel (kernel, grain). *radix* wyrtruma (root). *pirus* pyrige (pear tree). *prunus* plumtreow (plum tree). *ficus* fictreow (fig tree). *ulcia*[21] holen (holly). *populus* byrch (birch). *palma* palmtwiga[22] (palm). *sabina* sauene (savin). *genesta* brom (broom). *cedrus* cederbeam (cedar). *cypressus* næfð nænne engliscne naman (it has no English name). *sentes*[23] þornas (briers). *frutex* þyfel (bush). *ramnus* fyrs (furze, thornbush). *spina* þorn (thorn). *uepres* bremelas (brambles). *abies* æps (aspen tree or fir tree)[24]. *olea uel oliua* elebeam (olive tree). *morus* morbeam (mulberry tree). *uitis* wintreow (vine). *salix* wiðig (withy or willow). *silua* wudu (wood). *lignum* aheawen treow (hewn tree). *ligna* drige wudu (dry wood). *truncus* stoc (stock, trunk). *stirps* styb (stump). *nemus uel saltus* holt (forest). *desertum uel heremus* westen (desert). *uia* weg (way). *semita* pæð (path). *inuium* butan wege (without a way). *iter* siðfæt (journey). *patria* eþel (homeland). *prouincia uel paga* scyr (province). *mons* dun (mountain). *collis* hyll oðde beorh (hill). *uallis* dene (valley), *foenum* hig oðde gærs. (hay or grass) *ager* æcer (field). *seges* asawen æcer[25] (cultivated land). *campus* feld (plain).

[20] For the combination of the names of trees with the word *beam* or *treow*, a kind of formation mainly used with tree names borrowed from Latin, see H. Sauer, 2008, at pp. 454-455, 463 and references.

[21] According to the *Dictionary of Old English: A to I online*, A. Cameron *et al.* (eds.), 2018, s.v. "holen", *ulcia* might be a corruption of Lat. *uicia*, vetch (for *uicium*, glossed as *fugles bene*, cf. J.R. Stracke, 1974, p. 66; see also J.H. Hessel, 1890, p. 120 and J. D. Pheifer, 1974, p. 57), a form attested in Isidore, *Etym*. X, 210. *Ulcia* might be a misreading of Lat. *uicia*, due to the confusion between i and l or a scribal error in the transcription of a rare Latin word. The same dictionary also indicates "holly" as a translation of *holen*. In other glossaries *holen* translates Lat. *ruscus* (holly) and *acrifolus*. See D.W. Porter, 1999, p. 171 and the *Dictionary of Old English Plant Names*, ed. by P. Bierbaumer, H. Sauer *et al.*, 2007-2009, http://oldenglish-plantnames.org, s.v. *holen*. For *vicia* in the Bible, see Isaiah 28, 25 and Ezekiel 4, 9.

[22] Lat. *palma* is also translated in Old English as *palm* or *palmtreow*. *Palmtwiga*, which also denotes palm branches, as well as a token of victory, is attested in several glosses of Psalms 79,12 and 91,13. See the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*, A. di Paolo Healey *et al.* (eds.), 2009, s.v. *palmtwiga*.

[23] In his *Grammar* (p. 84), Ælfric mentions *sentes* and *uepres* among those nouns that have only the plural form.

[24] For the interpretation of this gloss see C.P. Biggam, 2003.

[25] Cf. Isidore, *Etym*. XV, xiii, 8: *seges ager est in quo seritur*.

pascua læsa (pasture). *pons* bryge (bridge). *uadum* ford (ford), *pratum* mæd (meadow). *aqua* wæter (water). *gutta uel stilla* dropa (drop). *stagnum* mere (pond). *amnis* ea (river). *flumen uel fluuius* flod (river or flowing water). *ripa* stæþ (bank). *litus* sæstrand (seashore). *alueus* stream (stream). *torrens* burna (torrent). *riuus* rið (brook). f*ons* wyll (spring). *arena* sandceosol (sand). *gurges* wæl[26] (whirlpool). *uiuarium* fiscpol[27](fishpond). *puteus* pytt (pit). *lacus* seað (reservoir). *latex* burna oðde broc[28] (stream or brook).

From the variety of items of the section, one may infer that the heading is a misnomer for the author does not exclusively deal with tree names. Indeed, many are the interpolations of non-botanical words in this apparently chaotic list which gathers groups of entries belonging to different semantic fields and where common and rare nouns are mingled together. The words, that are listed in no specific order, can be approximately divided into the following main sub-groups: parts of a tree, kinds of trees, plant products, shrubs, brambles, nature of the soil, and terms related to flowing or standing water. Interspersed among them there are a few entries which is difficult to relate to the others, since they do not strictly belong to any of these sub-groups, such as *patria* and *prouincia*. Most of the items (except for four names: *corilus*, *ulcia*, *sabina* and *genesta*) are found in separate sections of Isidore's *Etymologiae*: beside lib. XVII, vi *De arboribus* and XVII, vii *De propriis nominibus arborum*, we should also consider lib. XIII, xx and xxi *De fluminibus*, XIV, viii *De montibus ceterisque terrae vocabulis,* XV, xiii *De agris,* XV, xvi *De itineribus*, and to a lesser extent, only for a pair of terms, VII, xiii, 4 *De Monachis* and XIV, v *De Libya*; many appear in Ælfric's *Grammar*[29] and a few in the Colloquy[30]. Some of them are not recorded in the "sib-

[26] See the expansion in *Gr*., p. 52: «*hic gurges* <þis> wæl**,** þæt is, deop wæter».

[27] The Corpus Glossary reads: *bifarius*, piscina; cf W.M. Lindsay (ed.), 1921, p. 26. For *vivaria* see Plinius, *Hist. Nat*. 9, 168. In the *Lindisfrarne Gospels*, *fiscpol* translates *piscina probatica* (John, 5, 2-7). See W.W. Skeat (ed.), 1878, p. 45.

[28] D.W. Porter, 2011, p.158, takes «*latex* burna oðde broc» as an example of Ælfriic's strategy of combining entries from Isidore.

[29] Glosses do not always coincide in the *Grammar* and *Glossary*; compare for instance *Gr*., p. 69: «*ilex* æcerspranca oðde ac», with *Gl*., p. 312 «*quercus uel ilex* ac». Just one example among many showing that entries may contain a lemma and two interpretamenta or two lemmata and one interpretamentum. See P. Lendinara, 1983.

[30] Since the Colloquy describes a conversation between master and pupils, who speak about their different occupations, only a few terms of the section *Nomina arborum* appear in it. Among them: *ager*, *campus*, *silua*, *ea*, *pascua*, *uirga*. Different is the case of Ælfric Bata's

ling" Antwerp-London Glossary (such as *folium*, *fructus*, *baculus*, *virga, sabina*, *cypressus*, *ligna, foenum*) or appear dislocated or in different batches of entries and in a different order.

Once ascertained the heterogeneity of the semantic fields extant in the unit, it remains to be seen whether it is possible to find a *fil rouge* which connects the different items and justifies the presence of terms which have been collectively referred to as geographical nouns in a chapter entitled *Nomina arborum*. As a matter of fact, behind the apparent lack of order, a certain coherence may be observed. The two major groups of terms consist of words properly referring to trees or plants and words related to their natural environment, that is mountains, hills, fields and watercourses. Consistency lies in the fact that different plants require different habitats to grow. Therefore, the chapter cannot be regarded as a random collection of words: Ælfric's arrangement gives evidence of the connection he establishes between words, individually or in clusters, and context. This is why items that in Isidore or in other class glossaries appear in separate sections, in Ælfric are combined, occasionally along lines of association, to form a coherent whole, that reflects a specific teaching strategy and displays literary or scriptural influences.

Although the relationship between plants and environment, in realistic or figurative descriptions, may seem fairly obvious, it has been overlooked by scholars previously engaged in the analysis of Ælfric's *Glossary*. Such a link is well attested in the Bible, patristic exegesis and in texts from the Classical, Late Antique and medieval traditions known in Anglo-Saxon England and likely used in an educational setting.

Beside the description of Eden in the book of Genesis 2, 8-14[31], with all kinds of beautiful trees and a river to water the garden, numerous are the biblical examples that speak of plants and environments, very often metaphorically, as for instance Psalm 1, 3 ('Et erit tamquam lignum, quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum, quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo: Et folium ejus non defluet: et omnia qaecumque faciet, prosperabuntur'), or Isaiah 41, 18-20 where, in the account of a sort of new Eden created in the desert, we find many of the terms that Ælfric has embedded in the chapter *Nomina arborum*: "Aperiam in supinis collibus

Colloquy where a variety of names of trees and plants, drawn from Ælfric's *Glossary*, are mentioned. See P. Lendinara, 2005, p. 110.

[31] The Vulgate is quoted according to *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, R. Weber (ed.), 5th ed., 2007.

flumina, et in medio camporum fontes ponam desertum in stigma aquarum et terram inviam in rivos aquarum. **19** Dabo in solitudine cedrum et spinam et myrtum, et lignum olivae ponam in deserto abietem ulmum et buxum simul**20** ut videant et sciant, et recogitent et intellegant pariter quia manus Domini fecit hoc et Sanctus Israhel creavit illud".

Virgil (*Eclogues*, 7, 65-6) places some tree species (all of them named in Ælfric's *Glossary*) in different areas according to their nature: «Fraxinus in silvis pulcherrima, pinus in hortis, populus in fluviis, abies in montibus altis» (In the forests the ash is most beautiful, the pine in the gardens, the poplar by rivers, the fir on high mountains). Isidore (*Etym*. XIII, xxi), in explaining the etymology of *amnis*, river, (glossed *ea* by Ælfric), links the noun to the type of vegetation that grows close by: «Amnis fluvius est nemore ac frondibus redimitus, et ex ipsa amoenitate amnis vocatus» (*Amnis* is a river surrounded by groves or leafy branches and because of its pleasantness (*amoenitas*) it is said *amnis*)[32]. Combinations of environmental features are also used to exemplify philosophical concepts, as the following passage from Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae,* which deals with the natural tendency of living beings, plants and inanimate things for self-preservation, shows:

> «Atqui non est quod de hoc quoque possis ambigere, cum herbas atque arbores intuearis primum sibi convenientibus innasci locis, ubi, quantum earum natura queat, cito exarescere atque interire non possint. Nam aliae quidem campis aliae montibus oriuntur, alias ferunt paludes, aliae saxis haerent, aliarum fecundae sunt steriles harenae, quas si in alia quispiam loca transferre conetur, arescant. Sed dat cuique natura, quod convenit, et ne, dum manere possunt, intereant, elaborat» (III, xi)[33].

[32] In the Antwerp-London Glossary we read: «Amnis, ea mid treowum ymbset» (a river surrounded by trees).

[33] C. Mohrmann, O. Dallera, (ed.) 1977, p. 244 The following is the Old English translation of the passage, where some of the terms, or their synonyms, used by Ælfric appear: «Ne þearft þu no be þæm gesceaftum tweogan þon ma þe be ðæm oðrum. Hu ne meaht þu gesion þæt ælc wyrt and ælc wudu wile weaxan on þæm lande selest pe him betst gerist and him gecynde bið and gewunlic, and þær þær hit gefret þæt hit hraðost weaxan mæg and latost wealowian? Sumra wyrta oöðe sumes wuda eard bið on dunum, sumra on merscum, sumra on morum, sumra on cludum, sumra on barum sondum. Nim ðonne swa wudu swa wyrt swa hwæðer swa þu wille of þære stowe þe his eard and æþelo bið on to wexanne, and sete on ungecynde stowe him; þonne ne gegrewð hit þær nauht ac forsearað. Forðæm æIces landes gecynd is þæt him gelica wyrta and gelicne wudu tydre and hit swa deð; friðað and fyrðrað swiðe georne swa lange swa hiora gecynd bið þæt hi growen moton» (You don't need to be doubtful at all about those creatures any more than about the others. Can you not see that

That Ælfric's intention was not to provide a lexical resource for daily monastic communication in Latin[34], nor for describing the English landscape, is made evident by his choice to include tree names and items that occur most frequently in literature. The vocabulary of the stock images of the ideal landscape[35] (with groves, meadows, springs of water) comes to mind, as well as that of the mixed forest represented in the tree-catalogues which, with variations, have found their way from Antiquity into the Middle Ages and beyond. Moreover, on account of the symbolism associated with it, the natural world was widely used as an aid in explaining spiritual concepts[36]. And Ælfric himself, reworking his source material, in some passages of his homiletic texts resorts to the plant world analogically[37].

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that literary descriptions of environments which are presented as realistic, and whose meaning is to be sought in the rhetoric tradition and the allegorical sphere instead, are not uncommon. A meaningful example is offered by Bede. In the opening passages of Book I of his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Bede describes Britannia and says that the island is "rich in grain and trees"

every plant and tree wants most to grow on the land that best suits it and is natural and customary for it, and where it feels that it can grow most quickly and fade most slowly? Some plants and trees have their home on hills, some in marshes, some on moors, some on rocks, some on bare sand. Then take the tree or plant, whichever you will, from the place in which its home and origin for growing are and place it in a habitat that is unnatural to it; then it will not grow there at all, but wither. It is the nature of every kind of land that it nurtures similar plants and trees, and it does so; it protects and advances them very keenly for as long as it is their nature that they may grow). See M. Godden, S. Irvine (eds.), 2012, pp. 244-245.

[34] Whereas the vocabulary of other sections of Ælfric's *Glossary* may have been used for everyday life in the monastery (cf. diPaolo Healey, A. 2012, p. 4) the one of this chapter is rather learned and uncommon.

[35] The reference is to E.R. Curtius, 2013, pp. 183-202. For the motif of the *locus amoenus* in Old English literature, see the poems *Phoenix*, based upon Lactantius's *Carmen de ave phoenice*, and *Judgment Day II*, a translation from Bede's *De die iudicii*. On the subject see C.A.M. Clarke, 2006.

[36] Suffice here to mention Rabanus Maurus' *De Universo*, XIX, v-vi (*PL* 111, cols. 505-552).

[37] Ælfric employs some of the words we find in the first lines of the chapter *Nomina arborum* in his homily *The first Sunday after Easter*. The passage, which is derived from Gregorius' *Hom. In Ev*. 26 (PL 76, col.1204), explains the mystery of the creation of Adam out of clay as follows: «Men geseoð oft þæt of anum lytlum cyrnele. cymð micel treow: ac we næ magon geseon on þam cyrnele: naðor ne wyrtruman: ne rinde: ne bogas: ne leaf» (Men often see that of one little kernel comes a great tree, but in the kernel we can see neither root, nor rind nor boughs, nor leaves); cf. P. Clemoes (ed.), 1997, p. 311and M. Godden (ed.), 2000, pp. 132-133. For the history of trees in a cultural and environmental perspective see D. Hooke, 2010.

(«Opima frugibus atque arboribus»), but, immediately afterwards, he only mentions the vine adding that it grows in various places («uineas etiam quibusdam in locis germinans»), a statement that is at odds with Tacit's more realistic description of the plants growing in that country[38]. It is evident that Bede's intent is to portray England as a sort of Eden[39] and to underline, consequently, that the English were to be numbered among God's chosen people.

Evidence of the Anglo-Saxons' unfamiliarity with some of the trees listed in the section is given by an excursus in one of Ælfric's sermons where, in expanding his sources, he outlines the features of the olive tree (commenting also on different eating habits of northern and southern populations). His detailed explanation is clearly intended to convey information about a plant never seen by his audience: «Ele wyxt on treowum, eall swa win deð; ac elebeamas beoð maran on wæstme, and þa berian grytran, and hy man gaderað and wringð, and man et þone ele, swa swa we etað buteran, on manegum estmettum, and he is metta fyrmest»[40] (Oil is produced by trees, just like wine is, but olive-trees bear larger fruits and the berries are bigger. One gathers and presses them, and then one eats the oil, as we eat butter, in many delicacies, and it is an excellent food).

Thus, the general framework shows that at least this section of the *Glossary* gathers terms necessary for the understanding of literary works and not for everyday conversation.

Let us now consider the way individual words have been arranged in the chapter. Having in mind the heading, we would expect to encounter a list of specific trees after *arbor*, like the short sequences we find in his *Grammar*. In the *Praefatio de partibus orationis*, where Ælfric explains the difference between *Generalia* and *Specialia*, after the hyperonym tree (*Gr*., p. 14: «*arbor* ælces cynnes treow», *arbor*, a tree of any kind),

[38] Tacit numbers the olive and the vine among the trees which, for being accustomed to grow in warmer regions, are not cultivated in England; cf. *Agricola* XII, 5 (E. Koestermann (ed.),1970): «Solum praeter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta patiens frugum pecudumque fecundum […]».

[39] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, 1988, p. 6. In the Old English prose dialogue *Solomon and Saturn*, in a passage derived from 4Ezra 5, 23, the grapevine is said to be the best of all trees: «Saga me hwilc treow ys ealra treowa bests. Ic þe secge, þæt is wintreow» (Tell me which tree is the best of all trees. I tell you it is the vine), in J.E. Cross, T.D. Hill (eds.), 1982, p. 31 and pp. 94-95. See also E. Anderson, 2003, p. 378.

[40] *Dominica X Post Pentecosten*, in J.C. Pope (ed.), 1967, II, p. 552. For this and other references see A. Gautier, 2013, p. 394 and. Id., 2018, pp. 426-427.

he lists six hyponyms: *Gr*., p. 14: «gemænelice *arbor* treow» (general noun: tree); «synderlice *uitis* wintreow, *laurus* lawerbeam, *corilus* hæsel, *abies* æps, *quercus* ac, *malus* apuldre» (specific nouns: vine, laurel, hazel, aspen tree, oak, apple tree)[41]. If we compare this passage with the corresponding one of its main sources, i.e Priscianus, we notice that Ælfric expands his model's list of names where, among *Specialia*, only *vitis* and *laurus* are mentioned[42], providing clear evidence of his concern with words even in his *Grammar*, where the interest on morphology and syntax is combined with an interest on vocabulary, as testified by the high number of Latin or English synonyms he supplies[43].

Interestingly, Ælfric's list of tree names is arranged in a different order from that we find in Isidore or in the Antwerp-London Glossary. In the chapter *De propriis nomina arborum* (*Etym*. XVII, vii), Isidore begins with *palma*, followed by *laurus*, *malum*, *persicum* and so on; while in the Antwerp-London Glossary at the top of the list we find *quercus et quernus vel ilex*, followed by *robur*, *quernum*, *corilus* and other tree species.

Once the expectation of an orderly sequence of trees has been abandoned, we are inclined to think that the author meant to first list the different parts of the tree, just like Isidore's *De arboribus* (Etym. XVII, vi). Instead, even this short list (only flower, rind and leaf are mentioned) is interrupted by ten names of specific varieties of trees. The catalogue continues in no strict order with a blend of terms referring to tree parts, tree species, shrubs, cut trees and brambles and then shifts to words belonging to different semantic fields, as already said.

The minor and major digressions and semantic leaps of the section may at first glance suggest that some entries are unrelated not only to the main subject, e.g. the names of the trees, but also to the previous or next items. The example proposed below may shed a light on Ælfric's way of compiling his glossary and may help us discern some coherence in it.

As we have seen, the terms belonging to the wide botanic semantic field end with *nemus vel saltus*, holt. The list then switches to *desertum vel heremus*, westen. The contiguity of the terms forest and desert, rather than marking an abrupt transition, reveals a consistent link based either on an antonymic relationship, that is luxuriant versus barren places, or on a specific shared feature, namely that both forests and deserts are uncultivated areas. This latter association may have been suggested

[41] See also *Gr*., pp. 29-30.
[42] D.W. Porter (ed.), 2002, p. 66 and H. Keil (ed.), 1855, II, p. 62.
[43] On this and other aspects of Ælfric's Grammar, see V. Law, 1987 (1997).

to Ælfric by a passage from Isidore who in the chapter *De montibus ceterisque terrae vocabulis* (*Etym*. XIV, viii, 31-32) mentions jointly wildernesses, forests and mountains as places that are not suitable for cultivation: «Deserta vocata quia non seruntur et ideo quasi deseruntur; ut sunt loca silvarum et montium, contraria uberrimarum terrarum, quae sunt uberrimae glebae» (Wildernesses are so called because they are not sown, and therefore, they are abandoned, as are wood and mountain areas, places that are the opposite of fertile lands that have the richest soil). Were this Isidorian echo acknowledged, the inclusion of *desertum* at this very point of the chapter might represent a kind of gradual transition to the group of entries belonging to the nature of the soil and to the agricultural sphere, such as shown by the item «*seges*, asawen æcer» (cultivated land, an explanation derived from Isid. *Etym*. XV, xiii, 8: *seges ager est in quo seritur*) that is mentioned later in the chapter. Alternatively, a further reason for the proximity of forest and desert may be suggested. If we consider that *eremus* and *deserta* appear in Isidore, *Etym*. VII, xiii, in the section *De Monachis*, the shift from wood to desert may indeed be a way of connecting two different places both appropriate for the solitary confinement of the ascetic life: in the western tradition the solitude and wilderness of forests replaced the desolate and arid landscape of the eastern hermits[44]. Transforming the desert into a forest was not unfamiliar to the Germanic world, as shown for instance by the Old Saxon poem *Heliand*[45]. Being woods a sort of metaphorical desert, presumably, no conceptual discontinuity between the two areas was perceived. Whatever conclusion we may draw from these different hypotheses, we can argue that Ælfric compiled his glossary following an associative process.

His strategy is made explicit by further details. The chapter includes some words that are not mentioned in Isidore nor in other related class glossaries and it is interesting to try to find out why Ælfric incorporates them into this specific section and how he blends tree names with extra botanical terms. A significant example is given by the lemma *baculus*, apparently a dissonant term (being a product and not a part of the plant)

[44] See the chapter *Le désert-forêt dans l'Occident médiéval*, in J. Le Goff, 1985, pp. 59-75.
[45] The reference is to *Heliand*, lines 1121-1125, in the passage concerning the temptation of Christ in the desert (Mark 1,13), where the desert is transformed into a forest. See O. Behaghel, W. Mitzka (eds.), 1958, p. 39. For this and other examples in Old High German (as the occurrences in the *Rule of Benedict* and in Otfrid von Weissenburg), see M.J. Swisher, 1988, particularly at pp. 30-33.

if taken individually in this context, but well integrated in it if seen in conjunction with the contiguous word *uirga*, with which it forms a pair. Whereas *uirga* gyrd can refer to a twig[46], and is therefore a term that fits in well with this chapter, or to a stick, that is an implement made of wood[47] or iron, *baculus* stæf means exclusively a stiff, a stack, an emblem of kingship or a crosier. One wonders whether *baculus* has been added to this part of the *Glossary* simply because of a semantic affinity with *uirga* or whether it echoes specific scriptural verses. As a matter of fact, the inclusion of this item can be accounted for by considering that *baculus* et *uirga* occur frequently conjoined in the Bible. Beside Isaiah 10, 5 and 15 and Jeremias 48, 17, the couple appears in Psalm 22, 4. A glance at the Old English Psalm glosses reveals that the pair *uirga* and *baculus* is mostly translated with *gyrd* and *stæf*, the same terms as in the *Glossary*, with only a few exceptions[48]. The following, for example, is the Old English version of Ps 22, 4 ('Virga tua, et baculus tuus, ipsa me consolata sunt') according to the *Prose Psalter* attributed to King Alfred: (Ps 22, 5) «Þin gyrd and þin stæf me afrefredon[49]». Consequently, the word pair would have sounded rather familiar to the ears of Anglo-Saxons, especially in monastic communities.

It is known that the Psalter was a reference point in the intellectual life of the Middle Ages and one of the most studied texts[50]. Due to its fundamental importance in liturgy (the Benedictine rule prescribed

[46] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.*, XVII, vi, 18: «Virga [autem a vi] vel a virtute dicitur, quod vim in se multam habeat, vel a viriditate, vel quia pacis indicium est, quod vim regat». See also Ælfric's homily "On the Assumption of St John the Apostle", in B. Thorpe (ed.), 1844, I, pp. 62-65: «"[…] gað nu forði to wuda, and heawað incre byrðene gyrda, and gebringað to me". Hí dydon be his hæse, and hé on Godes naman ða grenan gyrda gebletsode, and hí wurdon to readum golde awende» ("[…] go now therefore to the wood, and hew a burthen of rods, and bring them to me". They did as he had commanded, and he in God's name blessed the green rods, and they were turned to red gold). See also Numbers 17, 8 for Aaron's rod miraculously sprouting.

[47] With this meaning, specifically as an instrument of corporeal punishment, Ælfric mentions *uirga* gyrd in his *Grammar* (p.169). *Baculus* is there unattested.

[48] For further examples, see P. PULSIANO (ed.), 2001, p. 287 In some occurrences (as for instance in the *Vespasian Psalter*), the word *cryc*, staff, has been used to gloss *baculus* instead.

[49] P.P. O'Neill (ed.), 2001, p. 125. See also a passage of Alfred's translation of the *Pastoral Care*, ch. XVII, where the Psalm is quoted: «Be thiosum illcan cwæð Dauid to Gode: Ðin gierd & ðin stæf me afrefredon. Mid gierde mon bið geswungen, & mid stæfe he bið awreðed» (Of this same David spoke to God: Thy rod and staff have comforted me. We are beaten with rods and supported by staves); cf. H. Sweet (ed.), 1871, pp. 124-127.

[50] For a study on the glossed Psalter in the western tradition, see A.H. Blom, 2017.

that it should be recited weekly in its entirety) and private devotion, it was used as a reading instructional text for Latin language learners. Even though at an early stage the Psalter might have been memorized and sung without knowing its vocabulary exactly[51], after acquiring the rudiments of Latin grammar, students were to be trained in the Psalms and the Bible in order to understand the Latin they recited: words, expressions and grammatical constructions of the biblical and liturgical language were to be interpreted and learned correctly by clerics and laymen. It is not unusual to find passages from the Psalms and other Biblical books in the grammars: on the tracks of other medieval grammarians, Ælfric followed the practice of christianising Latin grammars by replacing classical names and quotations with biblical ones and including in his text examples taken from the Scriptures to illustrate both vocabulary and grammatical forms[52]. Many are the passages which point out Ælfric's engagement in explaining features of the biblical language[53]. Therefore, we can argue that Ælfric placed *baculus* in this chapter because the botanical term *uirga* might have drawn the other automatically to mind, owing to the frequent occurrence of the pair in the Bible. Moreover, since Psalm 22 shares other terms with the section considered here, such as *pascua*, *aqua*, *semita*, Ælfric's intent to use his *Glossary* as an educational tool for a correct interpretation of the Bible

[51] On the impact of the Psalter in Anglo-Saxon England, see G H. BROWN, 1999.

[52] Ælfric often cites from the Bible to explain Latin expressions. A quotation from the Psalms is in *Gr*., p. 205, where he speaks of some verbs which have the same form in the present and in the past tense. As an example, he uses the verb *odi* and adds the Latin expression *odio habere*, quoting Ps 118, 113 (*iniquos odio habui*, I hate double-minded people): «Sume word habbað gelîce PRAESENS, þæt is andweard, and PRAETERITVM: *odi* ic hatige and *odi* ic hatede, ac wê cweðað hwîlon *odio habeo* ic hæbbe on hatunge, swâswâ stent on ðâm sealme *iniquos odio habui* þâ unrihtwîsan ic hæfde on hatunge». T.N. HALL, 2009, p. 199, mentions a reference to Ps. 40, 11 (*Gr*., p. 261).

[53] A few passages in his *Grammar* express his concern to distinguish what his grammatical authorities say from what is written in the Bible. The following statement - which is taken from the chapter devoted to adverbs, and particularly to the use of the compound adverbs *de intus*, *de foris* that Donatus has forbidden whereas Ælfric approves – is a meaningful example of the debate between classical and biblical Latin: «*de intus* wiðinnan *de foris* wiðutan, forbead DONATUS to cweðenne, ac hi standað swa þeah on halgum bocum» (Donatus forbade to say *de intus* within, *de foris* without, but they are found in the holy books), *Gr*., p. 242. See also *Gr*., p. 83 in relation to the plural form of Lat. *sanguis*. This is how Smaragdus (9th cent.) rejects the grammarians' rules in favour of the authority of the Scripture: «Donatum non sequimur, quia fortiorem in divinis Scripturis auctoritatem tenemus» (I disagree with Donatus, because I hold the authority of Holy Scriptures to be greater). Cf. Ch. THUROT, 1869, p. 81.

is conceivable.

The proximity and order of occurrence of other terms appear to be good indicators of Ælfric's distinctive way of selecting and combining entries. *Cedrus* and *cypressus* are paired in Virgil, *Georgics* II, 443, in the Bible in Ecclesiasticus 24,17 ('Quasi cedrus exaltata sum in Libano, et quasi cypressus in monte Sion'), and in the Song of Songs 1, 16. *Ramnus* and *spina* are contiguous in Psalm 57, 10: 'Priusquam intelligerent spinae vestrae rhamnum, sicut viventes sic in ira absorbet eos'[54]. The couple *spinae* and *uepres* occurs in various passages of the Old Testament[55]. It will suffice to quote the following verses from Isaiah where thorns and briars are mentioned in conjunction three times: (Is 7, 23-25) 'Et erit in die illa: omnis locus ubi fuerint mille vites, mille argenteis, in spinas et in vepres erunt. **24** Cum sagittis et arcu ingredientur illuc: vepres enim et spinae erunt in universa terra. **25** Et omnes montes qui in sarculo sarrientur, non veniet illuc terror spinarum et veprium: et erit in pascua bovis, et in conculcationem pecoris'. *Mons*, *collis* and *vallis* appear in a row in Isaiah 40, 4, Ezekiel 6, 3 and Luke 3, 5[56].

One may compare the words that Ælfric lists after *desertum* with Isaiah 40, 3-6: 'Vox clamantis in deserto: Parate viam Domini, rectas facite in solitudine semitas Dei nostri. **4** Omnis vallis exaltabitur, et omnis mons et collis humiliabitur, et erunt prava in directa, et aspera in vias planas:**5** et revelabitur gloria Domini, et videbit omnis caro pariter quod os Domini locutum est.**6** Vox dicentis: Clama. Et dixi: Quid clamabo? Omnis caro foenum, et omnis gloria ejus quasi flos agri'[57]. *Inuium* (impassable place) appears in conjunction with desert, among many, in Jeremiah 2, 6, Sophonias 2, 13, Psalm 62,3. Particularly significant is the example offered by the Old English translation of Psalm 106 in the

[54] In the vernacular interlinear version of the Gallican Psalter of Lambeth Palace (11th cent.), Psalm 57, 10 is glossed as follows: «ær þan undergæton eowre þornas fyrs swaswa libbende swaswa on yrre he forswelhþ hig» (Before your thorns could know the brier, he swallows them up, as alive, in his wrath). See U. Lindelöf, 1909, p. 92.

[55] The highest concentration is in the Book of Isaiah, where the two terms appear in the plural or in the singular form (Is 5,6; 9, 18; 13, 17; 9, 18; 27, 4). In his *Grammar* Ælfric places *uepres* and *sentes* among those nouns that have only the plural form. See also the Antwerp-London Glossary and for *sentes*, Lindsay, 1921, p. 161. Isidore's entry (*Etym*. XVII, vii, 60) is *sentix*. In Latin poetry both words occur usually in the plural. For *sentes*, cf. Job 30, 7 and Vergil, *Aeneid* 9, 382.

[56] Isidore in *Etym.* XIV, viii, 1-22 (*De montibus ceterisque terrae vocabulis*) mentions *mons*, *collis* and *vallis* one after the other.

[57] See in the *Glossary* the sequence *desertum*, *uia*, *semita* (interrupted by *iter*, *patria* et *prouincia*), *mons*, *collis*, *vallis*, *foenum*, *ager*. C. Mk 1, 1-3, Mt 3, 3, Lk 3, 4, Jo 1, 22-23.

Lambeth Psalter, in the verse referring to Israel as a pilgrim in the desert (Ps 106, 40: 'Effusa est contentio super principes; et errare fecit eos in inuio et non in uia' , where *inuium*[58] is glossed by two terms, one of which is *butan wege*, the same gloss used by Ælfric in his *Glossary*: (Ps 106, 40) «Agoten is geflit vel forsewennys ofer ealderas and dwelian he dyde hig on weglæste vel butan wege and na on wege»[59] (He pours contention and contempt on princes and makes them wander in trackless wastes, without a way and not along a way).

Moreover, even in the selection of synonyms, Ælfric seems to show a strong dependence on the Old English Biblical glosses[60]. If we consider the word *foenum*, we see that, while in the Glossary it is glossed *hig oððe gærs*, in his *Grammar* it is translated *gærs oððe streow* (*Gr.*, p. 8), simply *strew* (*Gr*., p. 83) or *gærs* (*Gr*., p. 292), and in the *Colloquy* (p.33) *hig*[61]. It is interesting to notice that in the glosses to the Psalms *foenum* is never translated with *stre(o)w* but only with *hig* or *gærs*[62] and that sometimes the two *interpretamenta* occur together as in *Lambeth Psalter*, where Ps 104, 35 ('Et comedit omne foenum in terra eorum') is glossed as follows: «& he fræt uel he æt eall hyg uel gærs on eorðan uel lande heora»[63]; or in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* where the rendering of *foenum* (John 6,10) is *gærs vel heig*[64]. Ælfric may have decided to discard *stre(o)w* in favour of *hig* in order to follow the tradition of the Biblical glosses. An attempt to rationalize the entire sequence is, however, not possible.

There is another detail that invites notice and highlights the difficult task of rendering Greek or Latin plant or tree names in Anglo-Saxon. I refer to the remark concerning the word cypress, «*cypressus*, næfð nænne engliscne naman» (*cypressus*. it has no English name) that has

[58] *Invium* is generally glossed *wegleas* or *wegleast* (want of road) and *ungefere* (impassable).
[59] U. Lindelöf, (ed.) 1909, p. 176.
[60] This procedure cannot be regarded as a rule. *Salix,* for instance, is glossed *wiðig* (withy or willow) by Ælfric, while in the Old English glosses to the Psalms it is often translated *sealh* or *welig*. See Ps 136.2 (In salicibus in medio eius suspendimus organa nostra) from the *Vespasian Psalter*: «In salum in midle hire we hengun organan ure», in S.M. Kuhn, (ed.), 1965, p. 135 ; see also U. Lindelöf, (ed.), 1909, p. 216. *on saligum*. For *in salicibus*, on welgum, attested in the *Blickling Psalter* glosses, cf. P. Pulsiano, 2001, p. xxxviii.
[61] P. Lendinara, 1983, pp. 199-200.
[62] See P. Pulsiano, 2001, p. 493 and P. Bierbaumer, H. Sauer *et al.*, (eds.), 2007-2009 , s.v. *gærs* and *heg*.
[63] U. Lindelöf, (ed.) 1909, p. 168.
[64] The same terms (*heg uel gers*) appear in the *Rushworth Gospels*. Cf. W.W. Skeat, 1878, p. 55.

been considered as Ælfric's "disarming acknowledgment of glossarial failure"[65] or as a sign of his modesty[66]. Here, as it happens occasionally in other contexts and with other words, he leaves the word *cypressus* untranslated as if to underline the foreign origin of the tree[67]. His remark contrasts with the glossing strategy he generally adopts. As a matter of fact, Ælfric does not follow a uniform method in compiling his *Glossary*. Instead of a word-to-word translation, now and then he gives detailed explanations, sometimes even encyclopaedic in character. Therefore, the question arises as to the reason behind Ælfric's choice of including a lemma, even more so in a bilingual glossary, being aware that no current vernacular translation was available. The author is here confronted with the difficulty of rendering a word which has no correspondent in Old English[68]. Elsewhere, if no equivalent English translation was available or if he was not satisfied with existing glosses or explanations, Ælfric had offered an original solution, as in the case of *testudo*, tortoise: «se þe hæfð hus» (*testudo*, he who has a house)[69]. Indeed, the noun *cypressus* seems to have been a puzzle for glossators who have tried to solve the problem of explaining it in various ways, either simply indicating its Greek origin[70] or giving a general definition also used for other unfamiliar trees. Unlike some other instances of rare terms where instead of a translation Ælfric borrows a definition from Isidore, as he does for instance with *griffes* (*Gl*., p. 309. 4)[71], concerning *cypressus* he

[65] A. diPaolo Healey, 2012, p. 4.
[66] J. Consadine, 2014, p. 31.
[67] In the Vita S. Martini in his *Lives of Saints* Ælfric leaves the name of the plant *elleborus* in its Latin form and mentions its property «ættrig wyrt» (poisonous plant). See A. Hall, 2013, pp. 71-72.
[68] In a passage of his *Grammar* (p. 252) Ælfric states that there is no English equivalent for the future participle of Lat. *queo*: « *quiturus*, ac we ne cunnon nan englisc þær to» (*quiturus*, but we know no English word for it). On the difficulty of rendering Latin words or concepts in English, see R. Derolez, 1989, p. 473.
[69] *Gl*., p. 310. See P. Lendinara, 2015. Ælfric used to provide elaborate explanations of rare terms in his *Grammar* too. With regard to the *fenix* (*Gr*., p. 70), after saying that phoenix is an Arabic name and that the bird after living for five hundred years dies and then rises again, Ælfric adds an allegorical explanation of its rebirth in a Christian perspective.
[70] In the *Harley Glossary* (11th cent.) we read: «Ciparissus ***cipres***sus. Graece». See R.T. Oliphant (ed.), 1966, p. 80. For a similar entry, cf. the continental *Abstrusa Glossary* (7th cent.): «Cyparissus; cypressus; Graecum est. (Verg.?)»; in W.M. Lindsay, H. J. Thomson (eds.), 1926, III, p. 21.
[71] *Gl*. p. 309: «*griffes*, fiðerfote fugel leone gelic on wæstme and earne gelic on heafde and on fiðerum: se is swa micel, þæt he gewylt hors and men» (griffin, a four-footed bird like a lion in shape and like an eagle in its head and its wings and it is so big that he

behaves differently. In the case in point, Isidore, after underlining the Greek origin of the name, provides a description of the tree: (*Etym*., XVII, vii, 34) «Cyparissus Graece dicitur quod caput eius a rotunditate in acumen erigitur» (The cypress is so called in Greek because its head rises from a spherical shape into a point). If we move on to other glossarial material, we notice that in the Antwerp-London Glossary the word is missing from the list of trees[72]; in the *Corpus Glossary* the name *cupressus* is followed by a generic definition which is also used with respect to other tree species: «Cupressus, genus ligni»[73]. In Ælfric Bata's Colloquy, in a passage dealing with trees growing in an orchard, which is described as a mixed forest with a long catalogue of trees and plants taken from Ælfric's *Glossary*, *cypressus* is left out. The pupils' answer to the teacher's question («Quales arbores crescent in uestro pomerio?» What kinds of trees grow in your orchard?) brings to light the difficulty of rendering some plant names in the vernacular: «Multorum generum, sed nescimus tibi omnia anglice interpretare» (Many kinds, but we can't translate them all into English for you)[74]. While in a sample of fictitious conversations untranslatable names can be easily left out from a list, in a text-oriented tool, designed for elucidating rare terms, the impossibility of finding a gloss needs to be underlined. Ælfric 's choice to abandon any possible alternative of glossing *cypressus* and to signal instead the lack of an English term for it invites us to consider the function and use of glossaries. Although we can only speculate on the intentions of medieval glossators[75], we may assume that Ælfric's *Glossary* was a book meant not for reference use, but to be employed for teaching purposes, as an aid to assist the pupils with scriptural or literary studies,

overcomes horses and men), to be compared to Isidore, Etym. XII, ii, 17; cf. H. Sauer, 2008, pp. 458-459.

[72] In the Antwerp-London Glossary, in ms. London, British Library, Add. Ms 32246, f 10r, an example shows how troublesome it was to find a translation of the name of some tree species. As far as the lemma *iuniperus* is concerned, no *interpretamentum* is given and in the codex the line underneath has been left blank. It is hard to establish whether the glossator meant to fill in the space after having found a fitting word or whether he interrupted the list at that point and then, in resuming it, he accidentally forgot to translate the *lemma*.

[73] W.M. Lindsay (ed.), 1921, p. 50. Ælfric himself adopts a similar explanation, mainly with reference to animals. See *Gr*. p. 48: «*hic uultur* anes cynnes fugel» (vulture, a kind of bird) or *Gr*. p. 74: «*hoc allec* anes cynnes fisc» (herring, a kind of fish). For the different ways of glossing the word *animal* in his *Glossary*, see L.Lazzari, 2003, pp. 168, 175 and 177.

[74] S. Gwara, D.W. Porter (eds.), 1997, pp. 156-157.

[75] See, for instance, H. Gneuss, 1990, p. 21.

and as such it was in the hands of the teacher and not of the students[76]. Considering that no standardized vernacular form of *cypressus* was available, he might have provided an oral explanation to illustrate the issue of foreign words that have been incorporated into English with no adaptation and *cypressus* (a Greek word absorbed into Latin) was one of them: a non-integrated loan-word. As the name cypress was recurring in the Bible and classical texts and could not be overlooked, Ælfric added a remark - although this kind of annotation is expected to be written on scraps and not on parchment -, as a sort of reminder: he would have presumably explained the origin of the name orally to his pupils and maybe even given a description of the main features of the tree[77]. If in his homilies, as we have seen regarding the olive tree, he deemed appropriate to illustrate unfamiliar terms to his audience, even more so should we conceive of his effort to make uncommon words comprehensible in a didactic context.

Many questions remain open. We are not able to identify the sources of his *Glossary* with precision or to state whether Ælfric is the original compiler, or whether the scribes modified his text in the process of transmission[78]. I am inclined to think that at least the arrangement of the items is original with him: he might have added new threads to the fabric of earlier glossaries and combined the entries according to the context or the contiguity with which they appear in the texts he meant to explain to his pupils. We cannot determine the specific use of this *Glossary* nor Ælfric's purposes for its compilation. Nor can we fully understand the knowledge that Ælfric meant to convey to his pupils. Nevertheless, regarding the chapter *Nomina arborum* and considering the extensive use of the natural world in religious or secular literature, one might imagine how often Ælfric's pupils would have worked on texts where this selected list of terms occurred and how often Ælfric (and others after him) has been engaged in explaining the specific meaning of each

[76] G.R. Wieland, 1983, p. 192.

[77] The following passage offers a glimpse into the likely ways in which Latin was taught in the Middle Ages: «The lessons were given by word of mouth, as boys could not in those times be accommodated with books; but they had slates, or roughly made tablets (*tabulæ*), on which they wrote down the lesson in grammar, or the portion of vocabulary, from the lips of the master, and, after committing it to memory, erased the writing, to make place for another. The teacher had necessarily his own written exemplar of an elementary Latin grammar, as well as his own written vocabulary of words, from which he read, interpreted, and explained», in T. Wright, R.P. Wülcker, (eds.),1884, pp. v-vi.

[78] See R.T. Meyer, 1956, p. 404.

word in its context. A complex web of influences where lexical and literary knowledge coalesce may be discerned in his *Glossary*. I like to imagine that, for instance, he might have employed words such as *oliua*, *ficus*, *vitis* and *ramnus*, the speaking trees of Judges 9, 8-15, to explain the rhetorical device of prosopopoeia, on the tracks of Aldhelm's *De metris*[79]. Or that in mentioning *uiuarium,* a word rarely found in glossaries[80], he might have referred to the sphere of everyday life[81] but also to the monastery of Cassiodore at Squillace named Vivarium for the fishponds he had created there[82], hinting likely to their symbolic value[83].

But these are simply speculations, and I am probably reading too much into a list of words.

I should like to conclude with one last observation that I think underlines the literary feature of Ælfric's chapter. If one compares the selection of trees enumerated by Ælfric with the tree catalogues embedded in Classical and Medieval texts, one can notice that, with deviations, omissions and additions, according to the original choice of individual authors, the core of the lists barely changes: the kinds of trees appearing in poetry almost match those mentioned by Ælfric. The conventionality and stability of the transmission of this rhetorical device across time is shown by the later examples some passages of Chaucer's works offer[84]. I quote from the episode of the building of Arcite's funeral pyre in the *Knight's Tale*[85]:

[79] Aldhelm, *De Metris* 7, in R. Ehwald, (ed.), 1919, pp. 76-77.
[80] See note 27 above.
[81] Old English *fiscpol* can refer to natural or artificial fish-holding bodies of water. According to K.C. Currie, 1990, p. 23, the construction of fishponds, initially promoted by secular institutions, is attested in England between 1066 and 1200 and only after that date monasteries began to build them to provide food.
[82] The fishponds at Vivarium are beautifully represented in an illumination of the codex of Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Patr. 61, fol. 29v (8th cent.) of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*. Cassiodore's works circulated in Anglo-Saxon England. Suffice here to mention the *Durham Cassiodorus*, a Northumbrian manuscript of the 8th cent. containing the *Expositio Psalmorum*. On the library of Vivarium and on his books in England, cf. M. Lapidge, 2006.
[83] See F. Cardini, 2009, p. 143: "Il monastero era la Vera Piscina, i monaci fedeli e ubbidienti i Veri Pesci accomunati dall'ideale della *sequela Christi*, il Divino *Ichtys*".
[84] See R.L. Hoffman, 1966, 99-100 and P. Boitani, 1976. For an eco-critical view on the subject, see B.D. Schildgen, 2013 and references cited therein. Ælfric might have been familiar with some of the sources that Chaucer, some centuries later, employed in his descriptions of the mixed forests.
[85] All quotations from Chaucer's works are taken from the third edition of the Riverside Chaucer, edited by Benson 1987. In the *Parliament of Fowls*, ll.176-182, *cipresse*, *olyve*,

> But how the fyr was maked upon highte,
> Ne eek the names that the trees highte,
> As ook, firre, birch, aspe, alder, holm, popler,
> Wylugh, elm, plane, assh, box, chasteyn, lynde, laurer,
> Mapul, thorn, bech, hasel, ew, whippletree -
> How they weren feld shal nat be toold for me (*Knight's Tale*, ll. 2919–24).

Alongside the Biblical trees, the rhetorical tradition of the literary grove might also have been known to Ælfric, as the attentive and reasoned selection of items of his scholarly glossary seems to show.

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vyne and *palm* are also included in the list.

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Michael Klotz*

Corpora and the English Learner's Dictionary

ABSTRACT:
Corpora have played an important role in the development of English learner's dictionaries ever since the publication of the first COBUILD dictionary. This article considers the role of corpora in terms of ordering senses of polysemous words, illustration by example and phraseology. Drawing on Sinclair's notion of the *lexical item*, it argues that a deeper understanding of phraseology is the most profound contribution that corpus linguistics has made to learner's lexicography.

KEYWORDS: Corpus, Learner's dictionary, Phraseology

1. *English language studies, corpora and lexicography*

1.1

Corpora and dictionaries have both played a significant role in the development of the scientific study of the English language. Even before the advent of the computer, corpora or parole data were used in the description of English grammar. The large English grammars of the early 20th century by Jespersen (1909-49), Kruisinga (1911/1953) and Poutsma (1928) contain a very large number of authentic examples, which empirically back up the claims being made and illustrate the models proposed. Poutsma even sees the quotations as that feature of his grammar "by which it will most commend itself" (1928: VII), a sentiment which Jespersen seems to share:

> «With regard to my quotations, which I have collected during many years of both systematic
> and desultory reading, I think that they will be found in many ways more satisfactory than
> even the best made-up examples …» (Jespersen, 1914: vi)

In 1959, at a time when much of mainstream linguistics turned to introspection as a data source, Randolph Quirk founded the *Survey of English Usage* (Quirk, 1968a). It consisted of a corpus of one million

* Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg.

words and a collection of elicitation data and served as the empirical foundation for the large grammars of the London school: *A Grammar of Contemporary English* (1972) and *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (1985).

The Brown Corpus (Kučera & Francis, 1967) is generally seen as the world's first corpus stored on a computer and contains one million words of written standard American English. It was followed by the LOB corpus in the 1970s, which was created at the universities of Lancaster, Oslo and Bergen and replicated the structure of the Brown corpus as closely as possible on the basis of standard British English. These first-generation electronic corpora allowed for the study of the grammatical features of the English language, but they were too small to explore the properties of the English lexicon. Thus, the Brown Corpus contains only 13 tokens of *resemblance* and two tokens of *good conscience*, items we will discuss below. Consequently, these early corpora had "little impact on lexicography" (Hanks, 2012: 61). The harnessing of the power of the computer for lexicographic purposes required a new corpus initiative.

1.2

Lexicography has a long tradition in Britain and America (Béjoint, 2010) and strong empirical roots. While Samuel Johnson took the evidence for the entries in his *Dictionary of the English Language* of 1755 from the "writers of the first reputation" (Johnson, 1747: 31), James Murray and the other editors of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1933) had collected about five million citations slips on which they based their entries (OED1, 1933: v; cf. also Quirk, 1968b).

The publication of the first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* approximately coincided with a new turn in English lexicography that started in the 1930s: the development of the English learner's dictionary. The development of this kind of dictionary is closely connected with the name of A.S. Hornby, an English language teacher in Japan and part of the ELT research movement led by Harold Palmer in Tokyo. In their research Palmer and Hornby focused on syntagmatic aspects of language use such as complementation patterns of verbs and collocations (Cowie, 2009; Hanks, 2012: 60). This can clearly be seen from the original title of Hornby's dictionary, *Idiomatic and Syntactic Dictionary*, in 1942. Later this was to become the *Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (OALD), which set the pattern for other learner's dictionaries

in the 1970s and 80s. With syntax and idiomaticity as core concerns, it was clear that this type of dictionary could benefit greatly from corpus analysis.

1.3

The first dictionary thoroughly based on corpus evidence was the *COBUILD English language dictionary* of 1987. COBUILD is an acronym for *Collins Birmingham University International Language Database*, a cooperation between the publishing house Collins and a research group at Birmingham University under the leadership of John Sinclair. The dictionary was based on a corpus of 7.3 million-word tokens, several times the size of the Brown and LOB corpora, and a backup corpus of 13 million tokens (Renouf, 1987: 7, 10). This allowed for the study of lexis. Still, as became clear in the course of the project, the corpus was too small to meet all needs of lexicographic analysis (Clear *et al.*, 1996).

In the 1990s when digitized text became more and more available, lexicographic corpora began to run into the hundreds of millions of word tokens. The most important project at the time was the *British National Corpus*, a carefully constructed corpus of written and spoken texts of British English amounting to 100-million-word tokens. Dictionary publishers Oxford University Press and Longman were both part of the BNC consortium, which shows that to some degree the development of the BNC was a reaction to what was happening in the COBUILD project. COBUILD itself also started a new corpus building initiative in the 1990s, which came to be known as the *Bank of English*. In contrast to the BNC, which was fixed in size, the BoE was conceived as a monitor corpus, which would constantly grow taking in fresh text and with it the latest developments in the English language (Sinclair, 1991: 24-6). Today, corpora run into the billions of word tokens and all dictionary publishers have their in-house corpora, which are unfortunately not generally open to the research community.

If we ask whether corpora have affected all aspects of learner lexicography, the answer must probably be a negative. Rundell (1998: 316) usefully distinguishes the matter of description of linguistic facts from the matter of presentation of the information. While the former can clearly benefit from the access to corpora, this is less clear with respect to the latter. The matter of presentation is concerned, for example, with

questions of layout or the encoding of grammatical information and corpora do not seem to have much to contribute to either of them. The introduction of an extra column in the first edition of the COBUILD dictionary was a stroke of genius, but this seems to be unrelated to the fact that the dictionary was also corpus-based. Grammatical codes evolved from entirely abstract untransparent codes such as VP12A for a ditransitive verb in OALD3 through transparent codes such as V + O + O in COBUILD to non-technical pattern illustrations such as *give somebody something* in the most recent editions of OALD and the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (LDOCE) (Klotz & Herbst, 2016: 105-7). But again, it is hard to see how corpora could have contributed to this development. In the following, we will consider three aspects, in which corpora can be expected to have influenced the English learner's dictionary: the ordering of senses, the use of illustrative examples and the description of phraseologisms.

2. *Senses*

One area where corpus findings might be expected to influence the presentation of information is the question of the ordering of senses of a given lemma. In a learner's dictionary one might expect senses to occur ordered by frequency of usage. For example, Sinclair (1987: vii) remarks that the most basic meaning of *see*, 'perceive visually', is not the one used most frequently in real text. Instead, he points to uses as in *I see* and *you see*.[1] In fact, an examination of 100 random lines of the lexeme *see* (including the inflected forms of the verb) in the BNC gives the following results in order of frequency:

(a). 'understand'; 26 hits;
'I really don't see what good that would do,' snapped Miss Pinkney. (BNC A0D 1059)

(b). 'perceive visually'; 21 hits;
Behind the counter stood a young man who smiled broadly when he saw her. (BNC CKD 1215)

[1] In a similar vein, Herbst (2015) finds that the most common object collocates of *meet* do not refer to people at all: *need, requirement* and *demand*.

(c).'witness'; 21 hits;
Among changes he has seen during his career are the introduction of new painting materials and safety methods. (BNC HPA 355)

(d).'cross-reference'; 13 hits;
Each sphere in a body-centred cubic structure is at the centre of a cube with spheres at each corner (see figures 3.20 and 3.23). (BNC HSD 534)

(e). 'meet or visit'; (8 hits);
But she came here specifically to see you? (BNC H8T 1186)

(f). 'watch a show'; (2 hits)
Hundreds of people are queueing at cinemas across the region to see Hollywood's new dinosaur blockbuster Jurassic Park. (BNC K1U 881)

However, these findings are not reflected in the ordering of senses in the COBUILD dictionary online in a straight-forward fashion:

1. When you see something, you notice it using your eyes. = (b)
2. If you see someone, you visit them or meet them. = (e)
3. If you see an entertainment such as a play, film, concert, or sports game, you watch it. = (f)
4. If you see that something is true or exists, you realize by observing it that it is true or exists. = (c)
5. If you see what someone means or see why something happened, you understand what they mean or understand why it happened. = (a)
6. See is used in books to indicate to readers that they should look at another part of the book, or at another book, because more information is given there. = (d)

Clearly, the senses in the COBUILD dictionary are not ordered in terms of frequency of occurrence in a corpus. There are good reasons for this. Firstly, (b) is the most basic meaning of *see* and cognitively most salient. This is what people think of first when they encounter *see* in isolation (which they admittedly will rarely do). This is also the meaning, from which other meanings are derived by metaphor and other processes. On the other hand, meaning (d) 'cross-reference' is rather specialized and appears mostly in academic text. It therefore makes sense to have it rather late in the list of senses in the dictionary.

A look at OALD online reveals that the sequence of senses only partly coincides with that in COBUILD. Like COBUILD, OALD gives the cognitively most salient sense first: "to become aware of somebody/ something by using your eyes". Meaning (d), however, is higher up in the list as sense 4 and meaning (a) is pushed further down the list as sense 9.

3. *Examples*

Another aspect of the matter is the giving of illustrative examples. As we saw above, the authors of the large reference grammars of the early 20th century such as Poutsma and Jespersen made ample use of authentic examples, as did Samuel Johnson and the editors of the OED. In learner's lexicography, examples were always a core feature. In fact, usage research shows that many users first and foremost consult the example sentences before they look at other constituents of the entry. A study by Miller & Gildea (1985), quoted in Béjoint (2010: 253), found that 12-year-olds can guess the meaning of a word better from an example sentence than from a definition. Only when users have found an example that seems to fit their own purpose, do they turn to more abstract information such as definitions or grammatical patterns.

Examples in learner's dictionaries can either take the form of phrases or full sentences and it is in this latter area of full sentence examples that corpora, according to Rundell (1998: 334), have left their most obvious mark. However, the use of non-edited corpus examples in learner's dictionaries is a controversial matter. Not surprisingly, the COBUILD group championed authentic examples. The core argument was that learners need to be exposed to authentic English if they are expected to acquire a natural way of producing English text (Fox, 1987: 149). But any attempt to modify authentic text in order to render it more pedagogical, will result in unnatural English.

We have learned what happens when we sit and intuit how words are used – we are likely to get it wrong. We also know that as soon as we start playing around with examples, making-them more 'accessible' or more 'regular', we are liable to take the life out of them, or worse, mislead the user of the dictionary. (Fox, 1987: 149)

Authentic examples, so the argument goes, are always an integral part of the text from which they are taken. They will therefore contain

loose ends such as pronouns and time and space adverbs which can only be resolved by the context. They will also contain a degree of syntactic and lexical complexity which is not strictly necessary to illustrate the lemma. In contrast, invented examples are created in isolation, devoid of any surrounding text and with the sole purpose in mind to illustrate the lemma word. They stand on their own and tend to be informationally complete in themselves. The result is a sense of contrivedness, of pedagogical rather than natural English. In that vein Sinclair (1991: 5) speaks about "… the absurd notion that invented examples can actually represent the language better than real ones".

The argument can be substantiated by looking at the entries ABANDON and ABASH in OALD3 of 1974 and COBUILD 2 of 1995, i.e. two dictionaries separated by the arrival of corpora in lexicography. At sense 1 'go away from' OALD 3 gives the example *The cruel man abandoned his wife and child*. The example is quite self-contained. *Man*, *wife* and *child* form a neat lexical set and the act of abandonment is succinctly motivated by the adjective *cruel*. In authentic text, the cruelty, most likely, would have been explained elsewhere in the text and the subject would have been pronominalized by *he*. As Patrick Hanks (2012: 405) notes, ordinary discourse "typically spreads the load of such information over several sentences." At the same time, the sentence is syntactically quite simple, consisting of a single SVO-clause. When we look at the corresponding example in COBUILD 2, *He claimed that his parents had abandoned him*, we note the higher degree of pronominalization as well as the larger syntactic complexity, where the lemma ABANDON occurs in a subordinate *that*-clause.

In the entry ABASHED we see a very similar strategy of exemplification in OALD3: *The poor man stood/felt abashed at this display of wealth*. Once more the sentence consists of a single clause with *stood/felt abashed* at its center and the subject is a premodified noun, *the poor man*, which motivates – again very succinctly – why the man is abashed at this display of wealth. Once again there is a feeling that this sentence is an unlikely candidate for being part of a real text. The corresponding example in COBUILD 2 is also a simple sentence but *abashed* is in coordination with *secretly delighted* which lends some complexity to the example and takes the focus away from *abashed*: *He seemed both abashed and secretly delighted at Dan's gift*. As before, the example does not come across as being so pedagogically contrived.

However, we must also note that not all example sentences in OALD 3 come across as being artificial. For example, at sense 2 of ABANDONED

OALD 3 has *The new engine design had to be abandoned for lack of financial support*. The initial definite article gives the impression that the engine has already been introduced into the discourse and the adverbial *for lack of financial support* is not strictly necessary but lends some color to the example. Pedagogically oriented examples are favored by Hausmann and Gorbahn:

[S]lavishly adhering to authentic quotations can cause great problems and indeed turn out to be a handicap in a learner's dictionary. For it is not authenticity that is decisive, but the didactic power of its examples. (Hausmann & Gorbahn, 1989: 46)

Their view can also be substantiated by looking at some entries of COBUILD 2. Thus, the example *The disclosure has already caused a furore among MPs* in the entry FURORE contains an infrequent word, *disclosure*, and an acronym, *MPs*, both of which may cause problems for learners. In the entry *abduct* we find a lengthy example: *He was on this way to the airport when his car was held up and he was abducted by four gunmen*. The example consists of three clauses the third of which contains the lemma, but it is not clear what the first clause, *he was on his way to the airport*, contributes to the understanding of the lemma. Furthermore, corpus examples often contain real names of people such as politicians, which may become outdated rather quickly. For example, in the entry *abolition* in COBUILD 2 of 1995 we find *Mr Botha said President de Klerk's commitment to the abolition of apartheid was irreversible*. The example can only be appreciated if one has an understanding of the political situation in South Africa in the 1990s, which today few learners will have. Interestingly, the example has been replaced by … *the abolition of slavery in Brazil and the Caribbean* in COBUILD online.

4. *Phraseology*

4.1

While "the jury is still out on the relative merits of corpus-based and lexicographer-produced examples" (Rundell, 1998: 334), the study and lexicographic treatment of phraseology has benefitted from corpora very much. Sinclair (1991: 109ff.) distinguishes the "open choice principle"

and the "idiom principle" as two models "to explain the way in which meaning arises from language text" (109). The open choice principle maintains that at any point in the formulation of text "a large range of choice opens up and the only restraint is grammaticalness" (109). This is the model of the phrase structure rules of early generative grammar but also underlies much of traditional grammar. Structures are created by abstract grammatical rules and words are dropped into the structural slots created by the grammar. Grammar and lexis are two clearly separated modules in language. In contrast, the idiom principle maintains that

> « … a language user has available to him or her a large number of semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they might appear to be analyzable into segments» (Sinclair, 1991: 110)

From the point of view of the idiom principle, language is lexico-grammatical in nature, i.e. both grammar and lexis co-select in particular ways to create what variously has been called "lexical items" (Sinclair, 1998), "extended lexical units" (Stubbs, 2001:60) or "functionally complete units of meaning" (Tognini-Bonelli, 2002). In the view of Tognini-Bonelli (2002: 76) this is "the new currency" of language, the basic unit from which text is created. Phraseology is promoted from a side issue in language to a central concern. Interestingly the same conclusion was reached in cognitive construction grammar, which comes from a very different tradition of thinking about language (see, for example, Fillmore, Kay & O'Connor, 1988; Goldberg, 1995, 2006, 2019; Kay & Fillmore, 1999; see also the discussion in Gries, 2008 and Herbst, 2015).

Sinclair (1998: 15) suggests five steps in a corpus analysis of the lexical item: *core* is the word or phrase around which the lexical item unfolds; *collocation* is the co-selection of other words in the context of the core; *colligation* is the co-selection of the core with grammatical patterns; *semantic preference* is the occurrence of words around the core which share a semantic feature and *semantic prosody* is the function of the emerging lexical item in the discourse. We will illustrate these notions with an analysis of the word *resemblance* as core (cf. Herbst & Klotz, 2008).

4.2

The following examples are taken from a concordance of 30 lines with core *resemblance* randomly thinned from the 670 hits in the British National Corpus.[2]

Such labels bear a striking	**resemblance**	to advertising bill boards.
She had a physical	**resemblance**	to Ramsey's dead mother.
Although Peru in 1990 probably bore little	**resemblance**	to the place described circa 1948
Jeff bears a remarkable	**resemblance**	to maestro Pavarotti
because of the	**resemblance**	of the animal to a flower bud.
And the	**resemblance**	of orchid to female wasp is not coincidental
But there ends any	**resemblance**	between Peter Pan and John Shand

Fig. 1 – Resemblance (BNC)

As the examples show, *resemblance* is frequently followed by *to.* 19 out of 30 lines show this pattern, which establishes collocation between the core and the preposition *to*. *To* is the most common but not the only preposition to follow the core; there are also three instances with *of* and *between*. By way of generalization, we can say that *resemblance* is commonly postmodified, which is an instance of colligation.

When we look at the left-hand context, we notice that three of the six lines contain the verb *bear*. In the concordance of 30 lines there are 11 with *bear*, which establishes another instance of collocation. More immediately to the left of the core there are adjectives in three lines and a negative determiner in two. *Striking* and *remarkable* are semantically similar adjectives, which shows a semantic preference of the core. To that same group we can add *strange*, which occurs twice in our 30 lines.

the brown freckles of age gave them a strange	**resemblance**	to the stones.
incredibly thick computer goalies with a strange	**resemblance**	to the Pope.

Fig. 2 – strange resemblance (BNC)

A more extended analysis would also have revealed the collocation

[2] The BNC was accessed through BNCweb (Hoffmann *et al.* 2008).

uncanny resemblance, which occurs 19 times in the BNC. Adjectives from that group express the surprise the speaker feels when encountering the resemblance. This, then, is the semantic prosody of the lexical item *bear a striking/remarkable/strange/uncanny resemblance to,* which is an instance of a functionally complete unit of meaning.

The negative determiner *little* occurs four times in 30 lines and the semantically similar determiner *no* another three times.

The steam loco of the 1980s will bear little	**resemblance**	to anything Casey Jones would have
which bear little	**resemblance**	to the meanings attributed by the
which bear no	**resemblance**	to those that he described
being armed - with a radar gun - bears no	**resemblance**	to Robocop.

Fig. 3 – little/ no resemblance (BNC)

In all instances the verb *bear* is also present. This is a second lexical item, which expresses the small degree or absence of resemblance as a semantic prosody. It appears then that the word *resemblance* is commonly used to express the lack of resemblance or a degree of surprise at the presence of a resemblance.

To what extent are these findings represented in learner's dictionaries? The pre-corpus OALD3 of 1974 has the following entry:

re·sem·blance /rɪˈzemblɔns/ *n* **1** [U] likeness; similarity: *There's very little ~ between them.* **2** [C] point or degree of likeness or similarity: *The boys show great ~s—are they twins?*

Fig. 4 – Resemblance (OALD 3, 1974)

In the first example sentence, there is *little resemblance between*, which illustrates the common collocation of *resemblance* with *little* but not the frequent preposition *to* after the core. In the second example sentence there is *great resemblances* but not the more common collocations *striking resemblances* and *strong resemblances*. The co-selection of *resemblance* with *bear, little* and *no* is not mentioned. Clearly, Hornby had some good intuitions about the use of *resemblance* but was not able

to see the full picture.

A look at *resemblance* in OALD online shows how the availability of corpus data has improved the description of the lemma:

resemblance *noun*

/rɪˈzembləns/

/rɪˈzembləns/

[countable, uncountable]

the fact of being or looking similar to somebody/something

SYNONYM **likeness**

- *a **striking/close/strong resemblance***
- *Yes, there are family resemblances.*
- **resemblance to somebody/something** *She **bears an uncanny resemblance** to Dido.*
- *The movie **bears little resemblance** to the original novel.*
- *The plot of the movie **bears** more than **a passing resemblance** to Jane Austen's 'Emma'.*
- **resemblance between A and B** *The resemblance between the two signatures was remarkable.*

Fig. 5 – Resemblance (OALD online)

Here we find the common adjectives *striking, uncanny* and *remarkable* as well as the use of the verb *bear* and the prepositions *to* and *between*.

4.3

We will conclude this paper by looking at the lexical items around the cores *good conscience* and *clear conscience*, two phrases which appear, at first glance, to be synonyms of each other. Since, apparently, the former only exists in American English, we will use COCA, the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (Davies, 2008). The following concordance shows 30 random lines of *good conscience*:

ABC it. I did. REP-JOE-HECK- (R-NV# Therefore, I can not in	good conscience	continue	to support Donald Tr
: CNN NewsroomABC Spike Lee. SPIKE-LEE, -WRITER/# My wife, Tonya Lewis, in all	good conscience,	we can not	attend the Academ
222016FICBk:LegendCalebYorkABC said, " Mr. Cullen... this is nothing I can do, in	good conscience....	" # " I said send it, " the old n	
BC to tell myself that it will be alright and that I can continue in	good conscience	before God and man. # But it's	
TechnicaABC note to the presiding judge that he or she could not, " in	good conscience,	approve	a guilty verdict. " # "
NewsABC this is finally a dream come true. On the other hand, in	good conscience,	they can	not advise their clien
dent decision-making regarding " what rate of interest should be deemed contrary to	good conscience	" 58 and refused to blindly foll	
:LadyHellionABC me. But all of that is irrelevant as I can not, in	good conscience,	allow	you to go through with
ABC Second Circuit -- an assignment which honored him and which he could not in	good conscience	decline	-- and so even a strate
➡ ABC whether she could " continue to watch this show and write for Bitch in	good conscience.	" # Stanger gets this sort of ap	
ABC And either way, I can still wish people a Happy New Year in	good conscience.	# 31 2015 NEWS STLouis A B	
BC I don't see how the league could walk away from our town in	good conscience.	Yes. This absolutely could con	
urnalEcumenicalABC to have Muslims in mind when I asserts: " Christians can not in	good conscience	participate	in the religious pra
ArtBulletinABC real. Those who paint in such a manner are numerous. Gentlemen of	good conscience	can not	but warn against this.
CooperABC it. But he has to make a judgment in good faith, in	good conscience,	that this is relevant to a crimir	
➡ FiveABC weeks ago, they will be taken back. GUILFOYLE# Can you say in	good conscience	actually that you think now thi	
BC among the other boarders to complain about the food but I could not in	good conscience	join in.	I loved those meals, the
BC very day which had only grown for the fact that I could never in	good conscience	voice my	resentment toward h
himself shot. 382014MAGMotherJonesABC " As an educator, " he said, " I couldn't in	good conscience	continue	on. I felt the students
ABC their attorney, the Giffords explain that they are Christians who can not in	good conscience	facilitate	ceremonies that direc
➡ NewRepublicABC doing everything you want him to do. Now, can I say in	good conscience	that Harold Washington will h	
me? 412014MAGNewStatesmanABC 've seen, I've travelled extensively. " # So, in all	good conscience,	we should invite the Roma he	
ABC 'd done a good enough job. They had a good grounding and a	good conscience	and made good choices. And b	
. 432014NEWSAustinABC (of) the Public Integrity Unit's employees, I can not in	good conscience	support	continued state fundir
4ACADGeorgiaHisQABC 's civil governor, " James Wright, adding that he could not in	good conscience	surrender	his post without rec
➡ : NightlineABC be honest with you guys. Why could you, how could you in	good conscience	sell	this truck... JACK-DOUEK#
. DrewABC so sorry. ARIAS# As I stand here now, I can't in	good conscience	ask	you to sentence me to dea
Me MoreABC it's pretty strong. I said, in the original text, in	good conscience	we can not	support the admini
:ForeverFridayNovelABC been written for me. But I couldn't keep them, not in	good conscience	anyway. At the end of my ques	
SouthernRevABC " Jen said reluctantly. She couldn't send her back out there in	good conscience.	" Would you like something to	

Fig. 6 – Good Conscience (COCA, 2008)

There is a strong collocation between the core and the preposition *in* to the left of it. Also, there is no determiner following the preposition, i.e. *conscience* is used as a non-count noun. If we widen the contextual scope around the core, we find the negators *not*, *nothing* and *never*, mostly in the left-hand context and immediately preceding *in* but also occasionally in the right-hand context. Overall, 19 out of 30 lines show negative polarity. Four more lines, marked by an arrow above, are interrogative. It appears, then, that *good conscience* is predominantly used in non-assertive contexts, i.e. to negate or question whether something can be done in good conscience. This non-assertiveness chimes in well with the use of the modals *can* and *could*, which we find in 25 out of 30 lines. While the modal is usually found in the left-hand context, the main verb is placed to the right of the core. In other words, *in good conscience* is commonly inserted parenthetically in the verb phase, which is a case of colligation. There is also a degree of semantic preference in the choice of the main verb: *Participate* and *join in* are near-synonyms as are *approve,*

facilitate, allow and *support* with the antonym *decline*. This semantic group is about making things possible and this sense of enablement is also present in *continue*, which occurs twice. Taking the negation into account, we can conclude that the lexical item around *good conscience* is about some course of action which cannot be taken if one is to follow their conscience. This semantic prosody is in stark contrast with *clear conscience*, which we will consider next.

engeancelsMineABC his job involved violence and death. He'd killed many times	with a	clear conscience, because everything
52013ACADJPopularCultureABC ways a classic " good war, " a war of defense waged in		clear conscience against an enemy wh
BC what many wanted to hear. JAY-PATERNO-1Joe-: Joe Paterno left this world	with a	clear conscience. He told me he wante
normous difficulties for Protestant churches. What Protestant leaders could affirm	with a	clear conscience that John Wesley and
gelsRestEternityABC door -- obviously knew what she was doing. He could leave	with a	clear conscience. Instead, Gabe stayed
ABC more and then you'll be free to do whatever you please	with a	clear conscience # HELGA: I'm not pre
ABC good faith and am ready and able to do business with you	with a	clear conscience as a fully endowed c
ChristCenturyABC live under a bridge, and do that with deep inner peace and	a	clear conscience. # - Maryknoll Father
ABC Seeing this particular captain take over my duties means I can leave	with a	clear conscience. " Mariah studied hin
:DefeatDarknessABC be, at least she'd be able to start her day	with a	clear conscience. When Tate unlocked
:SwiftJusticeABC she confessed to kidnapping, I could blab all to the cops	with a	clear conscience. Ms. Lloyd looked ma
th her 252010MAGEsquireABC , Amazon, Napster: You have options. And, henceforth,	a	clear conscience. AGE 38 Having a fav
ABC and eager after a night's sleep that's reserved for those	with a	clear conscience. He went to the very
ABC we could adopt policies like the one spearheaded by New York City	with a	clear conscience. But some researche
NursingEthicsABC '.1 The nurses strove for purity by preserving cleanliness, order and	a	clear conscience. These results evoke
BC just one problem. SIMON-SUE-1OARA-L# I sleep perfectly at night. I have	a	clear conscience. I don't have blood o
rongfulDeathABC through it before the weekend; he wanted to leave for vacation	with a	clear conscience and focus only on Ti
. # 312009FICSouthwestRevABC we needed for a great wall poster. Then I slept,	with a	clear conscience. # Her voice echoes o
AnalogABC order form had stopped acting up, so he could knock off	with a	clear conscience. He shut down the m
332009FICAnalogABC It must be nice, she thought, to enjoy such things	with a	clear conscience. They climbed back o
342009MAGShapeABC meats, and fresh fruits and veggies, you can enjoy them	with a	clear conscience. " Try one after a tou
BC you shouldn't--the Saints' Drew Brees is the only one to take	with a	clear conscience. 2 Speaking of Tomli
_PrimetimeABC lives. We begin with Harley. HARLEY-1AMISH-TEE# I got, I got	a	clear conscience now. I don't have to
Bk:AutomaticDetectiveABC my help. I'd tried. I could walk away now	with a	clear conscience. // " If you change yo
ABC Anything that's damaged beyond repair or too worn out to donate	with a	clear conscience should go into the to
ABC_NightlineABC . But tonight, you'll meet a man who eats with a very		clear conscience because he traces ev
, 402007SPOKABC_NightlineABC way - it bypasses all that and - you can eat with a	-	clear conscience. DAVID-WRIGHT-1A
shopping? 412007FICIndiaCurrentsABC to saving the Union. As such, I can not,	with a	clear conscience, support the partitio
422007FICAnalogABC I did deserve it. This time around might be easier,	with a	clear conscience. " He ruminated. " If y
PopMechABC the Fort Collins, Colo. -based brewery is proving that great taste and	a	clear conscience are both good for b

Fig. 7 – Clear conscience (COCA, 2008)

Where it occurs in collocation with *clear*, *conscience* is used as a count noun and always with the indefinite article *a*. In the great majority of cases, it is part of a prepositional phrase with the preposition *with*. So, we have *in good conscience* in contrast to *with a clear conscience*. In the immediate right-hand context of the core we find punctuation marks in 21 out of 30 lines, i.e. *with a clear conscience* is commonly located at the end of the clause or sentence. In terms of polarity, *clear conscience* occurs in assertive contexts, i.e. there is neither negation nor

an interrogative clause structure. In the more extended left-hand context we find instances of *could* and *be able to*, but the collocation is less pronounced than is the case with *good conscience.* Main verbs are also to be found in the left-hand context, i.e. *clear conscience* is not parenthetic in the VP. *Leave* occurs four times and there is also the synonym *walk away*. Semantically, this goes together with *knock off* in that all these verbs signify some state of affairs or activity coming to an end. This semantic preference concerns six out of 30 lines. The semantic prosody is clearly about what can be done without feeling guilty, which is in contrast to the phraseological pattern around *good conscience*, which is about what cannot be done without feeling guilty. Where we see the semantic preference of the core with the *leave* group, we can paraphrase the semantic prosody as "Somebody comes out of a situation without having to feel guilty".

How are these phraseological patterns presented in learner's dictionaries? The pre-corpus OALD 3 shows only a partial awareness of them.

con·science /ˈkɒnʃəns/ *n* [C,U] the consciousness within oneself of the choice one ought to make between right and wrong: ***have a clear/guilty ~.*** ***have no ~,*** be as ready to do wrong as right. ***(have sth) on one's ~,*** (feel) troubled about sth one has done, or failed to do. ***'~ money,*** money paid to rectify sth and ease one's ~ (esp when no other person knows that it is owing). ***'~-smitten*** /-smɪtn/ *adj* filled with remorse. ***for '~' sake,*** to satisfy one's ~. ***in all ~,*** (form of emphatic declaration) surely; (colloq) by all that is fair: ***I cannot in all ~ agree.*** ***make sth/be a matter of ~,*** make sth/be a question which one's ~ must decide.

Fig. 8 – Conscience (OALD 3)

Clear conscience is given as a collocation along with the antonymic *guilty conscience*, but there is no indication that *clear conscience* often occurs in a *with*-PP and the semantic prosody of *with a clear conscience* is not expressed. *Good conscience* is missing in the entry, but this is due to the fact that OALD 3 was more exclusively geared towards British English. There is, however, the phrase *in all conscience*, which, at first glance, seems to pattern similarly to *in good conscience*. In the dictionary entry we see typical features such as the collocation with *in* and the fact that *conscience* is used as a non-count noun. The example sentence *I cannot in all conscience agree* also features the modal *can*, negative polarity and the parenthetical placement of *in all conscience* inside the

verb phrase. The BNC has 17 lines with the core *all conscience* which are displayed below:

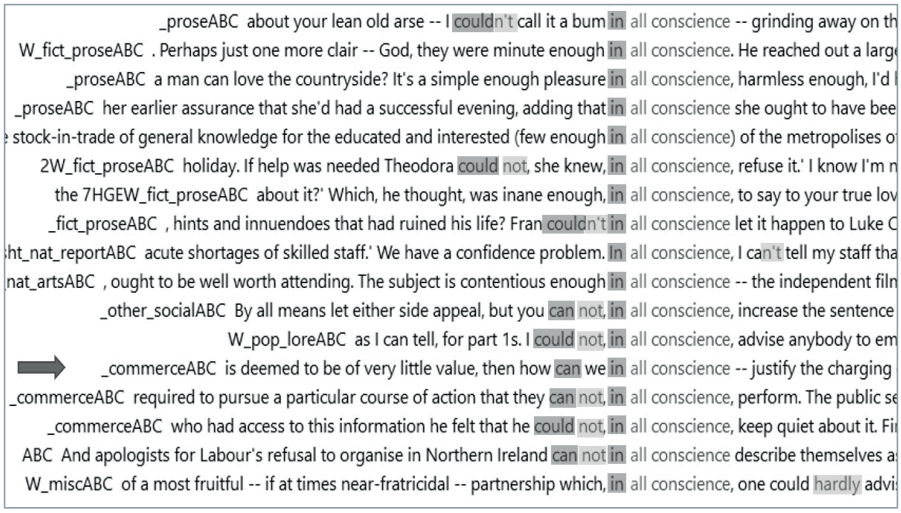

Fig. 9 – In all conscience (BNC)

The concordance indeed shows a degree of similarity to *good conscience*. However, the presence of *can/could* and negative polarity is not quite regular. There are six cases which show positive polarity and lack *can/could* as exemplified in lines 2 and 3:

> *Perhaps just one more clair – God, they were minute enough in all conscience*. (line 2)
> *It was a simple enough pleasure in all conscience, harmless enough, …* (line 3)

Note that these lines also do not show the parenthetic positioning of the core inside the verb phrase. It seems then that there are two lexical items around that core: one that corresponds to the American *good conscience*, shares its phraseological features and semantic prosody, and another one without these features and the semantic prosody of "emphatic declaration" as Hornby puts it. The entry in OALD 3 does not differentiate them clearly.

The following table gives an overview of to what extent the properties of the lexical items around the cores *clear conscience, good conscience* and *all conscience* feature in the current online versions of the "big five" English learner's dictionaries, as Béjoint (2010: 164) has called them: OALDo, LDOCEo, COBUILDo, CALDo and MEDo.

lem. =treated as a lemma or sub-lemmatic address; fsd. =included in full sentence definition;
bold =marked as a phraseologism by use of bold print in examples; ex. =included in example but not marked as phraseologism.

clear conscience	**OALDo**	**LDOCEo**	**COBUILDo**	**CALDo**	**MEDo**
core *clear conscience*	bold	bold	fsd.	bold	lem.
preceding prep. + indef. art. *with a*	--	ex.	ex.	--	ex.
located at end of clause	--	ex.	ex.	--	ex.
assertive contexts	--	ex.	ex.	--	ex.
could or *be able to* in left context	--	ex.	ex.	--	--
semantic preference of verbs: *leave*, etc.	--	--	ex.	--	ex.

good/all conscience	**OALDo**	**LDOCEo**	**COBUILDo**	**CALDo**	**MEDo**
core *good/all conscience*	lem./ex.	lem./fsd. ex.	lem./fsd. ex.	lem./ex.	lem./ex.
preceding prep. *in* and no art.	lem./ex.	lem./fsd. /ex.	lem./fsd. /ex.	lem./ex.	lem./ex.
non-assertive context	ex.	lem./fsd. /ex.	fsd./ex.	ex.	ex.
can/could in left hand context	ex.	fsd./ex.	fsd./ex.	ex.	ex.
semantic preference: *join*, etc.	--	--	ex.	--	--
semantic preference: *approve*	ex.	--	--	--	ex.
parenthetic in VP	ex.	fsd./ex.	ex.	ex.	ex.

Table 1. Clear conscience,Good conscience and *All conscience* in 5 English learner's dictionaries (OALDo, LDOCEo, COBUILDo, CALDo and MEDo)

It seems that much depends on the judicious choice of example. With the right example, all features of the lexical items are displayed but without the example the lexical item goes unnoticed. However, the power of examples is limited. They don't draw the user's attention to the regular occurrence and therefore phraseological character of the lexical item. In that context, it is interesting to see that the "big five" emphasize the phraseological character of the item around *good/all conscience* much more than that of *clear conscience*. *In good/all conscience* is treated as a (sub-)lemma in all five dictionaries and LDOCEo even includes the negative polarity in the lemma: NOT IN (ALL/GOOD) CONSCIENCE. Additionally, LDOCEo and COBUILDo also use the device of full sentence definitions to bring the phraseological character of the item around *all/good conscience* across to the user.

From its inception Hornby's brainchild, the English learner's dictionary, was meant to have a strong phraseological component. While we see a degree of variation across the "big five" in their treatment of the lexical items around *clear conscience* and *all/good conscience*, it is clear that the learner's dictionary as a type has much improved in its phraseological awareness.

This is where the main significance of the corpus revolution in lexicography lies.

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CALDo = Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary online. dictionary.cambridge.org.
COBUILDo = COBUILD Advanced English Dictionary online. www.collinsdictionary.com.
LDOCEo = Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English. www.ldoceonline.com.
MEDo = *Macmillan English Dictionary online*. www.macmillandictionary.com.
OALDo = Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary. www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com.

Lucilla Lopriore*

The Impact of ELF Lexico-grammatical Innovations and Spoken Interactions in Multilingual Contexts: Pedagogical Implications

Abstract:
The emergence of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) in a growingly multilingual society has raised several issues, among others, challenges to traditional approaches to English Language Teaching (ELT). Recent research findings have shown that ELF is generally effective in communication, in spite of the considerable variability in the linguistic forms it exhibits. Research projects on ELF have specifically investigated ELF main communication aspects, its emerging lexico-grammatical features and instances of language creativity, ELF-specific pragmatic markers and new forms of intercultural communication. Multilingual classrooms demand for renewed awareness of language, of spoken interactions, and of pragmatic norms while enhancing authenticity, the use of ICT and mediation strategies. This chapter aims to introduce main research findings and discuss challenges and possible pedagogical innovations in language and teacher education and material development within an ELF-aware perspective.

Keywords: Authenticity, ELF, ELF awareness, Language education, Mediation

1. *Introduction*

Demographic trends show that the world population will grow to 10 billion by the end of this century and most of this growth takes place in the developing countries where the populations are younger and where English is being taught at an earlier and earlier age at school (Lopriore, 2016:94).

English has spread all over the countries in addition to the autochtonous languages, but without actually threatening their existence, rather 'with the advantage of being ethnically neutral' (Knapp, 2015: 174). As David Graddol underlined in *English Next*, his second report on the status of English, the relationship between English and globalisation is a complex and reciprocal process since "economic globalisation encouraged the spread of English but the spread of English also encouraged globalisation" (2006:9).

* Università Roma Tre.

English, has more than 1 billion users, and it is increasingly spoken as a foreign or as an additional language mostly by nonnative speakers (NNs) (Eberhard *et al.*, 2020). This aspect further corroborates that English, functions as "contact language" (Firth, 1996:240) "among speakers of different L1s for whom [being the only [communicative medium of choice, it is not[only] adopted but adapted by its users" (Seidlhofer, 2011:7). Research studies have investigated ELF main communication features, highlighting its innovative nature triggered by exchanges among non-native speakers using English in their spoken interactions (Brunner & Diemmer, 2018; Jenkins *et al.*, 2011; Jenkins, 2015; Mauranen, 2006).

This global and growing spread of English (Jenkins, 2015), has inevitably challenged the norm-bound status of English. These challenges have been affecting teaching and learning traditions which demand for a shift from the traditional form focused EFL/ESL teaching to the actual focus on current 'use' of English, on new language needs, on authenticity and materials development, and language teacher education (Bayyurt & Dewey, 2020; Cogo, 2009; 2010, 2011, 2018; Cogo & Dewey, 2012, 2016; Kohn, 2018; Lopriore, 2016, 2021, 2022 a&b; 2023; Sifakis & Bayyurt, 2018; Sifakis *et al.*, 2022).

Teaching practices should thus be reconsidered accordingly, since they should aim at raising learners' awareness not only of the diversity of 'World Englishes' (WEs) and of the emerging features of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), but also of the new realities regarding the multilingual and multicultural identities of the school population (European Commission, 2019). Consequently, for a more 'realistic' representation of this divergent nature of English in EFL/ESL classrooms, the non-native teachers' roles need to be reconsidered so that learners' second language awareness is enhanced. Considering the above, a WEs and an ELF-aware teacher education might serve as a springboard for teachers' development as effective language educators. Language teachers and teachers using English to teach their subject in increasingly multilingual classrooms need to reconceptualize language teaching within new language landscapes.

Influenced by these emerging global realities, practitioners are thus required to consider their learners' current needs, interests, and language use that usually transcends classroom boundaries, and to eventually revisit their instructional practices to sustain their learners' individual multi-lingua-cultural requirements.

Research studies on the new status of English, particularly on the

studies on English as used by non-native speakers in multilingual contexts, as in English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) exchanges (Cogo, 2009; Jenkins, 2006, 2015; Kaur, 2009 Mauranen, 2006; Pitzl, 2005; Seildhofer, 2011), and their pedagogical implications in teacher education (Cavalheiro *et al.*, 2021; Cogo & Dewey, 2012, 2016; Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Kohn, 2018; Lopriore, 2017a, b; 2020; 2021; Lopriore *et al.*, 2022; Sifakis, *et al.*, 2018; Sifakis, 2019; Sifakis *et al.,* 2022), have revealed that integrating new views of English, particularly in multilingual classrooms, necessarily requires devising a new construct in language teacher education, aimed at encouraging EL teachers, through reflective approaches, develop their understanding of multilingual identities and better sustain and promote plurilingual and intercultural competences among their students (Candelier *et al.,* 2012; Calafato, 2019; Baker, 2022).

This new construct should aim at taking into consideration the new competences needed by English language teachers (ELTs), who have not yet incorporated in their teaching neither findings emerging in the field of ELF lexico-grammatical innovative features (Cogo & Dewey, 2016; Cogo, 2018; Gilmer, 2016; Hülmbauer, 2013) and creativity in spoken interactions (Pitzl, 2005; Cogo & Pitzl, 2016), nor an awareness of the new function and role of English, let alone an awareness of the relevance of the multiplicity of Englishes for multilingualism and for social inclusion.

2.

A process of individual change cannot be left to teachers' personal initiatives only, rather it requires a joint collaborative action through specifically designed teacher education courses based upon a reflective approach, as it emerges in the existing literature (Schön, 1983; Ketelaar *et al.*, 2012; Freeman, 2016; Johnson & Golombek, 2016), and, hopefully, sustained by specific language policies and language planning.

Teachers are often not involved in the design of educational innovations and their reactions to the implementation of an innovation, largely depend on whether they perceive their identities as being reinforced or threatened by the proposed changes. If awareness of the current plurality of English is raised in teacher education courses, there are good chances that this perspective will be adopted afterwards in the

classroom, when teachers work with their students. In this perspective the "ELF-awareness" approach (Sifakis, 2019; Sifakis *et al.*, 2022) can prove as the most appropriate to sustain English language teachers face the challenge of teaching a language that has now become a lingua franca, or better, a 'multilingua franca' (Jenkins, 2015).

ELF awareness is defined as "the process of engaging with ELF research and developing one's own understanding of the ways in which it can be integrated in one's classroom context, through a continuous process of critical reflection, design, implementation and evaluation of instructional activities that reflect and localize one's interpretation of the ELF construct" (Sifakis & Bayyurt, 2018: 459). According to the above definition, ELF-awareness can be raised among teachers and learners as well (Lopriore, 2021a, b). Therefore, it can be argued that ELF-aware language educators should:

a) promote reflection upon the aspects of language "normativity, appropriateness, comprehensibility, ownership of English by N and NN users alike" (Sifakis, 2019);

b) evaluate, adapt, implement, reflect, and re-consider the appropriateness and effectiveness of their hitherto instructional practices and class materials in relation to the peculiarities of their own, local, 'culture-specific' contexts;

c) engage learners with authentic communication which relates to their own interests, through 'noticing' and 'languaging' tasks, and the use of language corpora;

d) enhance multilingual learners' use of their languages of origin, thus establishing an educational plurilingual perspective.

Thus, ELT practitioners can address ELF-awareness as follows.

First, by introducing learners to real-life, authentic language use, frequently deviating from standard forms, they would develop their language sensitivity skills, 'notice' (Schmidt, 2010) the linguistic features present in the discourse, consider what is, or is not, appropriate and important in effective communication, and eventually raise their "awareness of language and language use" (Sifakis, 2019:291).

Secondly, by engaging learners in reflective evaluation of their classroom practices, language teachers can develop an "awareness [of the validity of their own] *instructional practices",* (Sifakis, 2019:292), thus enhancing their own 'agency' and establishing a common ground with research.

Finally, by involving learners in authentic, inside or outside the EFL classroom, communication connected with learners' own interests, experiences, teachers raise their learners' awareness of learning and turn them into self-confident and successful language users (Seidlhofer, 2011).

ELF awareness was chosen as the principle guiding innovative teacher education courses to be developed in a transformative perspective, including perhaps most extensively to date the ENRICH professional development course (Cavalheiro *et al.*, 2021; Sifakis *et al.,* 2022).

The ENRICH Project (http://enrichproject.eu/) is an ERASMUS+ Continuous Professional Development course (CPD) developed and implemented in five countries (Greece, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Turkey), implemented in 2020[1]. The program was mainly geared at implementing the principles of ELF awareness, by empowering English language teachers to integrate the current role of ELF in their multilingual classrooms, thus "to fundamentally rethink and revisit their teaching as well as its object, that is the current status of English, thanks to activities and peer exchanges" (Sifakis *et al.,* 2022:263). The aim of ENRICH was to offer teachers the opportunity to learn about English, to explore its current instantiations, to discuss the implications for teaching and learning, and to identify ways to take the current state of English into account.

2.1 *Awareness and authenticity*

One of the most powerful tools for sustaining English language teachers' agency in facing the challenges posed by a growing multilingual school population, mostly composed by learners with diverse languages of origin, continuously exposed to English used by NN speakers, is to link language awareness with authenticity. Authenticity and its connection with ELT have been recently explored and discussed (Garton & Graves, 2014; Gilmore, 2007) and its pedagogical implications thoroughly highlighted by Henry Widdowson:

> «Authenticity concerns the reality of native-speaker language use: in our case, the communication in English which is realized

[1] The Enrich PDC was implemented on-line in Italy at Roma Tre University between February and July 2020. A follow up course "Revisiting English in a time of change" was run in the following academic year.

> by an English-speaking community. But the language which is real for native speakers is not likely to be real for learners […] They belong to another community and do not have the necessary knowledge of the contextual conditions which would enable them to authenticate English in native-speaker terms. Their reality is quite different.»
> (Widdowson, 1996: 68)

Authenticity has also been widely discussed within the latest WEs and ELF research (Thorn, 2013). In this case, authenticity emphasizes ELT stakeholders' need to focus on their social and local contexts, trust teachers' own experience and develop appropriate localized materials for specific language groups (Gilmore, 2007).

Teachers, particularly non-native English-speaking teachers (NNESTs) can use spontaneous, natural, and diverse authentic texts, such as newspapers and magazines, radio and TV broadcasts, or internet material to 'provide the best source of rich and varied [real life] input for language learners'. Learners' attention can then be drawn on features of genuine speech, [i.e., natural rhythm and intonation, natural starts and stops, hesitations, etc] (Tomlinson, 2010: 83), raise their awareness of how language is used, and stimulate their whole-brain processing which can result in more durable learning.

ELF research projects have tended to focus separately on one or other linguistic system, on phonology (Jenkins, 2005), on lexicogrammatical features (Seidlhofer, 2011) and, even if to a lesser extent, on new features of pragmatics emerging from ELF interactions (Cogo & House, 2017; House, 2022). ELF in oral interactions is characterized by interactants' joint, collaborative action making the discourse robust and 'normal' in the face of interactants' often non-normative use of the English language. Research studies have investigated how ELF users turn to pragmatic transfer and code-switching whenever it is necessary to plug competence gaps arising in their use of English (House, 2022:122). Studies have focused on how ELF interactants manage to accommodate to each other, how they negotiate meanings and co-construct utterances often employing ELF-specific pragmatic markers.

Lexico-grammatical innovations and new forms of spoken interactions are among the most relevant aspects of ELF that are worth exploring in ELT through specific ELF-aware tasks that require revisiting lexical, aural and intercultural competence, through approaches that enhance learners' noticing, their languaging capacity and their aural and oral awareness.

The notion of authenticity provides a new role and a different function to local teachers who would become the 'local and legitimate authors' in classroom-based curriculum and teaching materials development (Lopriore, 2017, 2021a,b). It is important then that all the authentic forms and functions of English as a *lingua franca* (Gilmore, 2007), mainly produced by NNSs, should not be disregarded, rather highlighted and noticed by students through appropriate tasks.

There is thus a growing need to encourage teachers to use authentic materials rather than relying upon coursebooks only, as these are too often only focused upon native speakers' models. Bardovi-Harlig *et al.,* (2015) had advocated for introducing authentic language into the classroom by using native speakers' utterances in a variety of situations, but the use of native speakers only cannot be regarded as an example of authentic communication nor as a model. Given that coursebooks are often relatively limited in their authenticity, the authors' approach may be seen as a necessary complement to those coursebook sections that are primarily focused on communication. As Leah Gilmer states in her research studies on lexical preferences in ELF contexts, particularly those that are available in ELF corpora,

> «Several studies whose common theme is the elicitation of the lexical preferences of speakers of English in localized and globalized settings. Findings from analyses of various corpora show that there exists a relatively small set of preferred words that speakers of English rely on regardless of where the interaction takes place, with whom they are interacting, and what the purpose of the interaction is. Results also show that these lexical preferences are consistently prevalent to the extent that it is possible to advance the hypothesis that a relatively stable dominant vocabulary dynamically emerges out of ELF speaker interactions in order to serve certain communicative functions.» (Gilmer, 2016:27)

3. *ELF spoken interactions: pedagogical implications*

Changes occurring in English as used all over the world, mostly occur in spoken language interactions and in multimodal exchanges where English is predominantly used to communicate among non-native speakers

Current uses of English in its aural and oral processes in real life contexts, as in ELF contexts, its new functions, its new pragmatic features, and the mediation strategies needed in listening and in speaking, should be introduced in teacher education courses to enhance teachers' awareness of the uses of English in today's globalized world, in multilingual as well as in migration contexts. Current teaching practices through language awareness modules on listening and speaking processes, based upon authenticity (Gilmore, 2007) of tasks and real-life interaction, while in traditional teaching, these activities almost always reflect native speakers' communication only.

Traditional teaching of speaking uses replications of real-life communication focusing on the inner circle only, overlooking what is currently happening in real life. This type of approach results in a partial and limiting exposure of learners to authentic language in use. Learners are now, on the contrary, increasingly exposed to varieties and variations of Englishes, in their out-of-school experiences where they often translanguage acting as emergent bilinguals. But this is rarely taken into consideration in classroom practice. Learners' emergent bilingualism, particularly in their use of English in the multilingual contexts they live in, is dynamic, as they add new linguistic and transcultural features to their expanding translanguaging repertoire. English instruction cannot thus be devoid of the emergent bilingual full linguistic repertoire (Garcia & Otheguy, 2019). The study of English, or through English, should thus be based upon and enhance the emergent bilingual's full linguistic repertoire (Tsang, 2019). This status requires a change in oracy development (Goh, 2014), and on the notion of intelligibility (Pickering, 2006) equipping learners with intelligible rather than native-like pronunciation,

Research studies into the teaching of speaking highlight what might contribute to improvement in speaking: communicative and mediation strategies, cognitive processing, fluency, accuracy, complexity, and the analysis of naturally occurring interactions, through conversation and discourse analysis. The availability of spoken English language corpora, and, most important of ELF corpora, have encouraged the use of an approach where learners act as language discoverers of spoken language traits, rarely presented as samples of authentic language in ELT.

The emerging English landscapes require teacher education programs, meant to enhance teachers' and learners' awareness of the uses of English in today's globalized world. It is thus paramount to provide opportunities to expose learners to the use of English in

multilingual migration contexts, revisiting spoken language practices and enhancing mediation (Sperti, 2022). Language teachers should investigate language use in real life contexts, the emerging pragmatic features of communication, the new functions of English and the role and function of the mediation strategies used (Lopriore, 2021a).

Speaking and listening have always been considered complex skills (Pickering, 2006), because speaking involves fast and highly dynamic processes. Competent learners should combine diverse skills, taking account of the contexts, using speech culturally and socially relevant, and comprehensible to their interlocutors – often non-native - as well as managing micro-level reactions to what they say.

Competent speakers, even in their L1, should be listeners who can take account of the interactional and unpredictable dynamics of speech (Ellis, 2014). Goh&Burns (2012) propose that speaking competence can be thought of as "combinatorial," involving the use of linguistic knowledge, core speaking skills, and communication strategies, which must all act simultaneously to constitute speaking competence. Similar needs have emerged also in subject teachers who are faced by growingly multilingual classes where learners often speak their origin language at home; and where learners' oracy development is seldom taken into consideration. Revisiting spoken language uses for learning may become a trans-disciplinary component of initial teacher education (Lopriore, 2023).

4. *Conclusions*

The purpose of this chapter was to briefly outline and discuss how language teacher education might address the changes occurring in English, a global language whose spread and variations have modified its standard nature and status, and provided teachers with a novel perspective on its role and function.

The adoption of a reflective approach based upon noticing spoken interactions in English through language awareness, can elicit teachers' awareness of changes occurring in English and induce a new perspective on the implications of teaching it within a moveable scenario where English teaching traditions are often challenged. This type of approach, embedded within an ELF aware teacher education course, may sustain course participants' appropriation of their own teaching process and may

trigger a more focused teaching aimed at eliciting learners' interests and plurilingual competences.

The most recent British Council publication on the global perspectives of the future of English (Patel *et al.,* 2022) further develops Graddol's 2006 document and addresses specific issues related to the current status of English and to teacher education, particularly the lack of teachers' preparation for multilingualism.

> «The challenge for the teacher is whether this initial teacher training prepares them for the realities of the classroom they will find themselves in and the world that learners want to participate in. […] The challenge for training providers is that developing appropriate, relevant and flexible content for initial teacher education for dynamic globalized contexts is a formidable task and should not be underestimated. That said, there are many contexts in which teachers, on leaving pre-service education, are ill-equipped to provide the best learning opportunities for their learners.» (Patel *et al.,* 2022:210)

Language teacher education is a field where, according to local contexts and pedagogical traditions, different theoretical frameworks may be used, specific approaches adopted, course components differently combined, and teachers' and trainers' espoused theories and beliefs about English are often challenged and revisited. Reflective practice, language awareness, particularly 'ELF-awareness', may be embedded in teacher education to help teachers face emerging dilemmas and shifts in perspective in ELT while revisiting their habits and beliefs, and autonomously move beyond coursebooks.

Even if awareness cannot be taught, it may though be enhanced through reflective approaches where teachers explore, discover and make decisions about the subject they teach or they use for teaching a language – English - that has become a lingua franca, beyond borders and standards.

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Martina Nied Curcio*

Inglese come Relay Language *in un Confronto Linguistico Consapevole: Decisivo per l'Uso Competente di Strategie e Risorse Online?*

ABSTRACT:
More and more foreign language learners make interference errors from the first to the second foreign language; the negative transfer does not only take place from L1. We know that not every contrast leads to a negative transfer and not every similarity supports the language learning process. However, foreign language learners always compare between languages, not only between two, but between all their previously learnt languages. The responsible factor for the successful use of a plurilingual repertoire seems to be the awareness or the conscious use of language comparison as a strategy. In this context the English language plays an important role as a relay language. Examples from empirical studies on dictionary use are presented, in which English as a consciously used relay language is responsible for a competent use of online resources and dictionaries. At the end, the design of a research project is presented, which aims to clarify the relationship between language competence, language awareness and the conscious use of learning strategies and a competent use of online resources and dictionaries.

KEYWORDS: Contrastive linguistics, Language awareness, Plurilingualism, Plurilingual Repertory, Dictionary use research

1. *Introduzione: confronto linguistico ed errori di interferenza*

Durante l'apprendimento, gli studenti di lingua straniera producono ripetutamente errori dovuti a un trasferimento dalla prima lingua (L1). Tipici errori di interferenza[1] che gli studenti italiani di tedesco

* Università Roma Tre.

[1] «L'*interferenza linguistica* (detta anche *interferenza L1, trasferimento o interferenza translinguistica*) è l'effetto della lingua madre sulla produzione di una seconda lingua. L'effetto può riguardare qualsiasi aspetto della lingua: grammatica, lessico, fonologia, ortografia ecc. Il più delle volte è discussa come fonte di errori (trasferimento negativo) […] L'interferenza può essere conscia o inconscia. Consciamente, lo studente può ipotizzare poiché non ha appreso o ha dimenticato l'uso corretto. Inconsciamente, lo studente può non considerare che le caratteristiche delle lingue possono differire, o può conoscere le regole corrette senza saperle mettere in pratica, e quindi ripiegare sull'esempio della propria lingua madre. […]

commettono durante l'apprendimento a causa delle somiglianze lessicali, morfosintattiche e fonologiche tra italiano e tedesco sono frasi come:

(1). *Sie hat *seine Handtasche zu Hause vergessen*.
it. (Lei) ha dimenticato la sua borsetta a casa.

(2). *Mein schönstes Erlebnis war, *wenn ich nach Spanien gefahren bin*.
it. La mia esperienza più bella è stata quando siamo andati in Spagna.

(3). *Ich danke *Sie*.
it. La ringrazio.[2]

Gli studenti di lingue straniere tendono a confrontare le diverse lingue, oppure una nuova lingua straniera con la loro L1, spontaneamente, e trasferiscono spesso le informazioni da una lingua all'altra. La prima lingua è sempre presente nella mente degli studenti, anche se è esplicitamente esclusa nell'insegnamento. (cfr. Rössler, 2009: 172)

Il transfer non si attiva solo dalla propria lingua madre. Si è infatti osservato che gli studenti di lingue straniere, nel corso dell'apprendimento di una nuova lingua, si basano sulle conoscenze metalinguistiche già acquisite, in modo del tutto automatico (Wildenauer-Jósza, 2004: 38).

Già 20 anni fa, Hufeisen aveva scoperto che l'11% degli errori complessivi compiuti dagli studenti di tedesco come lingua straniera, può

L'interferenza può anche aver luogo tra lingue acquisite; un inglese che apprende francese e spagnolo, ad esempio, può erroneamente presumere che una particolare caratteristica di una lingua si applichi anche all'altra.» (https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interferenza_linguistica; ultimo accesso 24/05/2022)

[2] Nel primo esempio, è stato trasferito dall'italiano il pronome possessivo *sua* al pronome possessivo tedesco *sein*, che si utilizza solo per le persone di sesso maschile. Il pronome possessivo corretto per la forma femminile in questo caso è *ihr*. Di conseguenza, la frase dovrebbe essere: (1) *Sie hat ihre Handtasche zu Hause vergessen*. Nell'esempio (2) non è stato considerato che *quando*, a causa della sua polifunzionalità, in tedesco – a seconda della sua funzione se connettore temporale o condizionale – deve essere realizzato in modo diverso. Ma anche nella funzione temporale ci sono due possibilità: *als* o *wenn*. *Wenn* si usa solo al presente; al passato si può utilizzare *wenn* solo se l'azione fosse ripetuta. In questo caso è quindi corretto *als* perché l'azione si è svolta al passato solo una volta: (2) *Mein schönstes Erlebnis war, als ich nach Spanien gefahren bin*. Il terzo esempio mostra un transfer negativo a livello sintattico cioè la valenza del verbo italiano *ringraziare* è stata trasferita al verbo tedesco *danken* come se ci volesse un complemento oggetto diretto (ted. Akkusativergänzung). Il complemento retto da *danken*, invece, è il complemento dativo (il complemento analogo in italiano sarebbe il complemento oggetto indiretto). La frase corretta è: (3) *Ich danke Ihnen*.

attribuirsi ai transfer dalla seconda alla terza lingua. (cfr. Hufeisen,1991: 90) Sembra che negli ultimi anni il miglioramento delle competenze in inglese L2 da parte degli studenti italiani, influisca anche sull'aumento di errori di interferenza dall'inglese (L2) verso il tedesco (L3). Esempi di errori frequenti da parte degli studenti sono:

(4). **In meiner Meinung ist dieses Verhalten nicht akzeptabel.*
ingl. In my opinion this behaviour is unacceptable.
it. Secondo me questo comportamento non è accettabile.

(5). *In London können wir in einem Hotel *stehen.*
ingl. In London we can stay in a hotel.
it. A Londra possiamo stare (lett. stare in piedi) in un albergo.

(6). *Dieses Haus wurde *bei meinen Eltern gebaut.*
ingl. This house was built by my parents.
it. Questa casa è stata costruita dai miei genitori.[3]

Sbagliando si impara. E gli errori di interferenza fanno ovviamente parte del processo di apprendimento. Questo lo sappiamo. Ma sappiamo anche che si impara dagli errori solo quando si è consapevoli dell'errore e lo si corregge in modo esplicito. Solo così non verrà ripetuto lo stesso errore in futuro. *Consapevolezza* è la parola chiave in questo contesto. Infatti, ci sono studenti consapevoli del contrasto oggettivo tra le lingue perché riflettono – a livello metalinguistico – su convergenze e/o divergenze tra due o più lingue per poi usare certe strategie che aiutano a trovare una soluzione per la difficoltà linguistica. Questo vale anche quando il confronto interlinguistico avviene tra una lingua seconda e una lingua terza – come nel nostro caso, dall'inglese verso il tedesco. Ad esempio, traducendo la frase *Lo zucchero è finito* in tedesco, una studentessa universitaria romana ha iniziato una ricerca sull'inglese (la

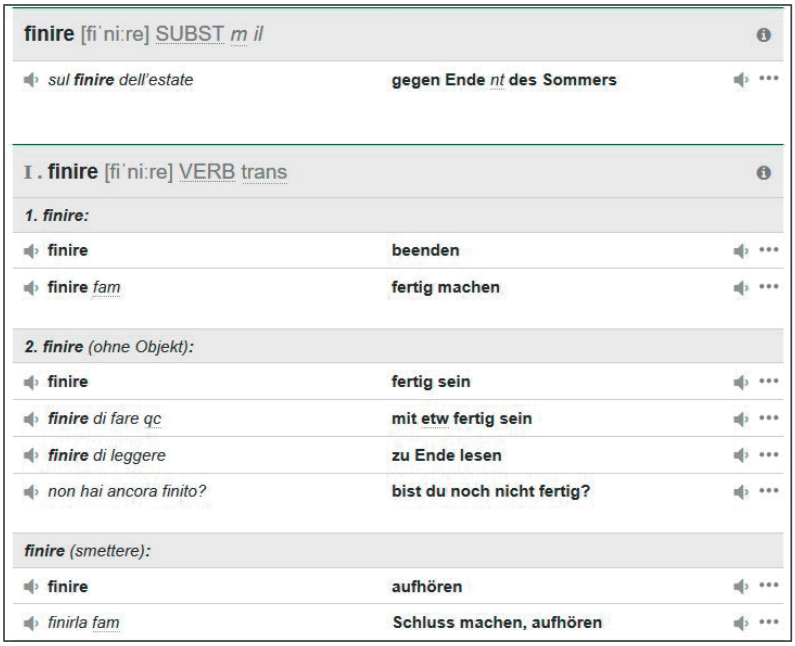
[3] Nell'esempio (4) lo studente ha tradotto letteralmente l'espressione inglese *in my opinion* in tedesco. Invece la frase corretta è: *Meiner Meinung nach ist dieses Verhalten nicht akzeptabel*. Nel quinto esempio, il verbo tedesco *stehen* è usato come equivalente a inglese *stay*, nonostante il fatto che *stehen* non significa 'vivere o stare in un luogo come visitatore per un breve periodo di tempo'. Per questo significato, in tedesco si usa il verbo *bleiben* oppure *übernachten* (nel senso di 'soggiornare in un albergo'): *In London können wir in einem Hotel bleiben/ übernachten.* L'esempio (6) presenta una frase in cui la preposizione inglese *by*, che si usa nella forma passiva, viene tradotta in tedesco con la preposizione *bei* invece di *von*. *Bei* si usa come preposizione locale per uno *stato in luogo* (presso qu./qc). La frase corretta è *Dieses Haus wurde von meinen Eltern gebaut.*

sua L2). Su un dizionario bilingue ha aperto la sezione Inglese-Tedesco e ha inserito la stringa *run out*. La risorsa online le ha presentato i verbi corretti per questo contesto *etwas ausgehen* (it. 'esaurire') o *etwas nicht mehr haben* (it. 'non avere più qualcosa') al primo posto (fig. 1). Di conseguenza, lei è stata in grado di tradurre correttamente la frase in tedesco: *Der Zucker ist ausgegangen*.

Fig. 1 Risultato della stringa "run out" su *Wordreference* (Inglese-Tedesco) [4]

Ovviamente, fin dall'inizio, la studentessa era consapevole del fatto che il verbo polisemico *finire* in questo contesto non può essere tradotto con il verbo tedesco *beenden*. Sapeva del contrasto tra le due lingue e quindi ha cercato un verbo più specifico in tedesco per questo contesto. Studenti che non avevano una consapevolezza metalinguistica ben sviluppata e che hanno inserito come stringa *finire* in dizionari bilingui online come *Pons* (Italiano-Tedesco), in genere non sono riusciti a tradurre la frase in modo corretto, anche perché risorse come *Pons* o *Leo* non presentano degli esempi e non mostrano il verbo *ausgehen* tra gli equivalenti. (fig. 2)

[4] https://www.wordreference.com/ende/run%20out (ultimo accesso 19/08/2021).



finire [fi'ni:re] SUBST *m il*	
sul ***finire*** *dell'estate*	**gegen Ende** *nt* **des Sommers**
I . finire [fi'ni:re] VERB trans	
1. finire:	
finire	**beenden**
finire *fam*	**fertig machen**
2. finire *(ohne Objekt):*	
finire	**fertig sein**
finire *di fare qc*	**mit etw fertig sein**
finire *di leggere*	**zu Ende lesen**
non hai ancora finito?	**bist du noch nicht fertig?**
finire *(smettere):*	
finire	**aufhören**
finirla fam	**Schluss machen, aufhören**

Fig. 2 Risultato della stringa finire su *Pons* (Italiano-Tedesco)[5]

Non tutte le divergenze tra due lingue portano a un errore di interferenza e non tutte le somiglianze facilitano il processo di apprendimento, come inizialmente ha ipotizzato Lado (1957) con la sua *Contrastive (analyses) hypothesis*. Molto presto si è potuto dimostrare che anche una mancanza di contrasto può condurre a errori nel caso in cui i fenomeni linguistici tra due lingue risultino troppo simili. (Edmondson & House, 1993: 210) Lo abbiamo visto anche negli esempi sopra citati. L'aspetto decisivo, se un apprendente realizza un transfer negativo o positivo, è il grado di consapevolezza soggettiva del contrasto linguistico oggettivo, vale a dire delle convergenze e delle divergenze tra le lingue. Un confronto linguistico non consapevole tra le lingue sembra portare a un transfer negativo, mentre un confronto linguistico esplicito e consapevole può diventare una strategia importante nell'apprendimento delle lingue straniere. Il confronto linguistico, la riflessione metalinguistica e lo sviluppo della *language awareness*[6] sono aspetti fondamentali nella

[5] https://de.pons.com/%C3%BCbersetzung/italienisch-deutsch/finire (ultimo accesso 19/08/2021)

[6] *Language awareness*: "explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception

didattica plurilingue. Il rapporto tra di loro sarà trattato nella prossima sezione.

2. *Il plurilinguismo nel dibattito scientifico*

Il tema del plurilinguismo e della didattica del plurilinguismo integrato (ted. *Integrierte Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik*) è da tempo un tema ricorrente nella discussione scientifica. (cfr. Hufeisen, 2010, Hallet & Königs, 2010, Riehl, 2014). Anche il *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR) (it. *Quadro Comune Europeo di Riferimento per le Lingue*) si basa sull'approccio plurilingue:

> « […] the plurilingual approach emphasises the fact that as an individual person's experience of language in its cultural contexts expands, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other peoples (whether learnt at school or college, or by direct experience), he or she does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact'. […]» (Council of Europe, 2018: 157)

La sfida è quella di riconcettualizzare e sistematizzare l'apprendimento delle lingue straniere come processo cognitivo interconnesso, sempre plurilingue, e di costruire un repertorio plurilingue e pluriculturale:

> «Plurilingual competence as explained in the CEFR […] involves the ability to call flexibly upon an inter-related, uneven, plurilinguistic repertoire to:
> • switch from one language or dialect (or variety) to another;
> • express oneself in one language (or dialect, or variety) and understand a person speaking another;
> • call upon the knowledge of a number of languages (or dialects, or varieties) to make sense of a text;
> • recognise words from a common international store in a new guise;
> • mediate between individuals with no common language (or dialect, or variety), even with only a slight knowledge oneself;
> • bring the whole of one's linguistic equipment into play,

languageawareness.org/?page_id=48 (ultimo accesso 11/08/2021)

experimenting with alternative forms of expression;
• exploit paralinguistic features (mime, gesture, facial expression, etc.)» (Council of Europe, 2018: 28)

Tuttavia, nel dibattito scientifico sulla didattica coesistono vari approcci che si applicano in particolare all'interno di una famiglia linguistica. Nei paesi di lingua tedesca, i primi risultati della ricerca sull'apprendimento plurilingue sono stati presentati soprattutto nel caso dell'apprendimento del tedesco dopo l'inglese: *Deutsch nach Englisch*, ovvero *Tertiärsprachendidaktik* (it.'Didattica della lingua terza') (Hufeisen & Neuner, 2003; Kursiša & Neuner, 2006). Si presumeva che quando si imparano diverse lingue straniere in modo consecutivo, gli studenti utilizzino le conoscenze e le competenze acquisite in precedenza in modo costruttivo e strategico per l'apprendimento di una o più lingue. L'apprendimento di una lingua terza (cfr. Bahr *et al*., 1996: 16) avviene di solito in un'età in cui, dal punto di vista della psicologia dello sviluppo del linguaggio, si possono presupporre l'esistenza di capacità cognitive pienamente sviluppate e dell'uso di strategie. Questo tipo di apprendimento, in genere, è caratterizzato da un approccio più sistematico, dalla capacità di analisi e dal desiderio di rendersi cosciente dei fenomeni linguistici. Questo presupposto è più forte se esiste una parentela linguistica tra le due lingue straniere, come ad esempio l'apprendimento del tedesco dopo l'inglese.[7]

3. *L'uso consapevole del repertorio linguistico come base per una didattica del plurilinguismo integrato*

Sia il metodo dell'*Intercomprensione* che la *Tertiärsprachendidaktik* si basano sul confronto linguistico e sulla riflessione metalinguistica tra varie lingue imparentate e loro sistemi linguistici. Anche la L1 è inclusa in questo confronto cognitivo. L'obiettivo è quello di promuovere l'*attenzione*, la *language awareness* e la *language learning awareness*,

[7] Reinfried (1998: 38) sottolinea l'influenza positiva tra le lingue della stessa famiglia semantica. Essa, secondo lui, dovrebbe offrire più vantaggi che svantaggi. Un altro approccio, particolarmente diffuso nella didattica delle lingue romanze, è l' *Intercomprensione*. (Blanche-Benveniste, 1997; Bonvino, 2009; Doyé & Meißner, 2010; Klein & Stegmann, 2010; Meißner *et al*., 2011). Per ovvi motivi non è possibile approfondire l'argomento in questo contributo.

nonché la *competenza interculturale*. Si è convinti che il confronto linguistico consapevole, con una riflessione *cross-linguistic,* porti a una progressione più rapida all'interno del processo di apprendimento, con un'attenzione particolare alle capacità ricettive. (cfr. Marx, 2005).

I bambini che crescono bilingui o plurilingui (Oomen-Welke, 2011; Königs, 2015) e, come è stato già menzionato, anche apprendenti di lingue straniere si ritrovano a confrontare le lingue che imparano, in modo abbastanza spontaneo (Wildenauer-Jósza, 2004: 38). Chiunque può osservarlo quando entra in contatto con una lingua che non conosce e che potrebbe non appartenere alla propria famiglia linguistica. Ad esempio, è possibile per un parlante tedesco capire parole e frasi in afrikaans confrontandole con il tedesco e/o l'inglese: "Besoekersentrum", "Groen galery" e "Kom geniet Koffie", oppure insegne in lingua estone quali: "Riigikantselei", "Kiriku plats", "Pedagoogika Arhiivmuseum" e "Reisibüroo".

Purtroppo, questo approccio spontaneo, spesso lo si perde nel corso degli anni, a causa dell'apprendimento additivo e separato delle lingue straniere a scuola. Non si riesce più ad applicare ciò che si è imparato in altri contesti linguistici. (cfr. Behr, 2013: 71) In una didattica del plurilinguismo integrato si tratta proprio di attivare queste risorse trascurate e perdute.

Il confronto linguistico e la riflessione metalinguistica si rivelano efficaci a tal proposito, soprattutto perché promuovono la sensibilizzazione verso i fenomeni linguistici e lo sviluppo della *language awareness*. Mediante il loro uso esplicito non si acquisiscono nuove azioni e competenze, bensì si applicano in modo consapevole risorse linguistiche, che sono in realtà già un patrimonio dell'apprendente (Meißner, 2012: 234). Il loro uso consapevole li rende una *language learner strategy* che Cohen definisce così:

> «Thoughts and actions, consciously chosen and operationalized by language learners, to assist them in carrying out a multiplicity of tasks from the very onset of learning to the most advanced levels of target-language performance.» (Cohen, 2011: 7)

Cohen sottolinea che è proprio il termine "consciousness" che fa parte della definizione stessa di strategia. Nel *CARAP: Framework of reference for pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures* (Candelier *et al*., 2007), "saper confrontare, saper parlare di lingue e culture e saper usare le conoscenze di una lingua per capire un'altra

lingua o per produrre in un'altra lingua sono delle abilità (*skills*) importanti che dovrebbero far parte del repertorio di un apprendente di lingue straniere".

Il *Companion Volume with New Descriptors* (Council of Europe, 2018) del *Quadro comune europeo di riferimento per le lingue* attribuisce un'enorme importanza anche alla competenza plurilingue e all'uso flessibile di un repertorio plurilingue.

> « […] the aim of language education is profoundly modified. It is no longer seen as simply to achieve 'mastery' of one or two, or even three languages, each taken in isolation, with the 'ideal native speaker' as the ultimate model. Instead, the aim is to 'develop a linguistic repertory, in which all linguistic abilities have a place'» (Council of Europe, 2018: 157)

Tra le strategie di *mediazione* (in particolare le strategie per spiegare un nuovo concetto) il collegamento con le conoscenze precedenti è una strategia importante che include il confronto linguistico:

> «*Linking to previous knowledge*: Establishing links to previous knowledge is a significant part of the mediation process since it is an essential part of the learning process. The mediator may explain new information by making comparisons, by describing how it relates to something the recipient already knows or by helping recipients activate previous knowledge, etc. […]» (Ibid., 126)

La strategia di utilizzare un repertorio plurilinguistico e pluriculturale è definita *translanguaging*.

Il parlante bi-/plurilingue fa riferimento al proprio repertorio (pluri) linguistico e lo adatta in base alla situazione comunicativa e alla persona che ha di fronte per realizzare una comunicazione efficace e di successo (Garcìa, 2011; Vogel & Garcìa, 2017).

4. *Il ruolo dell'inglese come* relay language *nell'uso di risorse e dizionari online*

Il fatto che l'inglese dovrebbe essere incluso nel confronto linguistico come *lingua ponte* ovvero *relay language*[8] – soprattutto nel caso in cui si impara il tedesco dopo l'inglese – è stato già dimostrato. Tuttavia, nell'ambito dell'educazione plurilingue, la lingua inglese è stata recentemente considerata una lingua "killer" (Gnutzmann, 2011) a causa del suo predominio. L'educazione al plurilinguismo non tiene in considerazione le implicazioni del ruolo dell'inglese e non si focalizza sulle altre lingue europee. Se si considerano i profili reali degli studenti e se - nella discussione sul plurilinguismo - si prende sul serio la richiesta di sviluppare e di attivare un repertorio plurilingue e pluriculturale, il ruolo dell'inglese come *lingua franca* e il suo predominio come prima lingua straniera devono essere presi in considerazione, e questo deve essere fatto in modo concreto e coerente. Se si vuole promuovere una consapevolezza plurilingue e una *cross-linguistic awareness* non limitata a specifiche lingue (Lenz, 2012:167), che si basi cioè sulle competenze e le strategie di *tutte* le lingue straniere acquisite finora, compresa la lingua madre, l'inglese deve essere incluso e non ignorato. L'inglese dovrebbe far parte di qualsiasi confronto linguistico, perché com'è noto – ma spesso dimenticato – l'inglese non è solo una lingua germanica, ma contiene più elementi greco-latini e francesismi di tutte le altre lingue germaniche. Mario Wandruszka lo sottolineava già nel 1979, nella sua opera *Die Mehrsprachigkeit des Menschen* (it. 'il plurilinguismo dell'uomo'):

> «Humanismus und Renaissance brachten der englischen Sprache das folgenschwerste literarische Superstrat Europas, die klassischen alten Sprachen. Daß das Englisch bereits eine so große Menge französischer Wörter in sich aufgenommen hatte, erleichterte jetzt auch die Aufnahme eines riesigen griechisch-lateinischen Wortschatzes, oft in einer lautlichen Gestalt, die es uns heute unmöglich macht zu sagen, ob das betreffende Wort über das Französische oder direkt integriert wurde […]; nimmt man ein lateinisches Schullexikon zu Hand, so kann man feststellen, daß jedes vierte bis fünfte lateinische Wort entweder

[8] La possibilità di utilizzare nell'apprendimento delle lingue straniere una lingua ponte ovvero *relay language*, è stata descritta già nelle prime ricerche sull'acquisizione linguistica. (cfr. Ellis 1985) Il termine *relay language* si usa anche nella scienza della traduzione. (cfr. Schlesinger, 2010; Ringmer, 2012)

über das Französische oder unmittelbar den Weg ins Englische gefunden hat.»[9] (Wandruszka, 1979: 97)

L'ipotesi che il ricorso alle competenze in inglese e alle strategie acquisite durante il processo di apprendimento di tale lingua come repertorio plurilingue possa avere un'influenza positiva sull'apprendimento del tedesco da parte di studenti italiani L1, sarà illustrato con alcuni esempi.

Nel 2013, in uno studio sull'uso degli *smartphone* (Nied Curcio, 2014), ho potuto constatare che in un esercizio di traduzione gli studenti italiani di tedesco che hanno fatto la ricerca su risorse online con l'inglese come *relay language* (in entrambe le direzioni, cioè dall'italiano via l'inglese verso il tedesco e dal tedesco via l'inglese verso l'italiano) hanno svolto delle traduzioni migliori. Una studentessa che ha trovato con successo gli equivalenti italiani delle parole tedesche *Absacker* (ingl. *night cap* (ultimo drink)) e *hartzen* (it. nello slang dei ragazzi ha assunto il significato di 'vivere di beneficienza, non fare nulla') ha commentato così la sua ricerca: "Ho avuto difficoltà con 'hartzen' la cui traduzione era disponibile solo in inglese sotto forma di slang. Per 'Absacker' ho dovuto cercare da tedesco a inglese e poi da inglese a italiano". (Nied Curcio, 2014: 276)[10]

In un altro studio sull'uso di dizionari e risorse online che si concentrava sulla ricerca di equivalenti di frasemi e parole complesse, gli studenti che studiavano l'Inglese come prima lingua straniera avevano maggiore successo. Ad esempio, alcuni studenti non avevano trovato le parole *Traglufthalle* (it. *copertura a cupola d'aria*, airdome) e *Asylverfahren* (it. *procedura di asilo*) nei dizionari online bilingui tedesco-italiano, e quindi hanno cercato dal tedesco all'inglese su *Wordreference* dove hanno trovato *airdome* per *Traglufthalle* e la spiegazione "procedure for grant in the right of asylum" per *Asylverfahren*. (Nied Curcio, 2021)

[9] It. 'L'Umanesimo e il Rinascimento hanno portato alla lingua inglese il più importante "superstrato" letterario d'Europa: le lingue classiche antiche. Il fatto che l'inglese avesse già assorbito così tante parole francesi ha facilitato l'assimilazione di un vasto vocabolario greco-latino, spesso in una forma fonetica che rende impossibile confermare oggi se la parola in questione sia stata integrata via il Francese o direttamente [...]; se prendiamo un dizionario scolastico di Latino, possiamo vedere che una parola latina su quattro o cinque ha trovato la sua strada in inglese o via il francese o direttamente.' (Traduzione M.N.C.)

[10] Gli studenti che hanno utilizzato i traduttori di *Google* hanno trovato l'equivalente italiano "berretto da notte" per *Absacker*. Si può constatare anche qui che il programma di traduzione "traduce" tramite l'inglese.

Da uno studio esplorativo internazionale sull'uso delle risorse online (Müller-Spitzer *et al*., 2018)[11] al quale ho collaborato, è emerso che gli studenti che non si accontentavano della ricerca diretta bilingue, privilegiando ricerche via l'inglese, fossero più facilmente in grado di trovare la soluzione corretta. Ad esempio, dopo una ricerca fallita su un dizionario online bilingue italiano-tedesco, per la frase *du musst exakt die Regeln *folgen*, un soggetto italiano ha inserito la frase *you need to follow the rules* nel traduttore *Google* (inglese-tedesco) e la proposta è stata *müssen Regeln befolgen*. Naturalmente, l'utilizzo di programmi di traduzione non è una garanzia, anzi, il contrario. In questo studio empirico si è potuto proprio constatare che coloro che hanno usato principalmente il traduttore di *Google* hanno avuto poco successo.

Tuttavia, la ricerca tramite la lingua inglese non garantisce un esito di successo e non dimostra che l'uso della risorsa da parte dello studente sia adeguato. Tra gli studenti portoghesi si è potuto osservare che – probabilmente a causa di una conoscenza leggermente inferiore del tedesco – hanno spesso fatto ricerche via l'inglese, ma non hanno comunque revisionato correttamente le frasi.

Ad esempio, per la frase 7 **Ich bin einverstanden mit dir* (it. *sono d'accordo con te*) uno studente portoghese ha inserito nel traduttore *Google* la stringa *einverstanden mit dir* e l'ha cercato dal tedesco verso l'inglese. Il traduttore gli ha proposto: *agree with you*. Successivamente, lo studente ha cambiato la direzione e ha inserito *I agree with you* e ha ricevuto la frase corretta *Ich stimme dir zu* , ha dato una rapida occhiata al monitor, ma non ha riconosciuto la soluzione. Probabilmente la soluzione gli è sembrata "troppo lontana" dal portoghese (la sua L1). Così ha continuato a cercare *einverstanden sein* su PONS e alla fine ha cambiato solo la struttura sintattica: *Ich bin mit dir einverstanden*. In un'analisi successiva, più approfondita, si è potuto dimostrare che il ricorso all'Inglese come strategia non è promettente di per sé, ma solo in combinazione con una conoscenza della lingua e una *language (learning) awareness* ben sviluppate. È importante che l'apprendente

[11] Allo studio internazionale hanno partecipato soggetti provenienti dal Portogallo, dalla Spagna e dall'Italia, che hanno imparato il Tedesco (livello A2/B1). Il compito era quello di correggere alcuni errori di interferenza in Tedesco, utilizzando risorse online. Le azioni sono state registrate (*screen recording*) e gli studenti sono stati incoraggiati a "pensare ad alta voce" (*Think-Aloud-protocols*) (cfr. Ericsson&Simon, 1993). Lo scopo di questo studio era di trovare delle risposte a domande come 'In che modo gli studenti di Tedesco come lingua straniera utilizzano oggi le risorse lessicografiche quando possono fare ricerche liberamente? Quali strategie di ricerca usano? Differenziano le diverse risorse? Quali strategie si rivelano particolarmente efficaci?'.

sia consapevole della distanza oggettiva tra le due (L1 + L3 o L2 + L3) o tra le tre lingue (L1 + L2 + L3). Più lo studente è "attaccato" alla sua lingua madre (L1) più viene ostacolata la riflessione metalinguistica e – di conseguenza – lo sviluppo di una *language (learning) awareness* (Nied Curcio, 2020).

Questi esempi sono una sorta di "prodotti casuali" di alcuni studi che ho condotto sull'uso delle risorse/ dizionari online. Perciò non si può confermare in modo valido e significativo che una ricerca condotta tenendo conto dell'inglese porti a soluzioni più soddisfacenti, perché il numero di studenti che hanno fatto la ricerca tramite l'Inglese era casuale ed era troppo basso. Ma sulla base di questi risultati si possono formulare delle ipotesi e pianificare un progetto di ricerca che mira specificamente al ricorso strategico dell'Inglese come *relay language* nell'ambito della *ricerca sull'uso del dizionario*[12]. Questo progetto sarà descritto nella sezione successiva.

5. *Riflessioni metodologiche per uno studio empirico sull'uso di risorse online con l'Inglese come* relay language

Sulla base delle osservazioni sopra descritte, si può ipotizzare che il livello linguistico (cioè la competenza linguistica), la *language (learning) awareness* e l'uso collegato di *language learner strategies* siano correlati a un uso adeguato delle risorse online. Da quanto mi risulta, non esiste uno studio che abbia esaminato in modo specifico l'uso delle risorse online (compresi i dizionari online) correlato al processo di apprendimento delle lingue straniere - nel nostro caso in base alla *Tertiärsprachendidatik* o semplicemente in base al *tedesco dopo inglese*. Per questo motivo, ho pianificato nel periodo novembre 2020 - marzo 2021 uno studio con 100 studenti italiani che studiano l'inglese come prima lingua e il tedesco come seconda lingua presso l'Università degli Studi Roma Tre. La ricerca ha preso in considerazione vari livelli di competenza (A2-C1). L'obiettivo della ricerca è di verificare se l'uso esplicito dell'inglese come *relay language* (L2) possa influenzare in modo positivo una ricerca nelle risorse online per risolvere questioni linguistiche in lingua tedesca (L3).

[12] La *ricerca sull'uso del dizionario* (ted. *Wörterbuchbenutzungsforschung*, cfr. Wiegand *et al*. 2010: 213) è l'ambito più giovane della metalessicografia. In inglese si usa in genere il termine *Research into dictionary use*. (cfr. Tiberius & Müller-Spitzer, 2015)

Base di partenza sono state le seguenti ipotesi: la ricerca da parte degli studenti di tedesco nelle risorse online attraverso l'inglese può influenzare in modo positivo il processo di apprendimento della lingua tedesca a condizione che l'uso del confronto linguistico con l'inglese avvenga consapevolmente – nel senso quindi di una *language learner strategy* - e che la competenza in inglese sia avanzata, cioè più alta la competenza in inglese e più alta la *language awareness*, più efficace risulta la funzione dell'inglese come strategia e come *relay language* durante l'uso di dizionari o risorse online.

Poiché questa correlazione tra i vari fattori è molto complessa e, a mio parere, non è dato studiare i singoli aspetti con un particolare metodo in modo da poter essere valutati come variabili indipendenti, è consigliabile combinare metodi quantitativi e qualitativi utilizzando la 'triangolazione' (ted. *Triangulation*, cfr. Brannen, 1992; Flick, 2008).

Per i vari aspetti sono previsti i metodi presentati nella Tabella 1:

Oggetto di indagine/argomento di studio	***Metodo***
1. Dati biografici-linguistici	Questionario (tra cui: *Quanti anni hai? Qual è/quali sono la/le tue lingua/e madre/i? Da quanto tempo studi l'inglese? Da quanto tempo studi il tedesco? Conosci altre lingue straniere? Quali? Che tipo di scuola hai frequentato? Hai studiato il latino? ecc.*). (dati quantitativi)
2. Competenza linguistica	Test per accertare il livello linguistico sia in inglese che in tedesco (*cloze test*). (metodo quantitativo)
3. *Language awareness*	*Task* con vari errori di interferenza (incl. qualche errore non di interferenza come distrattore, ad esempio errore di sovrageneralizzazione) sia italiano-tedesco che inglese-tedesco, in cui gli studenti sono tenuti a spiegare il motivo dell'errore (analisi linguistica contrastiva e riflessione metalinguistica). Si cerca di esaminare la percezione soggettiva del contrasto cioè se lo studente conosce le divergenze e le convergenze tra le due lingue (sia italiano-tedesco che inglese-tedesco) e cioè se è consapevole delle difficoltà all'interno del processo di apprendimento (metodo qualitativo).
4. *Language learner strategies*	- Gli studenti sono tenuti a spiegare come risolverebbero vari *task* di traduzione/ mediazione (brevi testi) senza l'aiuto di risorse online. - I task dovrebbero richiedere l'uso di strategie linguistiche come usare sinonimi, antonimi, iperonimi, parafrasare, riassumere, semplificare, usare degli esempi, ecc. - Ci si aspettano indicazioni sulla competenza dell'uso di strategie che al tempo stesso danno una indicazione sulla *language awareness* (metodo qualitativo).
5. Uso di dizionari/o	-Questionario sull'uso di dizionari/o (incl. riflessioni sul proprio uso) con domande come: *Usi un dizionario/dei dizionari per questioni linguistiche? Se sì – quale/i? In quale situazione lo/li usi? Usi anche traduttori automatici? Se sì – quale/i? Con quale risorsa ti trovi bene per l'apprendimento dell' inglese? Quali risorse ritieni valide per l'apprendimento del tedesco? Trovi difficoltà usarle? Se sì – quale/i?* (dati quantitativi e qualitativi) -Ci si aspetta di ricavare informazioni sull'uso di risorse online (incl. dizionari online) e un uso competente di questi strumenti (ingl. *Dictionary use competence*, ted. *Wörterbuchbenutzungskompetenz,* da parte degli studenti e una loro valutazione soggettiva. Non tutti gli studenti potrebbero sviluppare consapevolezza dell'utilità di tali strumenti.
6. Uso effettivo di risorse online via l'Inglese*	-Si prevede uno studio empirico con 20 task in cui lo studente è tenuto a tradurre delle frasi con l'aiuto di risorse online. I task comprendono specialmente frasi in cui si "nascondono probabili trappole" sia su livello lessicale che sintattico, ad esempio frasi che contengono verbi polisemici, collocazioni, polirematiche e falsi amici ma anche frasi con verbi in cui differisce la reggenza (valenza) (cfr. 1.). Si scelgono frasi con difficoltà (e probabili interferenze) tra italiano-tedesco e inglese-tedesco. -Le risorse sono preselezionate (tra cui *Pons*, *Leo*, *Reverso context*, *Linguee* e *Wordreference* (che non include una ricerca italiano-tedesco, ma solo italiano-inglese e inglese-tedesco per cui lo studente è costretto a fare la ricerca via Inglese come *relay language*). -Lo studente registra con lo smartphone le sue azioni (video) e pensa ad alta voce (*Think-Aloud-protocol*) (dati quantitativi e qualitativi). -La durata massima di questa parte è di 45 minuti.

Tabella 1 - Combinazione di metodi quantitativi e qualitativi

* Questo studio si basa sullo studio empirico di Müller-Spitzer et al. (2018)

Lo svolgimento della ricerca, vista la sua complessità e la consistenza di diverse fasi, deve essere ben preparato anche in relazione agli studenti. Dovranno sapere precisamente quali sono le varie fasi e i tipi di task. Inoltre, sarà necessario sperimentare prima anche il *Think-Aloud-protocol*, senza tuttavia svelare troppo l'argomento e il contenuto della ricerca, perché altrimenti si corre il rischio che gli studenti provino a prepararsi. Per ottenere dei risultati validi e significativi, alla ricerca dovrebbero partecipare ca.100 studenti. Un numero maggiore è da escludere e non va preso in considerazione perché renderebbe troppo complicata l'analisi, a causa della notevole quantità di dati qualitativi.

L'analisi si concentrerà soprattutto sull'uso di Inglese come *relay language* anche se emergeranno molti altri dati interessanti. La relazione tra competenza linguistica (1., 2.), la *language awareness* (3.), l'uso consapevole di *language learner strategies* (3.) saranno messi in relazione con la competenza nell'uso del dizionario (4, 5). Si presume che emergano dati interessanti e utili per l'insegnamento plurilingue (in particolare il tedesco dopo l'inglese da parte di apprendenti italiani) e per l'uso dell'inglese come *relay language* nell'uso di dizionari e risorse online all'interno del processo di apprendimento con l'obiettivo di poter formulare delle linee guida per una didattica plurilingue integrata e per una didattica del dizionario – due esigenze che non sono ancora realtà nell'insegnamento delle lingue straniere, ma che meritano una maggiore attenzione nella didattica delle lingue straniere.

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Maria Pavesi*
Serenella Zanotti**

Translational Routines at the Crossroads of Corpus Studies and Historical Research: the Case of Yeah > Già *in Dubbing*

ABSTRACT:
Translational routines are a key feature of translated audiovisual texts. They have been described as "recurrent solutions to translation problems which tend to become overextended" in time (Pavesi, 2008: 94). This chapter focuses on the pair *yeah* – già, which has been reported as one of the most productive routines in Italian dubbing. A checklist of criteria for the identification of translational routines is proposed, against which data from the Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue (PCFD) is assessed and discussed. The two complementary approaches of corpus analysis and historical research are used to investigate the entrenchment of *yeah* > già as a routine in contemporary dubbing and its use starting from early film translation practices.

KEYWORDS: Agreement markers, Corpus analysis, Dubbing, Film translation history, Translational routines

1. *Introduction*

Routines have long been recognised as a key feature of translated audiovisual texts (e.g. Maraschio, 1982; Chaume, 2001; Chaume & García de Toro, 2001; Pavesi, 2005, 2008, 2018; Bucaria, 2008). Given the repeated communicative events represented on screen, translators as well as script-writers are likely to make their linguistic selection out of a pre-determined set of "semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices" (Sinclair, 1991: 110), thus relying on less costly automatic or semi-automatic behaviour. Audiovisual translation also recreates patterns of prefabricated orality drawing on the repetitive units of spokenness mimicked from spontaneous conversation.

From a procedural point of view, the repetitiveness of dubbed language may be amplified by routinisation processes that invest the different phases of the translation process. The results of such procedures in dubbing have been called translational routines, defined as "recurrent

* Università di Pavia.
** Università Roma Tre.

solutions to translation problems which tend to become overextended" in time (Pavesi, 2008: 94, also 1994: 136-138). Although translational routines can be compared to routines in language use and language acquisition, they differ from other formulas in language production as they pertain to the regular correspondences across languages, rather than to the correspondence between communicative situations and phraseological expressions in a specific language.

The hypothesis of routinisation in audiovisual translation is in line with general observations on translation. Both Toury ([1995] 2012) and Gellerstam (2005) argued that one translation solution may come to be preferred over other available options when transferring texts from one language into the other. Toury (1995: 97-101) defined stock-equivalents such automatic responses produced when translators encounter the same source-language item or sequence. With time, these pairings of source-language and target-language items become rooted in the individual translator's memory but may acquire a social dimension if other translators start making the same translational choices. Similarly, Gellerstam (2005) speaks of 'fingerprints in translations', which are reiterated transfer solutions typically setting translated language aside from non-translated language as they often consist of unusual target language choices.

The pair *yeah* - *già* has been reported quite early on as one of the most productive, and accepted, routines in Italian dubbing (Pavesi, 1994: 137; Bucaria, 2008; see also Minutella, 2021), although it has remained largely unexplored empirically. To start filling this gap, in the remainder of this contribution we will examine *già* from the two complementary perspectives of corpus analysis and historical research (O'Sullivan & Cornu, 2019a), as we believe that these two methodological approaches together can uncover the underlying dynamics of repeated and intertextual discourse in translated audiovisual dialogue. In the next section, calques and translational routines will be briefly presented. A checklist of criteria for the identification of translation routines will follow (Section 3), against which data from the Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue (PCFD) will be assessed and discussed (Pavesi, 2018). The functions of *yeah* and *già* in English and Italian respectively will be also explored so as to provide a background against which to evaluate the translation solutions. Section 4 reports the preliminary findings of a larger and more comprehensive investigation into the origins and evolution of translational routines in the context of film translation. The conclusions present a brief summary of the results of the study, which confirm the entrenchment

of *yeah* > *già* as a routine in contemporary dubbing and its use in early audiovisual translation practices. They also point to one of the main aims of the present investigation, that is to show the potentials of combining corpus-based and archival/historical approaches.

2. *Calques and translational routines in dubbing*

With reference to their association with source-language influence, translational routines in the literature on dubbing are often made to overlap with repeated literal translations or calques. Herbst (1995: 263-264) highlighted that "examples [of calques] are of course not in any way significant in themselves as single instances of mistranslations but only important as being *relatively typical of dubbed language*" (emphasis added). Alfieri *et al.* (2010: 157, 160) similarly remarked the influx on dubbed Italian of "expressive stereotypes", syntactic and phraseological calques deriving from "immediate equivalences" between English and Italian especially in the translation of American television series. Pavesi (1994, 2005, 2018, among others), in turn, suggested that translational routines originate from reiterated translational solutions modelled on the source language, whilst Bucaria (2008: 154) spoke of them as "words and phrases heavily influenced by the source language." Calques like borrowings offer ready-made solutions to isochrony problems, especially when speaking time needs to be covered up whether or not a functional or pragmatic equivalent is available in the target language (Pavesi & Perego, 2006).

Calques in dubbing comprise indirect borrowings with different degrees of internal complexity (see Minutella, 2015 for an ample review), that is, individual monomorphemic words (*bene*/*be'* < *well*), along with multimorphemic words or phraseological units (e.g. *Ci puoi scommettere* < *you can bet*). Semantic calques include those words that have developed new meanings on the model of similar polysemic words in the source language ('exciting' < *exciting*, instead of *divertente*), while syntactic calques include those instances in which word order, grammatical morphemes or whole constructions are copied from the source language, e.g *grazie per* instead of *grazie di*. Pragmatic calques are the most relevant category to dubbing translation (Gómez Capuz, 2001); as audiovisual dialogue represents face-to-face communication on screen, it calls for the pervasive expression of interpersonal

meanings. Pragmatic calques include speech acts and conversational routines, such as *Notte* < *Night*, used as a leave taking formula instead of the more conventional *Buona notte* in Italian. Finally, frequency calques (cf. Lorenzo, 1996) deserve special attention in that, although they do not introduce unusual elements into the target text, they may overall convey a non-native flavour to translated language. They have been found to apply to all language levels on screen, overrepresenting choices that are possible but not as frequent in the target language, as is the case with the English-motivated over-translated future and past tenses in dubbed language (Pavesi, 2005).

If they often result from calques generated by synchronisation constraints, not all translational routines are straightforward calques. Not uncommonly, the link between the source-language trigger and the translational outcome is too weak to justify the inclusion of the phenomenon in the category of indirect borrowing. In other cases, the translation solutions do not display a one-to-one relationship with the source language. After discussing the complex and dynamic nature of translational routines, Pavesi (2018: 24) has suggested a checklist of criteria that can be used as a heuristic template to identify the relevant phenomena as belonging to a unitary category. The following checklist can be used to detect repeated patterns that qualify as translational routines, provided a number of the listed criteria are met:

1. Translational routines are reiterated translation solutions which occur across different translated texts.
2. They are calqued over or triggered by the same or similar source language expressions, whose function they share.
3. They are identical or similar, their variation in shape being constrained and patterned.
4. They are register-specific, and hence may show a degree of deviation from the reference register of spontaneous spoken language.
5. They are translation-specific and hence characterise dubbed dialogue as opposed to non-translated dialogue in the same language.
6. They are subject to overextensions, so that the source-language / source-text triggers can include different expressions from the ones which presumably initiated the routines.

3. *Insights on* yeah > già *from a contemporary corpus of film dialogue*

3.1 *Yeah: Functions, translations and corpus distribution*

There are 2406 occurrences of *yeah*[1] in the 30 Anglophone films of the updated PCFD including films released from 1998 to 2017 (Pavesi, 2014)[2]. The discourse marker has been described as performing several functions in English. Among these, we find agreement, immediate acknowledgment of prior talk, and retrospective marking of what has just been said in consonance with a speaker's previous assertion (Schegloff, 2007; Haselow, 2019). The listener's *yeah* encourages the current speaker to go on and, as a reception token, it is also employed as a backchannel cue, in general conveying attention, involvement and encouragement (Jucker & Smith, 1998; Schegloff, 2007). For this reason, it often exhibits a backward-looking function. In addition, while conveying a pro-forma agreement, *yeah* can anticipate further talk (Schegloff, 2007). Taguchi (2002) expounds on the projecting function of the discourse marker by showing how it can be used to launch an elaboration of the ongoing topic. With such backward- and forward-looking functions, *yeah* is mostly found turn-initially as opposed to turn finally, where it can occur as an interrogative tag marking a transition relevant place (Haselow, 2019). Like other inserts, it is also used as a planning device during online production.

When examining the dubbed component of the PCFD, *sì*, which can be posited as functionally the most immediate equivalent of the English *yeah*, is very frequent as it amounts to 3452 tokens. A few bilingual concordances of *yeah* and *sì* are reported below.

[1] As opposed to 926 instances of *yes*.

[2] The PCFD is a unidirectional parallel and comparable corpus of transcriptions of original and dubbed British and American films (Pavesi, 2014). The updated version employed in the present chapter includes 30 Anglophone and translated films from 1995 to 2017 (ca. 660,000 tokens) and 26 Italian films (ca. 250,000 tokens).

Lady Bird	LADY BIRD (VOICE)	*Yeah*, I think that too.	Sì, lo credo anch'io
Another year	MARY	*Yeah*, you are. But you deserve it. You're both such lovely people.	Sì, è vero. Ma ve lo meritate, siete due persone meravigliose.
Looking for Eric	ERIC	((overlap)) *Yeah*, *yeah*, *yeah*, *yeah.*	*Sì… sì*, *sì*, *sì*.

Table 1. Bilingual concordances for yeah - sì in the PCFD

However, as expected given the high functional variability of the expression and the cross-linguistic constraints in dubbing, there is a wide variability in the translation solutions for *yeah* – whose import cannot be ascertained here due to space restrictions. They include omissions, agreement tokens and interjections, as exemplified below (Table 2).

Two Lovers	REUBEN to MICHAEL	*Yeah*, you like it?	Davvero? Ti piace?
Secrets & Lies	MAURICE	So it took you fifteen years, *yeah*?	Ci sono voluti quindici anni, eh?
One Hour Photo	MR PARRISH	*Yeah*, well…	Eh, beh…
Erin Brockovich	ERIN	*Yeah. Yeah.* And I'm great with people. Y-you'd have to observe me to know for sure, but you can trust me on that. […]	*Già*. Sì. E sono perfetta con le persone. Dovrebbe vedermi per esserne sicuro, ma mi può credere sulla parola. […]
My Best Friend's Wedding	JULIANNE	*Yeah.* I need a cigarette	*Già*. Voglio una sigaretta.
Michael Clayton	MICHAEL	*Yeah.*	Già.

Table 2. Bilingual concordances for *yeah* in the PCFD illustrating various translation strategies

3.2 Già*: Functions and translational behaviour*

The last three concordances in Table 2 contain instances of the translation with *già*, whose functions and meanings need now to be explored. According to the online Dictionary *Treccani*, *già*, not as a temporal adverb but as a self-standing particle, expresses agreement or confirmation. With that function, it can acquire additional meanings of doubt, irony and forced concession while also working as a backchanneling cue. *Già* can also perform an intensifying function. More recently, Andorno (2016) has provided a critical assessment of the functions of the discourse marker among other Italian particles of affirmation, confirmation and agreement (*sì*, *esatto*, *infatti*). Reporting previous research, she points out that these interactional markers index the interlocutor's agreement with reference to the current utterance. The functions of the individual markers, however, do not overlap, and *già* expresses more restrictive functions than *sì.* Unlike the latter, which can be a response to a wide array of speech acts including questions, assertions, commands and requests, *già* has limited pragmatic flexibility. It cannot be employed as a response form in many speech act types, as for example in the exhortative "- Andiamo, - disse Giovannino e Serenella disse: - Sì [/???Già]" (Andorno, 2016: 100), while it specialises in responses to statements and questions. Moreover, the discourse marker is restricted to cases in which the relevant information is not new. Through its connection to previous knowledge deriving from its original temporal, phasal meaning 'already', *già* "confirms what is somehow already evident in the relevant context" (Squartini, 2013: 173). Hence, *già* conveys a more specific meaning than *sì*, in that it does not only state the validity of the interlocutor's proposition, but signals that the asserted information is already shared between interlocutors (Andorno, 2016: 103). In consonance with this characterisation of the Italian particle, Squartini argues that if *sì* can be generally defined as an 'affirmative particle', *già* is a 'confirmative particle'. Hence, differently from English *yeah*, Italian *già* does not appear to serve a forward-looking function and is not typically used to preface the elaboration of a current topic.

Let us now focus on the role of the agreement particle as a translational routine in Italian dubbing by examining its behaviour with reference to the checklist for translational routines reported above. There are 446 instances of *già* in the PCFD, where the expression is mainly used as a time adverb. Due to space limitation, we will restrict the analysis to the most probable cases in which *già* is used as a discourse marker. This

was made possible by searching for instances of the expression in turn- and utterance-initial position[3], signalled in the text in the PCFD by a capital initial. The search for capitalised *Già* in isolation in the relational database returned 173 hits. Of those, nine were time adverbials, leaving 164 instances of items functioning as agreement particles (37% of all instances of the word). The frequency is high considering the marked status of the particle in Italian as confirmed by its low occurrence rate in the conversational component of the LIP corpus (circa 100,000 words). There, over a total of 184 *già* - mainly temporal adverbs[4] -, we find only three occurrences of the discourse marker (e.g. *no* già già *dovevo andar via io sì*).

Apart from the overall frequency in the corpus, the claim of routinisation as social behaviour should be also buttressed by the distribution of the expression in a number of texts translated by different professionals. Consequently, the dispersion of *già* as an agreement marker has been investigated in the PCFD by checking its occurrence in each individual film transcription. Since the particle occurs in 26 of the 30 dubbed films considered, the first criterion of the checklist is fully met, and allows us to continue the investigation of the remaining conditions.

As for the second criterion, 125 out of 164 relevant instances of *già* directly translate English *yeah*, with which they share the function of agreement, often conveying attention, involvement and encouragement. The translational routine is clearly triggered by the articulatory similarity between the English *yeah* [jeə]/[jæə] and the Italian *già* [ʤa], especially relevant in turn-initial positions and with close-ups. It is further favoured by a partial overlap in pragmatic function and semantics as illustrated above. Complying with the fourth criterion suggested in the checklist[5], it must also be added that the particle's meaning often forces the value of the expressions in spontaneous spoken Italian. The following extracts from *Lost in Translation* (S. Coppola, 2003) shows two usages of *già* translating *yeah* that stretch the possibilities allowed by the target language. Kelly and John, who had been earlier introduced as acquaintances in the film, are talking at a bar. With the first *yeah* John is simply taking note of what Kelly has just stated - she has a high metabolism -. In Italian, however, the particle *già* implies that he

[3] We will not consider the few interjection + *già* combinations in the corpus.

[4] In 11 other cases, the particle is combined with an interjection, thus taking on different meanings. Interjection (*eh*, *ah*, *oh*) + *già* combinations can also be found with a comparable frequency in the dubbed component. However, they go beyond the scope of the present contribution.

[5] The third criterion only applies to multiword units.

already knows about Kelly's metabolism or that the situational context provides adequate evidence of that. In the last turn, *yeah* introduces an elaboration of the current topic as Kelly explains why her father has become anorexic, an unlikely forward-looking role for the Italian particle. The longer pause between *già* and the rest of the turn in the dubbed version may have been added to make the translation with the discourse marker more natural. By separating *già* from the rest of the utterance, the interpretation is encouraged of the particle as a confirmation of what was just said earlier and not a preface to the following discourse.

KELLY	Everybody's always like: "Kelly you're anorexic" and I'm like: "No, I'm not!". I eat all kind I eat so much junk food you wouldn't believe. It's just cause I have a high metabolism.	Tutti sempre a dirmi: "Kelly tu sei anoressica" e io: "No neanche per sogno. Mangio montagne di cibo spazzatura da non crederci. ((overlap)) È solo questione di metabolismo.
JOHN	Ah, cause I thought you were anorexic too.	((overlap)) Anch'io- anch'io pensavo che tu fossi anoressica.
KELLY	Everybody does.	Come tutti, ((overlap)) tutti lo pensano.
JOHN	Because you look you know so…	Sì, è perché sei così, così…capito?
KELLY	Thank you, I know. But it's- I don't know. I eat whatever I want, I really have a high metabolism	Grazie tante, lo so. E che mangio di tutto, ho un metabolismo super accelerato.
JOHN	*Yeah.*	*Già.*
KELLY	((sadly)) Yeah, erm, but my dad is an anorexic.	((sadly)) Invece… mio padre è anoressico.
CHARLOTTE	Really?	Davvero?
JOHN (VOICE)	Oh, really?	Oh, sul serio?
KELLY	*Yeah*, he fought on the American side at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba, and he was taken prisoner, and the whole time he was there they tortured him about food. Every day they told him they would put poison in the food and so they would always make themselves throw up after the meal.	*Già*... Lui combatteva con gli americani nella Baia dei Porci a Cuba, fu fatto prigioniero. E per tutto il tempo lo hanno torturato con il cibo. Ogni giorno gli dicevano: "il cibo è avvelenato", e così li avrebbero fatti vomitare dopo ogni pasto.

Table 3. Extract from *Lost in Translation* (S. Coppola 2003; PCFD)

The considerable difference in mere frequency between dubbed and original film language also meets the fifth requirement put forward to identify translational routines. There are only four instances of the agreement particle in isolation in the 26 non-translated Italian films, as exemplified by the following extract from *A casa nostra* (F. Comencini, 2006):

Income revenue authority	
MAN 3	Lo sapevo che era chiuso! Oh, gli basta lavorare poco poco per prenderci i soldi, eh?
VINCENZO	È in ritardo anche lei?
MAN 3	*Già*.

Table 4. Extract from *A casa nostra* (F. Comencini, 2006; PCFD)

Hence *già* sets apart translated language from non-translated language belonging to the same register, this way typifying dubbed Italian as opposed to national film dialogue (Bucaria, 2008).

Finally, *già* in dubbing can be shown to be subject to overextensions, in that the triggers in the English texts comprise different expressions from the one that originated the routine. In 36 cases, the Italian *già* does not translate *yeah* but freely relays several inserts, including discourse markers, interjections and response forms (e.g. *alright*, *okay*, *right*, *eh*, *hey*, *duh*, *mhm*, *yep*, *yes*) and is also added when no trigger is there in English. The following concordances show various possibilities:

Notting Hill	SPIKE	*Già.* È un circolo vizioso	Right. Vicious circle
One Hour Photo	NINA YORKIN	*Già.* Ci vediamo, allora.	Okay. Bye, Sy.
Something's Gotta Give	ERICA to HARRY	*Già!* Non si cambia!	Hey, if it ain't broke...
Boyhood	SAMANTHA	*Già.*	Yep.
Notting Hill	BELLA	*Già*, questo è vero.	Mhm, that's true.
My Best Friend's Wedding	MICHAEL	Ah, ho capito. *Già!* E quale sarebbe lo scopo?	And erm, and why would you do that?
Locke	KATRINA (VOICE)	*Già!* Ed io me ne sto seduta al buio!	And I sit in the dark.

Table 5. Bilingual concordances for *già* in the PCFD illustrating various source-language triggers

4. *Towards a history of* yeah > già*: preliminary findings and methodological challenges*

After having relied on corpus data to support the formulaic nature of *yeah > già* in contemporary Italian dubbing, in this section we adopt a historical perspective to offer some preliminary reflections on the translational routine and the problems involved in tracing its origins in Italian dubbing. It will be shown that, while it may prove hard to pin down the exact moment when *già* came into use as a translational routine due to lack of archival documentation, yet it is possible to find evidence of its being current in American dubbed movies since at least 1934. Building on prior work by Pavesi (2018), we hypothesise that it was an ingenious solution that served the needs of Italian dialogue adapters and dubbing professionals, providing them with a flexible device that helped solve synchronization problems in a variety of contexts. The translation solution was rapidly adopted by the small professional community that contributed to laying the foundations for the dubbing practice in Italy. But when and where was it introduced? And who used it for the first time?

The emergence of dubbing as the dominant film translation technique dates back to the early 1930s. Early dubbing experiments were undertaken by the American majors first in the United States and then in France. According to O'Brien (2019: 178), dubbed films from MGM and Paramount began circulating in Europe in the summer of 1931. In particular, MGM productions were dubbed in Culver City and New York starting in 1931, Fox produced several dubbings in Hollywood between 1931 and 1932, while Paramount converted its Joinville studio to a dubbing facility in July 1932 (Quargnolo, 1967, 1986; Mereu Keating, 2019a and 2019b). According to Mereu Keating (2019a: 154-156), however, films containing dialogue dubbed in the Italian language were shown in Italy as early as in 1930. In the absence of original copies, it is difficult to reach any conclusion as to the language of early dubbings that were made abroad (Mereu Keating, 2016). The nitrate prints of two Italian dubbings produced by Fox between 1930 and 1931 have been recently discovered by Mereu Keating (2019a) at UCLA. She points out that the language of these early experiments reflected a high degree of "hybridity", resulting from the convergence of strong regional accents in the performance and unnatural sounding dialogues replete with calques from English (Mereu Keating, 2019a: 169-173). Below is an example of unidiomatic lexical choices dictated by lip-sync constraints from the film *Transatlantic* (Howard, 1931):

Original English version	Italian dubbed version
Monty: No, no, nothing important. Just a good old sail voyage for myself, you know? Handsome: *Yes*? Monty: *Yes*.	Monty: No, no, nient'altro di importante. Faccio solo un viaggio di piacere, sai? Handsome: *Certo*? Monty: *Certo*.

Table 6. Example of lip-sync induced translation from *Transatlantic* (Mereu Keating, 2019a: 172)

The first Italian dubbing studios (Cines, Fotovox, Fono Roma, Itala Acustica) were set up in Rome during 1932 (Quargnolo, 1967: 72). Columbia was one of the first majors to relocate its dubbing units in Italy, followed shortly after by MGM (Quargnolo, 1986: 44), whose own dubbing studios were inaugurated in Rome in April 1933 (Mereu Keating, 2019a: 68). With royal decree 1414 of 5 October 1933, the Italian government forbade the exhibition of foreign-language films dubbed abroad and prescribed that all dubbings should be carried out in Italian studios with Italian personnel (Mereu Keating, 2016: 89). By that time, the American majors had completed the relocation of their dubbing units in Rome and were ready to resume their activities, each with their own dubbing directors: Franco Schirato for MGM, Luigi Savini for Paramount, Nicola Fausto Neroni for Warner Bros., Vittorio Malpassuti for 20th Century Fox, Mario Almirante for ENIC (Quargnolo, 1967: 73). In the years between 1935 and 1938 the Italian dubbing industry boomed and dubbing reached its full "artistic maturity" (Quargnolo, 1967: 77). The situation changed dramatically by the end of 1938, when the four biggest Hollywood studios (MGM, Paramount, Fox, and Warner Bros.) withdrew from the Italian market after the Italian company ENIC was conferred the monopoly of importation and distribution of all foreign films (Quargnolo, 1967: 77). As a consequence, Anglo-American film imports dropped in the years that followed (Quaglietti, 1991: 313).

4.1 *Study design and methodological challenges*

In the absence of copies of early dubbings made abroad, we decided that a good starting point for investigating the emergence of dubbing-specific translational routines such as *già* would be to examine the linguistic make-up of dubbings of American films that were made in Italy between 1934 and 1938. It must be pointed out that, in selecting a

corpus of dubbed films from this period, which is generally regarded as the "golden age" of dubbing (Quargnolo, 1986: 44), we were faced with a number of problems. Due to restrictions on access to film archives during the COVID-19 pandemic, and in the absence of surviving copies of dubbing scripts from that period, the selection of the films for analysis was based on the availability of copies for viewing as DVD editions.[6] One of the problems is that a large number of titles from the period available in commercial editions feature an Italian soundtrack that is different from the version that was shown on Italian screens in the 1930s. What is more, even when the DVD edition is advertised as featuring a "doppiaggio d'epoca", very often the Italian track is not the original one but a redub made in the post-war years (Zanotti, 2015). While being relatively close in style to the first dubbed versions, these redubs do not offer authentic material for historical investigation of the kind proposed here.

The data for the study were obtained from a small corpus of five Anglo-American films that were dubbed and released in Italian cinemas between 1934 and 1938 (Table 7).

Original title and director	Production	Italian title	Year of production/registration by the Italian censorship office	DVD edition
It One Night (Frank Capra *Happened*)	Columbia	*Accadde una notte*	1934 / 1934	Columbia Classics/Sony Pictures Home Entertainment (2005)
Mr. Deeds Goes to Town (Frank Capra)	Columbia	*È arrivata la felicità*	1936 / 1936	Columbia Classics/Sony Pictures Home Entertainment (2005)
My Man Godfrey (Gregory La Cava)	Universal	*L'impareggiabile Godfrey*	1936 / 1937	Golem Video (2017)
I Met Him in Paris (Wesley Ruggles)	Paramount	*Incontro a Parigi*	1937 / 1937	Golem Video (2017)
Shall We Dance (Mark Sandrich)	RKO	*Voglio danzare con te*	1937/1937[1]	Columbia Tristar Home Entertainment (2004)

Table 7. The corpus of films released between 1934 and 1938.

[6] On the problems of provenance and identity that DVD editions pose for the study of early dubbing practices see Cornu, 2019 and O'Sullivan & Cornu, 2019.

The identification of the versions in the DVD editions was based on censorship records,[7] press reviews, secondary literature (Quargnolo, 1967; Redi, 1986; Di Cola, 2004), as well as textual cues such as dubbing voices and lines of dialogue quoted verbatim by critics who attended early screenings.[8]

Given the limited amount of the analyzed material, which is taken from both film and non-film sources (O'Sullivan & Cornu, 2019; Cornu, 2019), no firm conclusions can be reached at present concerning the origins and frequency of *già*. Taking all these limitations into account, it is critical to stress that what follows is a pilot study based on a small sample of dubbed films from the period under consideration, which nevertheless may serve as a starting point for more extensive investigations.

4.2 *Preliminary findings*

The collected data seems to suggest that *già* was already in use in Italian dubbing in the mid-1930s. There are 68 instances of the agreement particle in turn- and utterance-initial position in the corpus under analysis (Table 8).

Film title	**Occurrences of *già***
It Happened One Night (1934)	27
Mr. Deeds Goes to Town (1936)	12
My Man Godfrey (1937)	11
I Met Him in Paris (1937)	12
Shall We Dance (1937)	9
Total	71

Table 8. Occurrences of *già* in the corpus of dubbed films from the 1930s

[7] Censorship records were consulted at the archive of the *Direzione Generale per il Cinema* at the *Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo* (MiBACT) in Rome and on the *Italia Taglia* database (http://www.italiataglia.it).

[8] For example, Allodoli (1937) provides quotes from a number of films, including *Shall We Dance* and *I Met Him in Paris*.

In the vast majority of cases *già* translates *yeah*, although it is not infrequent to find it as an equivalent for *yes* (16 occurrences in total). The following extracts from *It Happened One Night* (F. Capra, 1934) and *My Man Godfrey* (A. La Cava, 1936) show instances of *già* translating *yeah*. Peter (Clark Gable) and Godfrey (William Powell) deliver their lines either in medium or in medium close-up shots, with their lip movements clearly visible on screen (Table 9).

It Happened One Night	ELLEN	You've got a name, haven't you?	Avete un nome, suppongo.
	PETER	*Yeah*, I got a name. Peter Warne.	*Già*, un nome. Pietro Warne.
It Happened One Night	PETER	What's the matter? Wouldn't the old meanies wait for ye?	Che è accaduto? L'autobus se n'è andato, eh?
	ELLEN	What are you so excited about? You missed it too.	C'è poco da ridere, del resto anche voi…
	PETER	*Yeah*, I missed it too.	*Già*, anch'io l'ho perso.
My Man Godfrey	MAN	Mike, I wouldn't worry. Prosperity is just around the corner.	Io non mi preoccupo. La fortuna è sempre dietro l'angolo.
	GODFREY	*Yeah*. It's been there a long time. I wish I knew which corner.	*Già*. È là che ci aspetta. Ma chi sa qual è l'angolo.

Table 9. Examples of *già* translating *yeah*

There are instances where the actor's mouth is not clearly visible or the speaker is off-screen, as in the extract from *My Man Godfrey* reproduced here below (Table 10).[9] This may be taken as an indication that the routinization of *già* was fully achieved by the mid-1930s.

[9] Evelina Levi is credited as the dialogue writer for this film (Comin, 1937: 98).

My Man Godfrey	CAROL	Oh, I remember that pose so well. I learned it in dramatic school. Is it number eight, isn't it?	Oh, questa posa me la ricordo bene. È la posa numero otto della scuola di scena.
	GEORGE (off-camera)	*Yeah*, that's number eight, alright.	*Già*, è proprio la numero otto.

Table 10. Example of *già* in an off-screen delivery

When *già* translates *yes*, it typically occurs in combination with visible lip movement, but also with lines delivered off-camera, as in the example from *I Met Him in Paris* (Wesley Ruggles, 1937) (Table 11):

Mr. Deeds Goes to Town	BILL	Tell us, Mr. Deeds. How do you go about writing your poems? We craftsmen are very interested in one another's methods.	Dite, signor Deeds, come li concepite i vostri poemi? A noi scrittori interessa sapere come lavorano i colleghi.
	HENABERRY	*Yes*. Do you have to wait for an inspiration, or do you just dash it off?	*Già*. Voi aspettate l'ispirazione o scrivete i versi di getto?
Shall We Dance	ARTHUR	What about me?	E che sarà di me?
	LINDA	I'm sorry, but I'm facing real happiness for the first time in my life.	Mi dispiace. Ma capirai che si tratta della mia felicità.
	ARTHUR	*Yes*, and I'm facing bankruptcy.	*Già*. E della mia bancarotta.
I Met Him in Paris	GEORGE	Horsefeathers. (off-camera) *Yes*, Mr. Anders. Horsefeathers.	Sei un sognatore. (off-camera) *Già*. Un bel tipo di sognatore.

Table 11. Examples of *già* translating *yes*

Although the tendency is for *già* to be routinely employed to render *yeah*, cases of over-extension are attested in the corpus from the more obvious *yes*. The expression appears to have been used by the makers of the dubbed versions to translate a variety of items, including discourse markers (e.g. *well*, *you see*), monosyllabic pronouns containing an open vowel (e.g. *that*, *I*, etc.) and various other elements.

Mr Deeds Goes to Town	MR CEDAR	*You see*, rich people need someone to keep the crowds away.	*Già*, la gente ricca ha sempre bisogno di qualcuno che si occupi di tenerle lontana la folla.
Mr Deeds Goes to Town	MR DEEDS	*Well*, I don't know where to begin. There's been so many things said about me that I...	*Già*. Non so da dove cominciare. Si sono dette troppe cose su di me. …
I Met Him in Paris	GENE	That's the way I feel about you.	È quello che io sento per voi.
	KAY	*That's* the way I…uh… certainly.	*Già*, anche io sento così. Però, sentite…

Table 12. Examples of various source-language triggers

4.2.1. *Sources of data and limitations of the study: moving forward?*

The data discussed above seem to suggest that *già* was already well-established as a translational routine in Italian dubbed films in the mid-1930s. The presence of repeated patterns of translation may be regarded as evidence of a shared practice, here intended as a set of strategies shared among the people active in the dubbing profession (see Pavesi and Perego, 2006). For example, it is plausible to assume that the same team of dubbing professionals was involved in the making of the dubbed versions of the two Frank Capra comedies *It Happened One Night* and *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town*, both Columbia Pictures productions. Columbia films were distributed in Italy by Consorzio Cinematografo E.I.A. (Redi, 1986: 105). At present, we have not been able to trace

information about *It Happened One Night*, but we know that the Italian version of *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936) was recorded in the Caesar dubbing studios under the direction of Sandro Salvini,[10] with Tullio Gramantieri and Pio Vanzi acting as dialogue writers (Menarini, 1941: 18 and 1955: 176).[11]

The principal aim of the study presented in this section was to show the potential of using historical and archival methods to investigate how and when *già* made its way into Italian dubbing practice. More research is needed to better understand the context and the factors that contributed to the emergence of this and of other translational routines. Further insights could be gained by examining copies of early dubbings made in the US such as those preserved at UCLA (Mereu Keating, 2019a). Since a number of dubbing professionals who had been involved in the early dubbing experiments carried out in the US were also employed in the newly established dubbing units in Rome, they may have served as vectors of translation practices already established in made-abroad dubbings.[12] As regards locally-produced dubbings, a major problem concerns the identification of the versions; since a large number of films were redubbed after the war, it can be difficult to get hold of dubbings produced in the 1930s. A second related issue concerns the identification of translators, dialogue writers and dubbing directors, which is of paramount importance, as the practice of recurring to the same small group of professionals is what favoured the reiteration of translation behaviour.

5. *Concluding remarks*

Routinisation in translation is the process by which systematic and repetitive correspondences are established between source and target language. The analysis of the PCFD has confirmed that at present

[10] According to Quargnolo (1986: 54), Salvini served as the dubbing director of choice both for Consorzio EIA and for Artisti Associati S.A.I., which managed the distribution of films by United Artists.

[11] The latter is credited as the inventor of the word "picchiatello" (Nostromo, 1937; Quargnolo, 1967: 77), which was coined to translate *pixilater* in the dialogue of this film (Menarini, 1955: 176).

[12] In late 1932, MGM transferred its dubbing activities and staff from Los Angeles to Rome, under the direction of Augusto Galli. Giovanni Del Lungo and Maria Carolina Antinori, who served as translators and dialogue adapters for the MGM studios in Culver City (Quargnolo, 1986: 44), were also part of the Italian unit.

già as an agreement marker is a well-established translational routine stemming from *yeah*, as five of the six criteria proposed to detect routinised translational phenomena are met. They include widespread distribution and reiteration across different texts, phonological and functional similarity between source and target linguacultural units, register- and translation-specificity. *Già* is also open to overextensions since with its function of confirmative particle it does not only translate *yeah* in the PCFD but it can be made to render different lexical and phraseological units.

The socio-historical dimension of the language of audiovisual translation that started with sound films in the 1930s and the establishment of communities of translation professionals in different countries are powerful forces in creating, spreading and changing translational routines in dubbing. It is indeed probable that the domineering (past) oligopoly in audiovisual translation professional communities facilitated the introduction and the diffusion of *yeah* - *già* among other translational routines in Italian dubbing.

Presumably one translator found a clever solution for a frequent source-language feature in Anglophone films. We believe that the solution was picked up by other translators, reiterated, and at that point creatively extended (Pavesi, 2018: 26). One still wonders who the inventive professional was who produced the first translation of English *yeah* - *già*. What the study has shown, however, is that the routine was part of the Italian film translators' toolbox since the early days of dubbing and was inherited by the generations that followed.

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Silvia Pettini*

The 'Social' Dimension of Online Lexicography: Gender, Dictionaries and Users

Abstract:
This paper investigates gender representation in the definitions and usage examples of a selected group of words in the Oxford Dictionary of English, hosted on the portal Lexico.com and licensed for use to technology giants like Google, Apple and Microsoft. The rationale behind this case study lies in two recent controversies which, blaming Oxford University Press for linguistic sexism, eventually prompted the publisher to revise thousands of entries. In this light, this paper aims to promote a debate about the current relationship between gender, Internet lexicography and users, while spotlighting the role online platforms may play as a new form of dictionary criticism.

Keywords: Dictionary criticism, Gender, Online lexicography, Sexism

1. *Introduction*

According to Norri (2019: 866), "issues of gender present an increasing challenge to lexicographers": indeed, the definitions and example sentences cited in some dictionaries have been often criticised for showing gender bias and enhancing stereotyped images of men and women, disregarding that neutrality is "a requirement that may at times clash with the actual use of the word in corpora".

A dictionary is generally perceived as a neuter and neutral work, as authoritative and objective records of the language, "as an immaculate arbiter of truth – timeless, authorless, faultless, sexless, certainly not *sexist*" (Russell, 2018:14, original emphasis). Yet, in recent years, 'sexist' has been precisely the accusation frequently made against one of the most prestigious English dictionary publishers, Oxford University Press (OUP hereafter), by some online dictionary users who, thanks to the lobbying power of social media and online petition platforms, have eventually contributed to the revision of thousands of words considered biased (Flood, 2020). Two controversies in particular hit the headlines and targeted the so-called "powered by Oxford" content, which means the content OUP license to giant search engines like Google, Yahoo

* Università Roma Tre.

and Bing, and global technology companies like Apple and Microsoft, and which corresponds to the content hosted on the dictionary portal Lexico.com (Ferrett & Dollinger, 2021). The latter, previously known as Oxforddictionaries.com, was OUP's new domain for their free online version of the Oxford Dictionary of English and the Oxford Thesaurus of English from June 2019 to August 26, 2022, the day on which the Lexico.com website was inexplicably closed.

This tension between online dictionary makers and users, which testifies to the increasing sensibility regarding the language of gender in the current cultural moment, is the rationale behind the present paper, whose main objective is to foster a debate about gender and online lexicography, while showing the role online platforms may play as a new form of dictionary criticism. For this purpose, the Oxford Dictionary of English, the default "UK dictionary" on Lexico.com, has been selected as a case study to investigate gender representation in the definitions and example sentences of a selected group of words borrowed from Norri (2019) and related to personal characteristics and gender roles.

2. *On Gender and Dictionaries*

In descriptive corpus-based lexicography, the empirical question of meaning reflects the Wittgensteinian axiom that the meaning of a word is its use in the language, and since "any language cannot but mirror its speech community's ideology – its values and dominant attitudes, its stereotypes and taboos", lexicographers cannot but record that ideology as reflected in language usage (Iamartino, 2020: 37-38). Of special interest in this sense are all those entries belonging to sensitive issues in a given culture and historical period: political and social ideas, religious faith, ethnicity, age, sex and gender (Iamartino, 2020: 36). As regards the latter, as Pinnavaia remarks (2014: 219), "while male gender does not seem to be an issue, female gender does".

> «As a matter of fact, since the beginnings of dictionary-making in early modern Europe and until quite recently, dictionaries have always been full of entries, words, definitions, examples, and comments that display the contemporary attitude – at best patronizing, at worst derogatory – of the cultural and social elite, of course a male one, towards women.» (Iamartino, 2010: 95)

After all, the very concept of sexism is gendered also in dictionary definitions and examples. According to the Oxford Dictionary of English (Lexico, 2020), for instance, '*Sexism*' means "Prejudice, stereotyping, or discrimination, *typically against women*, on the basis of sex" (emphasis added) and is indeed interestingly illustrated in "Sexism in language is an offensive reminder of the way the culture sees women". Consequently, it comes as no surprise that research on the relationship between gender issues and lexicography has mainly focused on women, the female, 'gentle', 'fair' or 'fairer' sex.

Dictionaries have been devoted academic attention from a gender-critical perspective since the 1970s, when the women's rights movement prompted scholars to evidence lexicographical bias in dictionary representations of men, women, and gender roles, which not only recorded but also endorsed or reinforced sex-role stereotypes prevalent in the English language in definitions and examples under neutral headwords (Russell, 2018: 30-31). In particular, the works by Gershuny (1974, 1975, 1977, 1980) and Graham (1975) paved the way in this research line and provided systematic analyses of mainstream dictionaries to show a quantitative and qualitative bias in women depiction: definitions and illustrative quotations featuring female persons were infrequent and almost always negative, as opposed to an overabundance of masculine nouns and pronouns exhibiting «the culturally desirable traits of assertiveness, competence, dominance, and strength» (Gershuny, 1975: 938-939).

Scholarship of the 1980s, 1990s and after largely confirmed previous findings: mainstream dictionaries were perpetuating androcentrism and sexism by containing discriminatory gender stereotypes in both definitions and examples (see Braun & Kitzinger, 2001; Brewer, 2009a, 2009b; Fournier & Russell, 1992; Hidalgo-Tenorio, 2000; Prechter, 1999; Whitcut, 1984). Some studies also showed that dictionaries tended to underrepresent terminology with strong associations to femininity or feminism (Connor-Martin, 2005; Mugglestone, 2013; Steinmetz, 1995), or to omit women speakers and writers from dictionary corpora (Baigent *et al.*, 2005; Brewer, 2009b, 2012a, 2012b; Cameron, 1992, 2015).

In the age of online lexicography, dictionary criticism is no longer only a scholarly prerogative; social media technologies allow users to publicly express their concerns and directly interact with dictionary makers who, like other commercial enterprises, tend to be responsive to users' needs for the sake of their reputation, yet within the confines of their descriptive evidence-based approach. In this sense, as discussed in

the introduction, OUP is a case in point.

3. *#SexistDictionary*

In 2016, a Twitter storm broke out after the anthropologist Michael Oman-Reagan noticed that '*Rabid*', defined by his MacBook's dictionary as "Having or proceeding from an extreme or fanatical support of or belief in something", contained the primary example phrase "A rabid feminist" (Flood, 2016). By digging deeper into the dictionary, whose content is licensed from OUP, Oman-Reagan (2016) also highlighted other, in his view, explicitly sexist usage examples for entries like '*Shrill*' in "The rising shrill of women's voices", '*Psyche*' in "I will never really fathom the female psyche", '*Promiscuous*' in "She's a wild, promiscuous, good-time girl", and '*Nagging*' in "A nagging wife". Moreover, Oman-Reagan (2016) observed gendered examples related to occupation: while the sentence given for '*Housework*' was "She still does all the housework", '*Research*' was illustrated with "He prefaces his study with a useful summary of his own researches". Online conversations using the hashtag #OxfordSexism exploded on social networks, and media outlets throughout the English-speaking world began to report the story. The issue went viral and promoted an intense debate which was not about a few words, but rather about sexism in language and dictionary linguistic authority as perceived by users (Cameron, 2016).

A few years later, OUP was once again the target of a controversy which questioned their representation of gender. In June 2019 a petition on Change.org was launched by the marketing manager Maria Beatrice Giovanardi, to call on the publisher to change the entry for '*Woman*' on Lexico.com. According to the petition (Giovanardi, 2019a), the entry contained illustrative examples which reinforce outdated sexist themes, including: a woman is subordinate to men, as in "Male fisherfolk who take their catch home for the little woman to gut"; a woman is a sex object, as in "Ms September will embody the professional, intelligent yet sexy career woman"; and, thus, woman is not equal to man. Indeed, as claimed by the campaigner, the definition of '*Man*' was much more exhaustive than that of '*Woman*', with 25 examples as opposed to only five, and almost universally positive. Moreover, the petition condemned

the many derogatory synonyms provided for woman, such as "bitch, besom, piece, bit, mare, baggage, wench, petticoat, frail, bird, bint, biddy, filly" (Giovanardi, 2019a). On the contrary, the most disparaging synonyms for '*Man*' were "bozo" and "geezer" (Saner, 2019).

Although the campaigner later examined several online dictionaries and observed similar results (Giovanardi, 2019b), she decided to target OUP in her petition because as well as being an indisputably reputable source, and yet, in her view, the most biased, they have got a remarkable market advantage: "powered by Oxford" dictionary content is extremely widespread and this cannot but influence the way women are talked about, according to Giovanardi (2019a). Nearly 35,000 people have signed the petition so far, including influential linguists, academics, and women's rights activists who gather around the hashtags #IAmNotABitch and #SexistDictionary and ask to (a) eliminate all definitions and examples that discriminate against and patronize women; (b) enlarge the dictionary's entry for '*Woman*'; (c) include examples representative of sex and gender minorities (Giovanardi, 2019a).

In response, the head of lexical content strategy for OUP, Katherine Connor-Martin (2020), published a blog post a month later where she welcomed feedback from the public and announced an ongoing corpus-based revision. Indeed, after "a very extensive project" examining "thousands and thousands of examples", OUP editors have reworked around 500 entries which "unnecessarily perpetuate sexist stereotypes" and new editorial standards and practices have been established for the selection of examples (Connor-Martin cit. in Flood, 2020). With respect to the two controversies mentioned above, on Lexico.com '*Rabid*' is no longer a feminist but a 'fan base', a '*nagging*' wife has become 'nagging parents', and housework and research have turned into first-person activity and group work respectively. As regards '*Woman*', OUP has expanded coverage of the word, with more examples and idiomatic phrases, and has adjusted the number of and the labelling on its synonyms to make it clear which terms are derogatory and offensive (Flood, 2020).

4. *Gender in "powered by Oxford" definitions and examples*

As Flood (2020) reports, OUP revision has mainly affected definitions and examples of words concerning appearance, sexuality, personal characteristics, and concepts of gender roles, semantic areas which are here exemplified by '*Adventurer'*, '*Bastard*', '*Brute*', '*Divorcee*', '*Hero*', '*Looker*', '*Lover'*, '*Redhead*', '*Sex object*' and '*Sissy*', the ten headwords borrowed from Norri (2019: 877-882) and examined in the following paragraphs. Although Norri's work focusses on definitions in learners' dictionaries from a diachronic perspective, the group of words he selected represents a semantically relevant sample to extend the research to example sentences and, above all, to online general-purpose dictionaries, as Norri himself suggests (2019: 868).

As regards the descriptions provided, there is a high level of agreement in most of these entries, where the gender-neutral 'person' appears in almost all the definitions. Remarkable symmetries can be found in the phrasing which either premodifies or postmodifies the noun. For example, similarly worded are the descriptions used for '*Adventurer'* meaning "A person who enjoys or seeks adventure", and also "A person willing to take risks or use dishonest methods for personal gain", and '*Hero*', meaning "A person who is admired for their courage, outstanding achievements, or noble qualities". Postmodification also affects '*Redhead*', described as "A person with reddish hair", while premodification is used to define '*Divorcee*' as "A divorced person" and many other headwords, as will emerge in the analysis. The only exception, yet still gender-neutral, to the use of 'person' in definitions is found in '*Lover'* meaning "A partner in a sexual or romantic relationship outside marriage". More importantly, except for '*Sissy*', where the presence of "effeminate" may be read as gendered information, all definitions do not make any explicit reference to men or women.

With respect to the primary examples, i.e. those appearing immediately below the definition and above the extra examples available in drop-down menus for each sense, the gender profile of these words exhibits greater variation. Out of a total of thirteen illustrative sentences associated to the senses under scrutiny, five entries present an openly gendered referent, of which four are male ('*Bastard*', '*Brute*', '*Lover'* and '*Sissy*') and one is female ('*Looker*'). For this reason, these headwords will be examined first and in more detail in the following

paragraphs, including the analysis of the about 20 extra examples provided for each word sense, in order to outline the overall treatment of gender reference in the dictionary entries.

For this research '*Bastard*' was analysed only in the sense "An unpleasant or despicable person". This meaning, labelled as derogatory, mostly lacks explicit gender reference in the examples the dictionary provides the reader. Out of 20 illustrative sentences, 15 are neutral due to the very frequent use of a plural form. Nevertheless, when referential gender is specified, bastards are always men in the remaining five examples (25%), including the primary one: "He lied to me, the bastard!". According to Norri (2019: 885), although the strong male association of the word was first observed in the 1980s and 1990s and later challenged by corpus evidence in 2000s, showing that bastard was no longer a male-gender exclusive term of abuse, the current number of female referents in corpora of informal English is still insignificant as opposed to male occurrences, which may support the gendered association of the slur under scrutiny.

The treatment of '*Brute*', which has been examined in the senses "A savagely violent person or animal" and "A cruel or insensitive person", the latter being labelled as informal, is similar to that of '*Bastard*'. Excluding the four instances where the referent is non-human, the first sense presents 15 illustrative sentences out of which ten frame the word usage as gender-neutral (67%), as in (1), while five (33%) explicitly describe men as brutes, as interestingly happens in (2) and also in the primary example: "He was a cold-blooded brute". The tendency towards male gender specification is confirmed by the examples offered for the second sense: cruel and insensitive people, defined as brutes, are male in four instances out of five (80%), as in (3).

(1). Traffic jitters and frustration turned nice people into bullies and brutes.

(2). We cannot ourselves contribute to the stereotype that portrays these men as savage brutes unable to resolve their differences in a peaceful manner.

(3). He's a brute, an offense to human decency.

The first definition of '*Lover'* is "A partner in a sexual or romantic relationship outside marriage", meaning that no gender information is

included in the description. Moreover, the gender of the referent can be interpreted as neutral in the primary example, "I think she had a secret lover", although the presence of a female subject might, on the one hand, allude to a male lover and favour a heteronormative reading and, on the other, depict women as those more inclined to cheat on their partner, regardless of the partner's sex and gender identity. The latter interpretation is reasonable in eight extra examples out of 22, as in (4), together with other three sentences in which a woman explicitly cheats on her husband with a male lover, as in (5), which means 50% of instances in total.

(4). It is not at all clear what motivated her in her relations with her lovers.

(5). If a husband catches his wife's lover in a wardrobe, can he kill him?

In other words, the majority of illustrative sentences for '*Lover'* in this sense lack explicit reference to men or women. Gender-neutral referents represent 77% of occurrences (16 examples) and include both examples like those mentioned above and properly gender-neutral occurrences, as in (6). Indeed, gender-specificity clearly manifests itself in a very few cases (23%), of which three refer to men (14%), as in (5), and two refer to women (9%). As concerns female lovers in particular, it is worth mentioning that one instance explicitly deals with female homosexuality, as in (7).

(6). They had been lovers for years.

(7). She's going to see her parents to tell them she's moving out to stay with her lesbian lover.

Mostly gender-neutral are also the sentences offered to illustrate the usage of '*Lover'* meaning "A person who likes or enjoys a specified thing": 18 instances (82%) out of a total of 22. However, when the gender of the referent is defined, lovers are always men as happens in the primary example: "He was a great lover of cats".

According to the dictionary, '*Sissy*' is informal and derogatory and means "A person regarded as effeminate or cowardly". As previously discussed, although the phrasing "a person" makes this definition in line with the other words examined, '*Effeminate*' reduces its gender neutrality. '*Effeminate*' is indeed a derogatory adjective "(of a man)

having characteristics regarded as typical of a woman; unmanly". Nevertheless, this association is openly made only in the primary example, "He would hate the other boys to think he was a sissy", and in other two sentences out of a total of 11 instances, meaning that 73% of examples do not make explicit reference to male gender. However, it is possible to speculate that the dictionary user might read the sentences as gender-specific on the basis of the definition and of the contribution of co-textual material, as in (8), which relates to qualities believed to be untypical of men or boys, such as weakness, fearfulness and irresoluteness, as in (9).

(8). If we're not macho thugs, we're ineffectual sissies.

(9). I screamed like a sissy when I was trapped with all those spiders.

For this study, '*Looker*' has been examined in the sense "A very attractive person" which, in line with the other entries examined, is described as neutral. However, the word, labelled as informal, presents 20 illustrative examples whose analysis seems to suggest a clear tendency towards the association between this lexeme and female beauty, when it comes to gender reference. This is immediately apparent in the primary example "She was a real looker, good for the eyes". This association is even clearer in the synonyms provided by the Oxford Thesaurus of English hosted on Lexico.com, including "beautiful woman", "goddess", "Venus", "siren", "enchantress", and "seductress", among others. Gender specificity emerges in 14 example sentences, out of which ten refer to women or girls, that is 50% of the total. "Sure she's quite the looker", "The girl was a real looker", "I don't doubt your mother is a looker" are some excerpts of the usage examples which revolve around women's physical attractiveness, with the male gaze being directed at the female body.

'*Sex object*' is another lexeme whose association with the female gender is remarkable. Although the definition is gender-neutral, "A person regarded by another only in terms of their sexual attractiveness or availability", as neutral is the plural form in the primary example, "Does pornography turn people into sex objects?", out of a total of 18 illustrative sentences, unspecified referents are only five (28%), as shown in (10), as opposed to 13 instances of either male or female reference. In particular, 11 examples cast women as sex objects, as in (11), especially in relation to men, as in (12), representing 61% of the

usage the dictionary has selected for its users.

(10). I get the impression I'm more or less a sex object.

(11). Maybe she is a shallow sexy sex object with no depth.

(12). The reason he wants to see strippers is because it's a way for him to look at a woman as just a sex object.

As regards the two examples with male referents (11%), it is interesting to mention that one seems to reinforce the long-standing stereotype of women as sex objects by implying a binary opposition, as example (13) illustrates.

(13). It offers a quick peek at what happens when the man becomes the sex object.

The analysis of the remaining four words presents comparable results in terms of gender specification, with little variation concerning the gender slightly associated with each lexeme. Gender-neutral referents abound in most usage sentences, be they primary or extra examples, with percentages ranging between 80% and 90%. For example, if mentioned, referential gender is always male for '*Adventurer'* in both senses (17%) and always female for '*Divorcee*' (16%), a '*Redhead*' can be either sex (5% each), while a '*Hero*' is more male (14%) than female (5%).

As a short digression, as concerns marked feminine forms, which were deliberately excluded from the analysis, it is worth mentioning that the primary example for '*Heroine'* is "She was a true feminist heroine", as feminist are 20% of referents in usage sentences illustrating "A woman admired for her courage, outstanding achievements, or noble qualities".

5. *Conclusions*

> «The era of internet lexicography confronts lexicographers with challenges and opportunities to enhance the quality of the lexicographic practice and to produce dictionaries that help in satisfying the lexicographic" and, one might suggest, sociocultural needs of their users.» (Gouws, 2018: 215).

Gender issues do represent one of these challenges and opportunities. This seems to be particularly true in the case of the free and almost ubiquitous "powered by Oxford" dictionary content. Thanks to partnerships with global search engines and dominant operating systems, the market-leading position of Oxford University Press inevitably makes them more prone to criticism, not to mention the role online platforms, social networks in particular, may play in potential 'wars on words'.

The tension between online dictionary makers and users, expressed in the two controversies referred to in this paper, sheds new light on their current relationship, as far as sensitive issues like gender are concerned.

The dominant view of a dictionary as arbiter of truth seems to revolve around the notion of a neutral, outside observer. Users seem to perceive dictionaries as 'extrasocial', that is unaffected by the society's ideology. It is, however, impossible for any text to exist outside of society, as both its creation and its use involve real people rooted in real cultural contexts. Definitions and example sentences emerge from these roots and reflect language as used, what lexicographers perceive to be typical and representative or, one might add, 'normal'. Nevertheless, although dictionaries are true representations of the real world, the selection of online examples has an undeniable impact. This especially concerns the primary usage sentences of "powered by Oxford" dictionary content, the ones displayed first across the Web and operating systems, whose power to define the boundaries of 'normality', relative to their quantity, is clearly disproportionate.

Although within the limitations of a small-scale case study, the analysis presented in this paper demonstrates a clear tendency to opt for neutrality in both dictionary definitions and examples in "powered by Oxford" content. Indeed, if descriptions are quite expectedly always neutral, out of a total of 234 illustrative sentences, 70% of examples do not make any explicit gender reference. However, the difference between the two sexes or gender identities in terms of representation still slightly favours men over women, respectively referred to in 18% and 12% of instances. Given the focus on linguistic sexism, 'typically' against women, it is worth underlining that the majority of female referents (9%) occur in only two contentious entries, namely '*Looker*', meaning "A very attractive person", and '*Sex object*', but results have shown that female-gendered associations can be found also in words like '*Lover'*, where half of the examples depict women as unfaithful partners, and '*Sissy'* where qualities stereotypically believed to be characteristic of

women such as weakness, fearfulness and irresoluteness serve as the background to disparagingly regard a man or a boy as 'effeminate', longstanding stereotypes which corpus-based dictionaries, as a mirror of society, possibly cannot but record.

Nevertheless, the tension resulting from users' expectations about dictionaries' linguistic authority and about their role in society represents an original and powerful form of criticism, which may also lead to systematic online dictionary revision. In this sense, OUP's commitment to re-examine thousands of entries is worthy of note and of further investigation, since it embodies an initiative aimed to address these issues in lexicographical practice by acknowledging the present-day emphasis on awareness and sensitivity towards gender equality.

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Laura Pinnavaia*

Collocations in Twenty-first Century English Monolingual Lexicography: a State of the Art

«Compared to teachers of other languages, teachers of English are in a rather privileged position: English is the Lingua Franca of our times. This unique status of a vernacular for which there is no parallel in the history of languages has led to a thorough and in-depth study of the English language, with the result that it is one of the best described modern languages.» (Stein, 2002: 101)

Abstract:
Many studies in the field of lexicography have been devoted to collocations in order to analyse their coverage and position in different English monolingual dictionaries. Indeed, given that it is learners who have the greatest difficulty in understanding and in using collocations, researchers have been examining language users' ability to find and select collocations in such dictionaries. The outcome of these researches has prompted a series of studies that stress the need for a more suitable dictionary for collocations. This essay will de devoted to providing a synoptic report about studies that feature the collocation, the user, and the dictionary.

Keywords: Collocations, Dictionary, English, Lexicography, Studies, Users

1. *The term* collocation

That words are combined in recurring patterns in order to create discourse is a relatively recent scholarly realization, testified to by the fact that the definition of the term *collocation* as "the habitual juxtaposition or association, in the sentences of a language, of a particular word with other particular words; a group of words so associated […]" appears in the *Oxford English Dictionary* no sooner than 1951, on the input of J.R Firth studies in Linguistics[1]. Firth insisted that all linguistic utterances were in different ways meaningful activity, and that phonology, morphology,

* Università di Milano.

[1] "1951 J.R. Firth in *Ess. & Stud.* IV. 123 I propose to bring forward as a technical term, meaning by 'collocation', and to apply the test of 'collocability'" (OED s.v. *collocation*).

and syntax, along with lexicon, should be brought within an extended theory of semantics. His basic concept in this approach was the context of situation and the insistence on studying language in its social and cultural context, contributing to fostering the 'Linguistic War' of the 1970s, during which linguists became interested in the social uses of language (see *Oxford National Dictionary of Biography* s.v. J.R Firth). Firth (1957: 14) argued that collocations are "actual words in habitual company" and that "meaning by collocation" is one of the modes in which meaning can be expressed because the meaning of any word is generated by the company it keeps.

But it was not Firth who first stated that words tend to occur in fixed and predictable combinations. It was Harold Palmer who, involved in English language teaching and concerned with second language acquisition, first described the term *collocation* as "a succession of two or more words that must be learned as an integral whole and not pieced together from its component parts" (Palmer, 1933: i). Unlike Firth, however, Palmer failed to expand on this idea, to provide a detailed description of it, and to integrate it into a sound theoretical framework, which is why traditionally it is Firth who is considered the father of collocations. And yet Palmer's impact upon the development of linguistic studies was no smaller that Firth's: indeed, he influenced "phraseological research throughout Europe, thereby creating a phraseological tradition of collocation studies concerned by fixed or semi-fixed units." (Williams & Millon, 2011: 3). Though proceeding along parallel lines, both scholars' works were equally important for the evolution of the concept of *collocation*, which has now come to refer to two slightly different types of word combinations, depending on whether it was influenced by Palmer or by Firth's studies. Indeed, if Palmer's *Second Interim Report on Collocations* (1933) gave rise to the continental tradition of restricted collocation in phraseology, from Firth's studies (1957) came the other major approach based on a statistical method, developed within the Birmingham school of corpus linguistics.

2. *The development of the two concepts of* collocation

2.1 *The phraseological collocation*

Palmer's studies were of great inspiration to the traditions of phraseological studies first in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and later to those in Western Europe and North America. Thanks to the work carried out by many scholars, among whom stand out the names of Vinogradov, Amosova, Hausmann, Cowie, Mel'čuk, and Burger, phraseology is now the linguistic discipline we all recognize as being devoted to categorizing and analyzing phraseological units. However, because scholars over the decades have prioritized different features in the classification of phraseological units, different models and typologies still strongly characterize the discipline and it is often difficult to find in every scholar's work the same stable definition for each subcategory. That said, all phraseologists seem to concur that language is a continuum that extends from free to non-free combinations of words.

In the attempt to describe the features that characterize a collocation, we will begin by reporting its position along the free/non-free continuum and its difference from other lexical units, commencing with free combination of words, which see "two elements that do not repeatedly co-occur, that are not bound specifically to each other, that occur with other lexical items freely". Benson *et al.* (1986: xxx) illustrate this definition with the word *murder* that may be combined in accordance with the general rules of English syntax with hundreds of words, such as *abhor, accept, acclaim, advocate*, and freely substituted with each (1986: xv). This is not at all possible for a collocation. *Commit murder* is an example of this because "the verb *commit* is limited in use to a small number of nouns, meaning 'crime', 'wrongdoing' and collocates specifically with *murder* and cannot be replaced by any other word (1986: xxx). Thus, collocations consist of one word that is freely chosen on the basis of the speaker's communicative intent (e.g. to report a *murder*), while the other is an obliged choice because dependent upon the first (e.g *commit*). These two components are referred to as *base* and *collocator* (see Hausmann, 1984) or *keyword* and *value* (see Mel'čuk, 1998). At the other end of the continuum, collocations can be differentiated from word combinations that are considered as being not free at all. Indeed, despite the varying terminology, Cowie (1988, 1994), Burger (1998) and Mel'čuk (1998), among others, all agree that *collocations* differ from

partial/figurative/quasi-idioms because the latter have both a figurative meaning and a literal interpretation (e.g. *do a U-turn*), and differ even further from *idioms/pure idioms/full phrasemes*, which have only and exclusively a figurative meaning (e.g. *spill the beans*).

Whilst the divisions along the language continuum may seem neat and clear, much less exact are the descriptions of the subcategories. Especially collocations, positioned in between free combinations and idioms, can be seen to host a range of semantic combinations. At one extreme, one may find a collocation that includes words all having a literal meaning, like *to make a comment*; at the other extreme, one may find a collocation like *heavy rain*, made up of a base *rain,* which has a literal meaning and a collocator *heavy* with a figurative meaning. In varying their semantic makeup, collocations can thus range from being completely literal to partially figurative, known as opaque. Regardless of their level of semantic compositionality, such combinations – in which the collocator and the base are syntactically and semantically bound and cannot be substituted – are referred to as restricted collocations. This term relegates them to the sphere of phraseology, and distinguishes them from the other concept of collocation that stems from the sphere of corpus linguistics.

2.2. *The corpus linguistic collocation*

From the Firthian idea that words should be known by the company they keep comes the other concept of collocation, borne from linguistic studies on corpora by John Sinclair and his followers. In Sinclair's pioneering work *Corpus Concordance Collocation* (1991:170), this term takes on a completely different meaning from the original phraseological one:

> «A collocation is the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text. The usual measure of proximity is a maximum of four words intervening. Collocations can be dramatic and interesting because unexpected, or they can be important in the lexical structure of the language because of being frequently repeated.».

Unlike phraseologists, corpus linguists look for frequently recurring groups of words, they also call collocations. Unlike the phraseological ones, however, these multiword units can extend beyond two or three

words, becoming longer lexical chunks. What they aim to show is that instead of the open choice principle, whereby language users have at their disposal the choice of an unlimited number of single terms, communication comes about via "a large number of semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices", referred to as the idiom principle (Sinclair, 1991: 110). If phraseologists are concerned with analyzing the syntactic makeup and the degree of semantic compositionality between the components of collocations, thus distinguishing bases/keywords from collocators/values, corpus linguists are concerned with language users' intentions within the context of the situation. Consequently, any component of the collocation may be either *node* or *collocate* depending on the speaker's communicative purpose within the discourse. For instance, in corpus linguistic terms, the words *heavy* and *rain* can both be nodes, depending on whether the focus of the communication is on the adjective *heavy* or on the noun *rain*, with *rain* and *heavy* being possible but not exclusive collocates. In this approach, words are not connected to one or two collocates only, but rather to sets of collocates. The connection between the components in the collocation surpasses the limits of the semantic field, typical of the phraseologists' approach, embracing all the contexts and co-texts that the components encounter. It is the principle upon which Hoey's (2005) theory of lexical priming rests, in which every time a word is encountered it is associated with other words, which in turn are associated with other words. There is no doubt that in the corpus linguistic approach collocations are a dynamic process in which the lexical environment plays a key role, as opposed to collocations that in the phraseological approach are products to be studied and listed in reference works (Williams & Millon, 2011).

2.3 *The 'hybrid' collocation*

And it is indeed in Hornby's *Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (1942) that we find the first fruits that Palmer's studies bore on the history of English lexicography: it was the first dictionary to include a great deal of collocational and phraseological information[2], opening up a brand new tradition in English monolingual learner lexicography that has developed at an exponential rate since then, not only in

[2] "Early dictionaries were full of chunks of discourse that were glossed, explained, or defined, […], but collocations then disappeared from most dictionaries after the eighteenth century in England, […] only to reappear recently." (Béjoint, 2010: 316).

the production of general monolingual dictionaries for learners, but also in the output of specialized dictionaries devoted solely to collocations. The first English collocations dictionary, of course, is Benson, Benson and Ilson's *BBI Dictionary of English Word Combinations* (1986). In line with the phraseological approach, the authors devote a good number of pages to explaining the differences between lexical and grammatical collocations as well as to providing a detailed syntactic description of the seven lexical structures and the eight grammatical ones. Clearly, the compilation of this dictionary was at the time manual and the selection of the collocations to include prevalently based upon the lexicographers' language instinct. With the advent of corpus linguistics not only did the compilation of dictionaries change from manual to electronic, but so did the inclusion of collocations that were no longer selected according to their syntactic and semantic makeup, but also according to their recurrence in texts.

Emblematic of this change is *The Collins COBUILD Dictionary*, published in 1987, which makes a hard break with former lexicographical tradition, as Sinclair states in its Preface (xv):

> « [...] for the first time a dictionary has been compiled by the thorough examination of a representative group of English texts, spoken and written, running to many millions of words. This means that in addition to all the tools of the conventional dictionary makers – wide reading and experience of English, other dictionaries and of course eyes and ears – this dictionary is based on hard, measurable evidence. No major uses are missed, and the number of times a use occurs has a strong influence on the way the entries are organized. »

In becoming one of the most important triggers of inclusion of words in learner lexicography, usage also comes to influence the inclusion and treatment of collocations too, starting from the end of the twentieth century. The inclusion of examples taken from real language use, which is possibly one of the most characterizing features of the new corpus-based dictionaries, endorses the importance that the linguistic environment has for corpus linguists. For Sinclair, in his Firthian-inspired view of language, the context is indispensable for explaining the meaning of words:

> «The most important result that has come from the work of preparing this dictionary concerns the way in which patterns of words with each other are related to the meanings and uses of the

> words. […] It is not really possible to talk about the meaning of the word in isolation – it only has a particular meaning when it is in a particular environment. » (Sinclair, 1987: xvii)

Since words have no meaning on their own, collocations rightly take the lion's share in Sinclair's dictionary. He includes them to explain and illustrate the meaning of words, both as examples of use under lemmas and as lemmas themselves. Though only a general learner's dictionary, the Cobuild's coverage of collocations is certainly no less reliable than the specialised BBI's. On the contrary, the precison and the detail that corpus linguistics confers Sinclair's dictionary cannot be wholly matched by Benson et al's work, which is manually compiled. The resultant word patterns are thus ideologically different: if Benson et al's collocations represent a unit that stems from the phraseological tradition, typical of pre-corpus lexicographical experience, Sinclair's collocations represent a cross between the phraseological unit, typical of lexicography, and the statistically-significant one, typical of corpus lingusitics, leading to a new concept of collocation for lexicographic purposes in the twenty-first century:

> «Lexically and/or pragmatically constrained recurrent co-occurrences of at least two lexical items which are in direct relation with each other. » (Bartsch, 2004:76)

As we can see from this definition, the semantic relation between components is not put to one side, as often happens when collocations are defined in the domain of corpus linguistics. For the purpose of lexicography, a definition that represents a middle road between the theoretical (phraseological) and the empirical (distributional and frequency-based) (see Evert, 2008: 1213) seems to be a functional compromise that helps to facilitate the extraction of collocations–both lexical and grammatical. That said, the definition of collocation even in the domain of English lexicography is still far from homogeneous and remains a crucial topic of debate, with linguists and lexicographers putting forward what each considers the most appropriate functional or working definition. To enter into this debate would be too complicated and too long for the scope of this essay, but it certainly remains one of the thorniest issues regarding studies of collocations in twenty-first century lexicography of English and other languages too[3].

[3] For more detailed information regarding this aspect see Orlandi & Giacomini (2016).

3. *Research issues in twenty-first century English lexicography*

Next to questioning what lexicographers should look for in order to extract from corpora the most numerous and most appropriate instances of collocations to be included in dictionaries, scholars' studies regarding collocations in English lexicography have been focussing on another three important issues lately. An important number of studies have been devoted to analysing the coverage and position of collocations in different English monolingual dictionaries, both of the general learner and specialized kind. Aware that it is the language learner who has the greatest difficulty in understanding and in using collocations, researchers have thus also been examining language users' ability to find and select collocations in such dictionaries. The outcome of these researches has prompted an interesting new series of studies that stress the need for a more suitable dictionary if collocations are to be learnt effectively. A synoptic report about studies that feature the collocation, the user, and the dictionary is thus what this essay will be about.

3.1 *The coverage and position of collocations*

That the new 'hybrid' definition of collocation has been fruitful in the extraction of collocations from corpora can be seen by the increased number of collocations included in more recently published specialized dictionaries. Indeed, compared to the second revised edition of the *BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English* (1997)–"considered its main competitor"–Crowther *et al.* (2002: 58) point out that the *Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English* (2002), has a much more extended coverage, owing to the editors' choice to implement a more versatile and operative definition of collocation that combines statistical saliency and learners' needs with phraseological norms. It is possibly because this working definition is so efficient that the *Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English* not only fares better than *The LTP Dictionary of Selected Collocations* (1999), underlines Walker (2009: 288) in a later research between the three dictionaries, but also better than the *Collins COBUILD English Collocations on CD-Rom* (1995) add Crowther *et al.* (2002: 61).

This discrepancy of coverage emerges also in research carried out on the learners' dictionaries. Walker (2009), who carries out contrastive

analyses between the *Collins COBUILD Advanced Learners' Dictionary* (2005), the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2003), and the *Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary* (2005) finds that, even among the general dictionaries, the *Collins COBUILD Advanced Learners' Dictionary* includes the fewest collocations and the *Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary* the most, not only confirming the findings Mittmann (1999) had obtained when examining earlier editions of the same three dictionaries, but also endorsing the findings reported above regarding the specialized dictionaries of collocations. While these differences between the COBUILD and the other dictionaries, both special and general, may be partly due to the more stringent editorial policies adhered to by COBUILD, whose "collocate listings are restricted to maximally twenty items" (Crowther *et al.*, 2002: 61) because what is statistically not salient is left out, there is no doubt that each learners' dictionary proceeds very differently as to what they decide to include. This is also largely testified to by the fact that only 29% of all the collocates listed appear in two or more of the three learners' dictionaries (Walker, 2009: 288), and that more than 80% of collocations in the three specialized dictionaries appear in only one of the three (Walker, 2009: 297).

Research has shown that the lack of agreement in the contents of the general learner and specialized dictionaries does not only regard the number of collocations, but also the way they are entered in dictionaries. This fact has resulted from analyses, pointed at examining where collocations are placed. In claiming that "lexicographers may have to do more than inserting a collocation in an example which illustrates the meaning of the headword", Laufer (2011: 45) in her analysis of the *Cambridge International Dictionary of English* (1995), *Cambridge Advanced Learners' Dictionary* (2005), *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2003), *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (2005), *Collins COBUILD Advanced Dictionary* (2008) supports the results Walker also obtains regarding the position of collocations in learner dictionaries. Indeed, Walker (2009) shows that most collocations in the entries of the learners' dictionaries he examines seem to be chosen in order to exemplify a definition, or part of a definition. Like many earlier findings, these twenty-first century studies reiterate the need for general learner dictionaries to give collocations more prominence and not include them simply "to exemplify the different polysemous meanings explained in the entry" (Walker, 2009: 287).

Whether collocations are entered as lemmas or as examples of use, it is not of any relevance in the case of specialized dictionaries: in these

works, collocations are all given headword status. What has concerned researchers, instead, is the choice of which lexeme of the multiword unit should figure as the headword. In the examination of the *Macmillan's Collocation Dictionary* (2010), Coffey (2011) states that the headwords are either nouns, adjectives or verbs, which is also true for the *BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English* (1997), *The LTP Dictionary of Selected Collocations* (1999), and the *Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English* (2002), with "the approximate proportions for each grammatical category [in the former being]: nouns 55%, adjectives 24%, verbs 21%" (2011: 329). That does not mean that the *Macmillan's Collocation Dictionary* lacks innovativeness. On the contrary, compared to the previously published works, it includes three lexico-grammatical patterns in which a verb or adjective base leads to a noun collocate (for example V. DESERVE + N. applause; N. injuries + V. HEAL; ADJ. DESIRABLE + N. attribute) (2011: 334). However, if research has shown that even in more recent publications, nouns still predominate as headwords of collocations, it is because contemporary lexicography has continued to abide by the principles of phraseology when positioning them, regardless of the enormous impact corpus linguistics has had on their extraction and on language study in general. It may be possible to say then that the concept of semantic tension extant between lexemes composing a collocation has resisted the test of time and continues to influence twenty-first century dictionary-making. Following Hausmann's (1984) tenet, nouns – more commonly the autonomous lexemes of the unit – are entered as *bases* to be looked up first in order to find their semantically related *collocates*.

3.2 *Learners' ability to locate and select collocations*

That the noun seems still to be the most frequently chosen base in the listing of collocations may be explained by the fact that the noun has traditionally been considered the point of departure in looking up collocations, thus becoming the focus of much twenty-first century research. Indeed, next to the continued interest in the lexical and grammatical composition of collocations and their treatment in dictionaries, recent research has been directed towards the dictionary-users themselves. Learners of English, in need of decoding what they cannot understand and/or encoding what they would like to express, have in the last decade or so become the target of more pedagogically-

oriented researches bent on testing the ease with which they can locate and select collocations in and from both general learner and specialized dictionaries. Despite the general appeal by linguists to step up studies of this kind (see Chen, 2016), some important findings have already begun to come to light. The very first is that learners "have inadequate dictionary use skills". (Chen, 2016: 246). Indeed, from his study, in which fifty-two English majors at a Chinese university were asked to fill in the missing verbs in twelve v + n collocations gapped sentences, Chen noticed that students were reluctant to use the hyperlink function of the electronic dictionary to look up further information, were unable to distinguish between entry sub-senses, and lost their patience when faced with overcrowded entry information. In another study carried out by Lew and Radlowska (2010), intermediate pre-university Polish learners of English were requested to supply missing words in 13 gapped sentences by looking up collocations in the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2003), and in the *Oxford Collocations Dictionary*. It is almost needless to say that the findings showed that "even fairly advanced learners experienced serious problems with locating and selecting appropriate collocations" (2010: 43). These findings, corroborated by similar results regarding learners of other languages (e.g. Alonso-Ramos, 2008; Alonso-Ramos & Garcia-Salida, 2019), have not just highlighted the need to teach language learners dictionary skills but rather and more precisely to teach them "collocation dictionary skills" (Kim, 2018: 322). This is even more impelling, when studies on language acquisition have long shown the difficulty learners have in gaining and developing strong collocational competence in general,[4] let alone when combined to dictionary use.

Next to the need to teach learners how to use dictionaries, research in the last few years has also shown that dictionaries ought to be more user-friendly if they are to be of any real help for learners having to locate and select collocations. Since Herbst's (1996: 336) claim that "the value for the learner is much greater if the special character of these combinations is pointed out by giving them typographical prominence of some sort," experiments on general learner and specialized dictionaries have shown that learners find collocations more easily if they are highlighted (in colour or in bold print) as well as organized in boxes. (Götz-Votteler & Herbst, 2009, Heid, 2004, Laufer, 2011, Mittmann, 1999, Siepmann, 2006). In analyzing and comparing *Collins COBUILD Advanced Dictionary* (2008), *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*

[4] For the state of the art of these studies see Henrikson (2013)

(2009) and *Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary of Current English* (2010), Dzemianko (2014: 272) more specifically finds that learners do better at finding and using collocations when they are highlighted in bold before or within examples as well as being placed at the bottom of an entry, and especially if the dictionary is online. Indeed, in an earlier experiment carried out by 64 upper-intermediate and advanced students of English at Poznan University, Dzemianko (2010) showed how the online version of *Collins COBUILD Advanced Dictionary* is more useful for students having to deal with receptive and productive tasks than its paper equivalent and that its use "results in better retention of meaning and more effective retrieval of collocations" (Dzemianko, 2010: 264). Unlike paper dictionaries in which it is difficult to look up multiword units, owing to the orthographical organization of entries (Lew, 2012), online dictionaries, where cross-referencing prevails, reduce lookup time (Dai *et al.*, 2019), thus helping learners to remain focused on the task and obtain better results. Contemporary empirical research on learners' skills in locating, selecting, and using collocations has in fact begun to show that many of the problems learners face could be of lesser importance in electronic dictionaries. The endless space in such dictionaries not only would allow for greater coverage but also for a more ubiquitous positioning of collocations (Gabuyian, 2019). Moreover, the shortcomings that the strict separation of the denotational information from the collocational one–typical of learners' dictionaries–along with the reduced amount of contextual information–typical of both general learner and specialized dictionaries–could be eliminated in dictionaries that have no spatial limits (Handl, 2009).

3.3 *Towards a new kind of dictionary*

Recent research has thus highlighted the need for a new type of dictionary that might overcome the shortcomings related to the selection and treatment of collocations as well as the weaknesses learners show when having to look for them. In her analytic study of seven dictionaries of English collocations: *BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English* (1997), *Selected English Collocations* (1988, 1998) and its companion *English Adverbial Collocations* (1991, 1998) the *Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English* (2002), the *Collins COBUILD English Collocations on CD-Rom* (1995), *A Deskbook of most frequent English Collocations* (1986), and *A Dictionary of English*

Collocations (1994), Nuccorini (2003) underlines the need to strive for an 'ideal' dictionary, rid of the inconsistencies that feature in and across general learner and specialized dictionaries, in which the learners' needs come first and foremost. It has already been suggested that, owing to their flexible structure, electronic dictionaries might be one step in the right direction towards meeting this need. Indeed, in having to select the correct collocations for a writing task, learners in Nurmukhamedov's (2016) experiment performed better when using the online *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* than when they used the paper *Macmillan Collocation Dictionary* (2010), but did best of all when they used the collocation tool *wordandphrase.info*, which is not a dictionary in the strict sense of the word and does not even represent its traditional structure. Nurmukhamedov (2016: 472) motivates this by arguing that, besides including a clearer presentation of collocations, the *wordandphrase.info tool* has a "what-you-see-is-what-you-get interface" which learners in this digital age are now more used to, fostering more positive attitudes and better results.

To be able to locate, select, and use collocations successfully, learners therefore seem to necessitate tools that they are familiar with, and which are easy and fast to use. Digital tools may surely satisfy this requirement, provided they do not simply replicate the existing printed ones (Gabuyian, 2019: 213). As mentioned earlier, the advantage of an electronic dictionary is that it can include much more information than a printed one. This would allow, as Laufer (2011: 46) suggests, to include contrastive word-focused information that would draw attention to "the differences between the L2 and L1 ways of expressing similar meanings". After all, since research has shown that learners opt for bilingual dictionaries more than monolingual ones for decoding but especially for encoding purposes (Atkins, 1985; MacFarquhar & Richards, 1983; Piotrowski, 1989; Rundell, 1999; Scholfield, 1999), one way forward could therefore be to create electronic bilingualized dictionaries of collocations.

"To provide a sound basis for the production of unabridged onomasiological bilingual learners' dictionaries which focus on collocation" is what the Bilexicon project headed by Siepmann (2005b: 3) has been pursuing in the last decade or so. Besides fostering the production of electronic works that integrate monolingual with bilingual information, this project interestingly also encourages an onomasiological approach in entering collocations and looking them up. As opposed to the semasiological method, whereby collocations are positioned under

a word following an alphabetical order, the onomasiological method positions the collocation under a concept. A thematic organization of dictionaries, argues Siepmann, avoids the difficulty of deciding where to place the collocation, under the base or the collocate, which necessitates time to study the phraseological structure of each multiword unit. This of course is driven by Siepmann's idea of collocation: as "any holistic lexical, lexicogrammatical or semantic unit normally composed of two or more words which exhibits minimal recurrence within a particular discourse community (2005a: 438), it is the collocation itself, in Siepmann's mind, that should determine "the setting up and internal structuring of subareas and situation types" in a dictionary. And it is indeed the onomasiological method that fits in better with this idea of a dictionary rather than the semasiological one, which is better suited for the insertion of collocations in a "fully pre-determined ontological structure" (Siepmann, 2005b: 8). Within this line of thought, recent research has also been advocating for the inclusion in electronic dictionaries of visual networks of collocations, grouped together according to semantic content. Torner and Arias-Badia (2019: 271) claim that this would make "an easily-readable representation of complex lexical relations possible, avoiding the use of metalinguistic apparatus which can be difficult to manage for non-expert users". For example, the learner would undoubtedly benefit from finding the visual grouping of the four verbs *mostrar* ('show'), *expresar* ('express'), *demostrar* ('demonstrate'), and *manifestar* ('exhibit') in combination with *amor* ('love') under the concept of 'showing love' (see Torner & Arias-Badia, 2019) in a future bilingualized English-Spanish onomasiological electronic dictionary.

4. *Conclusions*

If "the idiomaticity of a language is perhaps best revealed in the errors committed by learners" (Fellbaum, 2007: 2), then we can safely say that English is still a highly idiomatic language, owing to the difficulty learners have in selecting the correct word from a vast pool of near-synonyms. As combinations of words that are seemingly unmotivated, collocations are particularly difficult for learners to understand and/or to formulate, often leading to a breakdown in communication. Consequently, since the mid-twentieth century lexicographers have been devoting time and

attention to selecting, entering, and explaining as many collocational patterns as possible in dedicated reference works in order to aid learners in their acquisition and use of them. This summative report on the state of the art of research in the field of monolingual learner lexicography and collocations has, however, shown that, despite the evident progress made, scholars in the last two decades are aware of the need to improve the way collocations are handled in such dictionaries. The inconsistent inclusion and treatment of collocations in and across learner and specialized dictionaries, combined with learners' unwillingness and incapacity to use them, still seems to hamper correct usage. In addressing this problem, researchers have come to realize that the solution might be a totally new kind of tool. Electronic, thematically structured, and bilingualized, this new kind of dictionary could foster prompt and easy searches that, departing from one's own mother-tongue, could result in finding equivalents more quickly and in selecting them more efficiently, thanks to the additional contextual information provided. Indeed, although research has shown that learners prefer bilingual dictionaries to monolingual ones because they address their own language issues, the stringent translational equivalents typical of bilingual tools often fail to provide the necessary contextual details required for optimal decoding and/or encoding purposes. By supporting these equivalents with an added wealth of illustrative examples, typical of monolingual works, the electronic bilingualized English dictionary of collocations could indeed become an exciting challenge for lexicographers and a better solution for learners.

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Valeria Fiasco*
Virginia Pulcini**

'Overt' Calques from English and their Currency in Italian[1]

ABSTRACT:
This paper analyses a selection of loanwords and calques triggered by the influence of English and used in Italian. We have introduced the term 'overt' calques to denote borrowings that are used in Italian both as loanwords and calques, such as *full time* and *tempo pieno*. This particular status of 'overt' calques raises interesting questions concerning the existence of near synonyms, the typological profile of the replica with respect to the source word, the semantic features of equivalents and the underlying sociolinguistic and pragmatic components which influence the speakers' preferences either for the foreign or for the domestic form. The analysis is based on a sample of 22 'overt' calques and their equivalent loanwords. On the basis of lexicographic information, the chronology of borrowing and the development of calques is presented; we also illustrate common typological patterns of Italian calques and compare the usage frequency of the synonymic pairs (loanwords and calques) in three corpora of present-day Italian.

KEYWORDS: Anglicisms, Calques, Loanwords, Italian corpora

1. *Introduction*

The primary outcome of language contact is the transfer (borrowing or lending) of lexical units and phrases across speech communities and national languages. Scholars agree that borrowings can be grouped into two major categories, i.e. loanwords and calques. Most of the research on English borrowings, or Anglicisms, is focussed on loanwords, the type of borrowings that are imported into another language in the original 'foreign' appearance, with minor adaptation in form and pronunciation (e.g. *week-end*). While loanwords remain recognizably English, calques are formally made up of units belonging to the receiving language (RL), so that the meaning of the English source word is reproduced with a

* Università Roma Tre.
** Università di Torino.

[1] Both authors are responsible for the overall structure of this paper. V. Pulcini drafted sections 1 and 2.2; V. Fiasco was responsible for sections 2.1 and 2.3.

translation equivalent (*fine settimana*) or a new meaning is taken on by an already existing Italian word (e.g. *realizzare*, with the meaning of 'to become aware of', from English *realize*).

Because of the high degree of 'camouflage' in the RL, calques are difficult to identify in Italian discourse. Their lack of salience is further enhanced by the fact that English and Italian, though genetically unrelated, share a large stock of Latin-based vocabulary, so that the formal similarity of the source word and its Italian replica makes it difficult, if not impossible for the lay speaker, to be aware of the provenance of a term or phrase. This may be established only with the support of historical and sociolinguistic evidence, as in the case of the Italian terms *convenzione* (from En. *convention* < Fr. *convention*; etymon: Latin *conventiōn-em*), *impatto* (from En. *impact*; Fr. *impact*; etymon < Latin type **impactus* noun, < participial stem of *impingĕre*) or *ostruzionismo* (from En. *obstructionism;* etymon: Latin *obstructiōn*). In this respect, as argued by Bombi (2005), English has played an important role in the creation of Latin-based specialist terms and then in transferring them into Italian, often through the mediation of French. Hundreds of lexical items, be them in the form of adaptations or translations of exogenous terms, belong to the Italian word stock, but their historical identity remains 'under cover', as it were, by virtue of their Italian form.

As explained by Rodriguez Gonzalez & Knospe (2019), although English has been the most active donor language over the past century, quite a few calques mistakenly associated to English originated in other European languages, like the word *superman*, which actually comes from Ge. Übermensch and the Sp. neologism *centro comercial*, borrowed from Fr. *centre commercial*, though in turn adapted from En. *shopping centre*. In the complex scenario of European cultural history from the Renaissance to the present, much vocabulary travelled across speech communities so that multiple origins are the rule rather than the exception. It follows that independent national genesis seems to be a more plausible reason rather than borrowing for things or concepts that emerged in the same historical period: an emblematic example is the It. adjective *romantico* (from Lat *romanticus*), reportedly borrowed in 1824 from 17th c. En. *romantic* (with the meaning of 'characteristic of a movement or style during the late 18th and 19th centuries in Europe marked by an emphasis on feeling, individuality, and passion […]' [OED], but also attested from Fr. *romantique*. Another independent outcome of language contact across European languages, to set apart from borrowing, is the category of 'internationalisms', i.e. lexical items

of Latin/Greek etymology that are formally and semantically similar across unrelated languages, a prototypical case being that of *telephone* and many scientific and technical terms (discussed by Pulcini, 2019).

Because of the difficulties outlined above to recognize routes of transmission and the origin of borrowings, when they are 'camouflaged' in domestic disguise, the vast literature on English-Italian contact and on the cultural and linguistic exchanges (Iamartino, 2001; Pulcini, 2002, 2017, 2020; Pulcini *et al.*, 2012) has mostly focussed on 'direct' Anglicisms, i.e. words or multi-word units borrowed from English without any formal integration or with some orthographic, phonological and morphological adjustments, which however leave the word 'recognizably' English. In Italian most Anglicisms are actively used in Italian in their original form with no competition with domestic words: among the hundreds of examples, suffice it to quote the names of some music genres (*rock*, *blues*, *hip-hop*, *rap*), names of sports (*tennis*, *rugby*, *curling*) and internet terms (*hashtag*, *blog*, *doodle*).[2] On the other hand, for several different reasons related to language contact and interference modes, some terms are readily adopted and rendered only with a domestic equivalent, and the English term from which they originated is never integrated or quickly falls into disuse: for example, *forno a microonde* (*microwave oven*), *aria condizionata* (*air conditioned*), *arrampicatore sociale* (*social climber*) and *disco volante* (*flying saucer*). Very often, however, the Anglicisms start being used alongside a domestic equivalent, which may be a newly created term or an already existing term/phrase, which then enters in competition with the English neologism.

This last outcome of interference leads to the category of borrowings that we will focus on in this paper, which we have termed as 'overt' calques. By 'overt' calques we refer to domestic lexical units that coexist with a loanword expressing the same semantic content, such as, for example, *tempo pieno* and *full time*, or *week-end* and *fine settimana*.[3] We have chosen the term 'overt' because it clearly expresses the fact that the very existence of the loanword confirms the motivation and

[2] The number of entries having English origin in the GDU amounts to 8,196, of which 5,850 are labelled as ES ('exoticism') and have an English form; it follows that the number of adapted Anglicisms and calques is 2,340 (28.5% of the total). All the foreign words contained in the GDU are also recorded in a separate dictionary (De Mauro & Mancini, 2003)

[3] This phenomenon has already been addressed by Winter-Froemel & Onysko (2012), who introduced the terms 'catachrestic' and 'non-catachrestic' innovations to refer to loanwords adopted to name something new vs. loanwords that convey a meaning already expressed by a domestic lexical unit of the RL, and their pragmatic values.

the origin of the calque. This particular status of 'overt' calques raises interesting questions related to the co-existence of synonymic doublets. This analysis is based on a sample of 22 'overt' calques used in Italian: on the basis of previous research, lexicographic and corpus-based data, we will focus on the following features:

- the chronology of the selected loanwords and the development of calques;
- common typological patterns of Italian calques with respect to their English models;
- the usage frequency of the synonymic pairs (loanwords and calques).

Finally, on the basis of our data, we will try and suggest the reasons which may lead users to opt for one or the other form.

2. *'Overt' calques and synonymic loanwords*

The present analysis is based on a sample of 'overt' calques and synonymic loanwords collected during the compilation of the Global Anglicisms Database (GLAD)[4]. Although GLAD's word list contains mostly direct Anglicisms, we also considered candidate calques and checked their currency in dictionaries (Zingarelli, 2020; GDU, 2007; Treccani 2020; Devoto Oli, 2020), and in other lexicographic sources[5]. We also used newspaper archives (*La Repubblica* and *La Stampa*[6]) for checking dates of adoption and finding authentic examples, which allowed us to antedate the borrowing of some of the focus items. Finally, the frequency of the competing forms were searched for in three Italian corpora, namely Coris[7], Italian Web 2016 and Timestamped JSI Italian Corpus, the latter two accessed through the Sketch Engine platform[8].

[4] <https://www.nhh.no/en/research-centres/global-anglicism-database-network/>
[5] The portal <aaa.italofonia.info> and *ArchiDATA, Archivio di (retro)datazioni lessicali* <https://www.archidata.info/>
[6] www.repubblica.it; www.archiviolastampa.it
[7] http://corpora.dslo.unibo.it/TCORIS/
[8] https://www.sketchengine.eu/

2.1

Table 1 shows the list of the selected English loanwords and their synonymic Italian calques, accompanied by the earliest date of adoption retrieved from the above-mentioned sources. The borrowing process normally begins from the adoption of the loanword, often within a specialist domain or sector of the general language, followed by the creation of the corresponding calque in the RL: this process is exemplified by the term *countdown*, introduced in the context of the launch of a spacecraft or of a missile, the meaning of which was later figuratively extended to a period of time preceeding an important event. This loanword and its calque *conto alla rovescia* are attributed the same time of importation (1958). The same or a close date of adoption are attested for many of the listed items, such as, for example, *pay-tv/televisione a pagamento* (1936), *password/parola d'ordine* (1966), *self-control/autocontrollo* (1911), *supermarket/supermercato* (1956), *politically correct/politicamente corretto* (1991/1993).

This is not the only order of transmission. In other cases the creation of the calque precedes the borrowing of the underlying loanword, like the syntagmatic calque *conferenza al vertice*, introduced in 1960 on the compound *summit conference*, preceded by several unsuccessful replacements (cf. Bombi, 2005: 121) and followed a few years later by the elliptic English calque *summit*, which gradually won out in use over Italian *vertice*. Another case is *posta elettronica*, which started being used in 1982, much earlier that the shorter and more successful loanword *e-mail* (1992). Also *dopobarba* appeared before *after-shave*, initially as a calque of *after-shaving lotion* (*lozione dopobarba*), probably mediated by French *après rasage* (Bombi, 2005: 55). ArchiDATA provides an earlier attestation (1946) with respect to Italian dictionaries in the following citation [1]:

> [1] "Marchio d'impresa depositato il 18 aprile 1946 da S.A.P.P.A. […] a Milano, per lozione per *dopobarba* e profumeria. SMOOTH prodotto italiano" (source: Ministero dell'Industria e del Commercio, *Bollettino dei brevetti per invenzioni, modelli e marchi*, pt. III, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1947 [ottobre 1946], p. 1183).

English loanword	Attestation in Italian	Italian calque	Attestation in Italian
after-shave	1959	Dopobarba	1946
all inclusive	1995	tutto compreso tutto incluso	1972
basket	1906	Pallacanestro	1923
case study	1989	caso di studio studio di caso	1993 1992
corner (kick)	1934	(calcio d') angolo	1925
countdown	1958	conto alla rovescia	1958
e-mail	1992	posta elettronica	1982
full time	1963	(a) tempo pieno	1967
hard disk	1985	disco rigido	1988
live	1975	dal vivo	1981
pay-tv	1936	televisione a pagamento	1936
part time	1963	tempo parziale	1978
password	1966	parola d'ordine	1966
politically correct	1991	politicamente corretto	1993
self-control	1911	Autocontrollo	1911
step by step	1989	passo dopo passo	1999
talent scout	1936	scopritore di talenti	1935
shuttle	1981	Navetta	1983
Star	1929	Stella	1856
summit (conference)	1967	(conferenza al) vertice	1960
supermarket	1956	Supermercato	1956
week-end	1905	fine settimana	1911

Table 1. Selected Anglicisms and calques with first attestation in Italian

Another case of prior adoption of the calque with respect to the loanword is that of the sports term *calcio d'angolo*, normally reduced to *angolo*. Rather than a semantic calque of the English term *corner*, it seems that *calcio d'angolo* appeared as a loan translation of *corner kick*, which was then borrowed in its elliptic form *corner*, featuring in Italian side by side the domestic form *angolo*. It is also worth noting that most of the sports terminology was subject to intense 'Italianization' in the first half of the 20th century because of the political pressure of national purism (Cappuzzo, 2008; Pulcini, 2017).

The development of calques from the model English term can trigger

more than one replacive forms. For example, *all inclusive* coexists with the Italian expressions *tutto compreso* and *tutto incluso*, which can be used in the field of tourism. Previous research (Pulcini, 2012) has shown that *tutto compreso* is generally preferred (*formula tutto compreso, viaggi tutto compreso*), whereas *tutto incluso* is commonly found in connection with prices (*tariffa di lancio a partire da 736 euro tutto incluso a/r*).

The synonymic pair *week-end/fine settimana* deserves particular attention. Scholars agree that *week-end* appeared as early as 1905, followed by the syntagmatic calque *fine settimana*. It seems logical that the specific acceptation of 'end of the week' as a moment of relaxation, an outing or entertainment after a Monday-to-Friday working routine is a new modern meaning of the generic expression devoided of its social value. It was possible to antedate this acceptation to 1911 from the archive of the daily newspaper *La Stampa* (earlier uses specifically refer to the fields of economy and finance) (see example [2])

> [2] Sezione "Annunzi vari"
> Margherita troverai due annunzi miei […] partirò forse *fine settimana*, manderò l'indirizzo.

Finally, *case study* is an interesting case of deviant rendition caused by conflicting word order in English and in Italian. Following the compositional patterning of English noun phrases, the head element of *case study* is the one on the right, i.e. study, and the left-hand element is the modifier. Therefore, the correct equivalent calque should be *studio di caso*. A word for word rendition of the model term has led to the creation of the Italian equivalent *caso di studio* (187 hits in la Repubblica archive), which is in fact more frequently used in Italian than the correct calque *studio di caso* (only 4 hits in la Repubblica archive).

Turning the attention to semantic calques (or loans) such as *stella* and *navetta*, we can see that the process involves the acquisition of a new meaning of an already exixting word in the RL. The term *stella* with the meaning of 'famous person' dates back to 1856 as a semantic calque of English *star* (introduced decades later in 1929). In the case of *navetta* (used in Italian since the 14th century to denote a small boat), the modern meaning of 'means of transport operating a transfer service to and from a certain destination, like airports and stations, at regular times' was taken on at the time of increased mass tourism, possibly favoured by the term *navetta spaziale* (in turn a calque of *space shuttle*, cf. Bombi, 2005: 139).

2.2

The typology of structural and semantic calques can be quite complex, if we consider the Italian replicas triggered by English source models. The most straightforward categorization of indirect loans, adopted by Görlach (2001) and derived from earlier taxonomies (e.g. Weinreich, 1953), distinguishes between calques and semantic loans. In turn, calques can take the form of loan translation (faithful reproduction of the model), loan rendition (divergent reproduction of the model) and loan creation (free reproduction of the model). A similar categorization of types of lexical borrowings (starting from the distinction between direct and indirect loans) is presented by Pulcini *et al.* (2012: 6), extending the possible patterns from lexical to phrasal (e.g. *step by step* in our sample). For the specific categorization of Italian calques, more refined models are those proposed by Klajn (1972) and by Bombi (2005), in turn drawing on Gusmani (1986). As anticipated in the introduction, calques can reproduce both the structure and the meaning of the foreign model or attach a new meaning to an already existing word in the RL. According to Bombi (2005) in the former case we obtain a 'structural calque', in the latter case a 'semantic calque'. The term calque is largely shared in the literature on language contact, whereas for the type of interference that involves only the development of a new meaning for an already existing word, also the terms 'semantic loan' (Pulcini *et al.*, 2012) and '*prestito semantico*' (Klajn, 1972) are used.

The selected calques presented in Table 1 are current in Italian and easily recognizable by speakers, although most of them were first introduced in a specialized domain of vocabulary and then spread to the general language. A common structure is the compositional one (*calco strutturale di composizione* cf. Bombi, 2005), whereby the model word is reproduced in the RL: *dopobarba*, *autocontrollo* and *supermercato* are the precise replica of *aftershave*, *self-control* and *supermarket* and therefore considered as 'perfect' calques (*calchi perfetti*). The order of the elements follows the pattern modifier+modified (determinans+determinatum), which was common in old Italian, but today has given way to the more frequent reversed order, as in *pallacanestro* for *basket-(ball)*. Frequently one of the elements is a neoclassical combining forms such as *auto*- and *super*- (Pulcini & Milani, 2017). Some solid compounds are instead translated with analytic phrasal patterns, such as *countdown* and *password*, which are rendered in Italian as *conto alla rovescia* and *parola d'ordine*.

Another common type of calque in Italian involves a phrasal pattern, such as *dal vivo* for *live*, used as adjective or adverb. In general phrasal calques are modelled on a similar phrasal pattern in English (*calco sintagmatico*, cf. Bombi, 2005), but not always. An example of a 'perfect' phrasal calque is *politicamente corretto* (adverb+adjective) for *politically correct*. A common type of phrase in English involves the pattern adjective+noun (*full time*, *part time*, *hard disk*) where we can see that in Italian the replicas display a reversed order (*tempo pieno*, *tempo parziale*, *disco rigido*). Other parts of speech may be involved as in *pay-tv* (verb+noun), in which case we may observe the frequent Italian pattern constituted by a substantive+prepositional phrase (*televisione/tv a pagamento*). We can say that Italian calques are generally 'imperfect' with respect to the English model. Moreover, the divergent structure is accompanied by divergent meaning (loan rendition, cf. Pulcini *et al*., 2012), as in *talent scout*, rendered as *scopritore di talen*ti (literally 'discoverer of talents').

2.3

The competition between the loanword and the equivalent calque can be observed and measured by searching for the focus items in Italian corpora. For the present study, three corpora of present-day Italian have been queried, namely, the *CORIS*, the *Italian Web 2016*, and the *Timestamped JSI Italian Corpus*, in order to extract and compare the frequency of the English loanwords and calques in Italian. This is a research question that dictionaries cannot answer, as only a few dictionaries provide information about usage frequency. *CORIS* (*Corpus di Italiano Scritto*) is a general reference corpus of contemporary written Italian, including 150 million running words from 1980 to 2016 and texts from the press, fiction and academic prose. The *Italian Web 2016* corpus, also known as *itTenTen16*, is an automatically collected and processed corpus consisting of web-based texts, collected (crawled) in 2016, consisting of 4.9 billion words and available on the *Sketch Engine* platform. The *Italian Timestamped Corpus* is made up of news articles obtained from RSS feeds, covering the period 2014-2020, with a size of 5.8+ billion words. This new suite of corpora is most promising for the analysis of frequency trends of neologisms, as data can be searched according to times and subjects.

The figures listed in Table 2 allow a comparison between the

usage frequency of Anglicisms and their Italian equivalents[9]. For better comprehension of the data, we have discussed the focus terms according to three main trends: the first group includes the cases when the Anglicisms are prevalent in all three corpora, the second contains the cases where the Italian calques are preferred, and the third features cases where preferences diverge between the million-size traditionally sampled corpus (CORIS) and the two web-based billion-size corpora.

Starting from the terms for which there is a consensus among the Italian corpora on the prevalent use of the Anglicisms, these include *basket*, *e-mail*, *hard disk*, *pay-tv*, *part time*, *password*, *talent scout*, *star*, *week-end* and *summit*. It is not surprising that some of the words belong to information technology, a field that has rapidly grown since the 1990s, spreading from specialist the general use, which is today the most productive field of English neologisms (Gianni, 1994; Pulcini, 2017). Other qualities favouring Anglicisms against Italian equivalents may be English brevity (cf. *pay-tv* vs. *tv a pagamento*) but also the aura of modernity and prestige of the donor culture. The fact that Anglicisms are monoreferential (*star* vs *stella*; *summit* vs *vertice*) may also play a role in favour of Anglicisms.

The second group includes Italian words that are more frequently selected in actual use than their synonymous Anglicisms, featuring *dopobarba*, *calcio d'angolo*, *autocontrollo*, *passo dopo passo*, *navetta*, and *supermercato*. A feature that is readily evident is the presence of the neoclassical combining forms *auto-* and *super-*, which are quite productive in Italian, and therefore may be more readily combined with another Italian element (Pulcini & Milani, 2017). The phrase *calcio d'angolo* is prevalent in all corpora, but the choice between *corner* and *angolo* is pretty balanced. The preference for *passo dopo passo* and *navetta* could be explained resorting to semantic opacity of *step by step* or the difficult pronunciation of *shuttle*, the latter giving way to the much nicer-sounding, feminine noun *navetta* (the Italian suffix *–etto* conveys an affective connotation of something small and pretty). These conclusions are based on intuition, to be tested empirically.

[9] In order to compare corpora of different sizes, the usage frequencies have been normalized to 1 million.

	CORIS freq/pmw	Italian Web 2016 freq/pmw	Timestamped JSI Italian Corpus freq/pmw
after-shave *dopobarba*	0.03 **0.62**	0.05 **0.45**	0.01 **0.06**
all inclusive *tutto compreso* *tutto incluso*	0.03 **1.61** 0.14	**1.95** 1.53 0.76	**6.95** 0.41 0.29
basket *pallacanestro*	**5.8** 1.48	**13.45** 4.5	**25.65** 6.64
case study *studio di caso* *caso di studio*	**0.09** 0.07 0.2	0.50 0.28 **1.24**	**1.16** 0.02 0.38
corner (kick) [10] *(calcio d') angolo* *calcio d'angolo*	0 0 **0.75**	0.35 0.67 **1.35**	0.37 1.21 **1.99**
countdown *conto alla rovescia*	**0.2** 0	1.17 **1.9**	1.9 **3.69**
e-mail *posta elettronica*	**20.24** 15.6	**101.5** 17.5	**63.7** 9.64
full time *(a) tempo pieno*	0.26 **13.76**	**3.81** 7.42	**4.93** 5.3
hard disk *disco rigido*	**2.52** 1	**6.97** 1.4	**1.67** 0.34
live *dal vivo*	4.22 **7.71**	**32.56** 19	**89.95** 15.85
pay-tv *televisione a pagamento* *tv a pagamento*	**1.63** 0.20 0.42	**1.15** 0.05 0.11	**3.97** 0.03 0.19
part time *tempo parziale*	**7.04** 3.6	**7.79** 1.65	**7.73** 0.73
password *parola d'ordine*	**5.83** 4.84	**25.72** 3.09	**10.84** 3.07
politically correct *politicamente corretto*	**1** 0.73	0.74 **0.82**	0.62 **1.23**
self-control *autocontrollo*	0.2 **2.34**	0.20 **2.73**	0.11 **1.42**

Table 2. Frequency of calques and loanwords in Italian corpora.

[10] The terms *angolo* and *corner* are polysemous in Italian. *Angolo* denotes multiple referents such as 'geometric shape', 'part of a building', 'hidden place', and several others, including the football term, while *corner* is used in football but may also refer to

The third group includes words whose frequency diverges between Coris and the other two corpora. While Coris seems to prefer the Italian units *tutto compreso*, *tempo pieno* and *dal vivo*, the two corpora containing articles from the web and newsfeeds are more in favour of the Anglicisms *all inclusive*, *full time* and *live*. By contrast, the Anglicisms *countdown* and *politically correct* are more frequently used in Coris whereas *conto alla rovescia* and *politicamente corretto* are preferred by the other two corpora. In these cases, it would be necessary to carry out a more fine-grained qualitative analysis of the usage contexts to come up with more solid conclusions, which lies outside the scope of the present study.

Final remarks

The development of calques from English loanwords is considered by many linguists an enrichment for the Italian language both in terms of lexical growth and for the study of language contact (Bombi, 2005). The continuous inflow of Anglicisms and the creation of calques is favoured by the classical roots of many English loanwords, which also blurs and hides the origin of transmission and makes the loanword look domestic in form and meaning, when it is adapted or translated into Italian. It is therefore important to distinguish lexical items that may have developed out of independent genesis across a globalized world from words that have been imported from Anglo-American societies, integrated and translated into different languages and cultures.

In this paper we looked at a sample of 'overt' calques in Italian, namely lexical items that coexist with the equivalent Anglicisms from which they developed. Considering the dates of adoption, we could confirm that 16 out of 22 items (more than 70%) developed soon after or simultaneously to their synonymic Anglicism, whereas in other cases, typically for semantic calques, already existing words underwent

an area of a shop selling a single brand or product. Since it was not possible to isolate meanings, we calculated frequency roughly on the basis of their collocations. The three most frequent collocates of *angolo* and *corner* were taken into account, their absolute frequencies were summed, compared and then normalized to 1 million. The data suggest that both words are used in the field of football in Italian with a slight variation and that they often co-occur with the noun '*palla*' (*ball*), the verbs '*battere*' (*kick*) and 'deviare' (*deflect*).

a semantic extension or switch to another or a more general meaning.

As far as usage frequency is concerned, corpus data confirmed that Anglicisms and related calques are low-frequency items; in fact only a few show a frequency above 10/ pmw, namely *e-mail/posta elettronica*, *week-end/fine settimana*, *live/dal vivo*, *password* (but not *parola d'ordine*), and *basket* (but not *pallacanestro*), *supermercato* (but not *supermarket*). Most of the randomly chosen examples are more frequently used in the form of loanword rather than calque, with some exceptions regarding Latin-derived lexical items. Furthermore, a comparison between a smaller size, sampled compus of Italian like Coris reflected a preference for calques with respect to very large web-based corpora, which display higher figures in favour of Anglicisms.

The ongoing reaction of Italian linguists and language observers, through official institutions like the *Accademia della Crusca* (cf. Marazzini & Petralli, 2015), awareness raising campaigns against the excessive use of English and other popular forms of linguistic nationalism (e.g. the online petition "dillo in italiano"[11]) may indeed reverse the tide and align Italy to countries like France and Spain, whose institutions systematically propose/impose domestic translation equivalents for loanwords to obscure the interference of exogenous influences on the national language. So far, the influence of the mass media in Italy seems to have overruled speakers' attitudes and preferences in favour of Anglicisms rather than of calques.

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[11] https://www.change.org/p/un-intervento-per-la-lingua-italiana-dilloinitaliano. See also Giovanardi *et al.* (2008) and Zoppetti (2017; 2018).

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Franca Ruggieri*

From Epictetus to Sterne: Opinions Concerning Things Are More Relevant to Men Than Things Themselves

Abstract:
The present paper is a series of reflections regarding a two-line quotation from Ἐγχειρίδιον Ἐπικτήτου, the manual of philosophy and stoical ethics written by the philosopher Epictetus, compiled by his pupil, the Greco-Roman writer Arrian. These are the lines that Laurence Sterne quotes on the frontispiece of the second edition of Volume I of *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*. Sterne appears to attribute to these words a profound awareness of the radical change that he was to enact with his autobiography of Tristram, a narrative that upended contemporary conventions of the 'novel' and formal realism. In this brief quotation, Sterne signals his discontent with the limitations imposed by such realism, proposing that the difference between history and story is an extremely fine one. In the centuries that followed, this led to a heated debate on realism in literature and in historiography, eventually arriving at the concept of 'metahistory', formulated in the 1970s by Hayden White.

Keywords: Epictetus, Facts, Hayden White, History, Novel, Opinions, Sterne

1. *Introduction*

On the frontispiece of the second edition of Vol. I of Laurence Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman,* the title, written in large block capitals, takes up seven whole lines. There follows, in the lower half of the page, a quotation from Epictetus' *The Enchiridion*, written in Classical Greek. Below this we find "Vol. I" and further down, the date: "1760".

The first edition of volumes I and II of *Tristram Shandy* – with its original run of some 500 copies – was published in York in December 1759, largely thanks to the efforts of Ann Ward. This edition must have sold out rather quickly, given that, on 3rd April 1760, Robert and James Dodsley published a second edition, based on the first, with the addition of an epigraph on the frontispiece followed by a dedication "To the Right Honourable MR. PITT". It seems that it was the overnight success of the first edition, and the lively debate it provoked, that may have prompted

* Professor Emeritus, Università Roma Tre.

Sterne to reference a classical authority like Epictetus, that complex and exemplary Greco-Roman Stoic of the first century AD. The addition of the Greek epithet was to clear up any misunderstandings that readers of the first edition might have had over the novel's unusual beginning – "I wish" (Sterne, 2009: 5) – and by the long-winded, disconcertingly ironic (albeit serious) narrative. A tale that presented the strange life, and erudite meandering opinions, of its eccentric central character living in such unusual, but recognizable, circumstances.

The addition of Epictetus also made it crystal clear to readers of the second edition that, despite the new form and substance of *Tristram Shandy*, the novel was rooted in the ancient past. Sterne knowingly abandoned both the usual trope of "history" and the "device" of a supposedly rediscovered document that were the stock in trade of novelists who contrived to present the "life and adventures" of their characters, as the titles of their works proclaimed. Sterne, in contrast, experimented with new narrative forms in order to interpret man's relationship with reality.

Sterne did not provide the source of the quotation, as was the norm in the days before academic dues and editorial exactitude regarding literary texts ushered in regulations to protect authors' rights, and thereby introduce punishment for plagiarism and illegal appropriation. On the other hand, the quotation would have been well known to readers of the time. The very same lines had been mentioned by Montaigne in two of his essays, referring to them as an ancient Greek phrase. And did not Erasmus himself say in *The Praise of Folly,* that the stupid think that true happiness depends on things, while everything really depends on how you think? The variety and the complexity of human things, continued Erasmus (paraphrasing St Augustine), is such that nothing is knowable; what is more, to our misfortune, man's soul tends to be more attracted to appearance, to the decoration adorning the mere surface of things, and thus confuses the truth of things with the things themselves. In the footsteps of these two great sceptics, Sterne takes up and unpicks the threads of Epictetus' thoughts, and gives the quotation in the original Greek, almost as an epigraph for the frontispiece of his novel/anti-anti-romance (Melchiori, 1974: XV). In the small space that it occupies at the start of the book, the quotation becomes a brief message that in a nutshell conveys the radical newness – both for its protean elusive form and for its fragmentary encyclopaedic content taken to apparently nonsensical extremes – of the story that Tristram is about to tell the reader. Over the course of the nine volumes of this story – "about a COCK and a BULL" (Sterne, 2009: 539), according to Yorick – Tristram, with almost

infuriating predictability, is the narrator of his own life and his own opinions throughout: the book is a limitless intricate maze, interwoven with Tristram's opinions about his own life and those of the other characters, all of whom are filtered through his own thought processes. Indeed, such a writing scheme seems to make *Tristram Shandy* an early prefiguration of the "Meandertale", the tale of labyrinthine reality that would eventually find its expression in *Finnegans Wake*, the book with which James Joyce gave narrative form to the eternal "Chaosmos". Indeed, the infinite combination of opinions (Δογματα) about facts (τά Πράγματα), was what would constantly and indefatigably motivate Tristram/Sterne in the telling of this rhapsodic intricate tale, with its chaotic jumble of the things and opinions that make up the elusive reality of life. And it is this approach that is found throughout the text, and declared explicitly on several occasions, as when we read: "we live among riddles and mysteries – the most obvious things, which come in our way, have dark sides, which the quickest sight cannot penetrate into; and even the dearest and most exalted understandings amongst us find ourselves puzzled and at a loss in almost every cranny of nature's works" (Sterne, 2009: 233)[1].

The two Greek lines, which Sterne reproduces with transcription errors, are from the original text of Epictetus' *Handbook* of 125 AD. They read as follows: "Ταρασσει τούς Άνθρώπους ού τά Πράγματα, αλλα τά περι τών Πραγμάτων, Δογματα" (Men are disturbed not by things, but by the views which they take of things) (Sterne, 2009: 1.2).

In the *Handbook*, Epictetus goes on to claim that death is nothing terrible as the terror lies in our notion of death, and that is what we find terrible. Therefore, when we are dissatisfied or disturbed, or when we grieve, we should never blame others, but see the fault in ourselves, that is, in the views that we hold. It is non-instructed people who reproach others for their own misfortune, and those who have just begun their instruction who reproach themselves. Only those who have been perfectly instructed reproach neither others nor themselves. It is not death that is terrible, but the thought, or our idea, of death. And when we are in a difficult situation, perhaps due to the actions of others, we should not blame them, but only ourselves, and our views and opinions of it. As we can see, Epictetus concludes by explaining the three possible reactions to the situation: the ignorant will see others as the cause of their misfortunes, the partially educated will blame themselves, but the well educated will blame no one. In this way, the claim Epictetus makes at the beginning finds its confirmation. There is a more attentive consideration

[1] See also Sterne, 2009: 517.

of an individual's emotional reaction to a painful event, but also emphasis on the opposing tendency for the individual to blame the sufferings of life on someone else, rather than on their own views, interpretations and opinions of that event. It is as if, on the one hand, there is life, things, and single bare events, and on the other, there are our views and our opinions that elicit an emotional or rational response. This effectively tempers our relations with reality, made up, as it is, not so much of facts, but of our opinions of them.

The emphasis is different in those opening lines: there the sentence is more concise and more explicit about the importance of opinions with regard to facts. And it is not without significance that Sterne took just those two, extremely affirmative, lines: opinions about facts interest people more than the facts that are the source of those opinions. It means that facts, if they exist, are unique and elusive *per se*, while the endless opinions regarding those same facts are the very things that make the communication and knowledge of facts possible.

Every tale, every narrative, whether it be the reconstruction of the facts of a story or the creation of something fictional, is the expression of a specific point of view, of an opinion about reality that can be subjective/objective, internal/external, of the self or the other, of the writer or the reader.

This underpins the idea that history and historiography are narratives. They are not scientific reconstructions of absolute truth, but precise, informed rewritings of documents interpreted according to a specific point of view, that is, according to an opinion. When Thucydides, the acclaimed father of scientific history, described the fifth-century BC war between Sparta and Athens up to the year 411 BC in the *History of the Peloponnesian War*, he was clearly speaking from an Athenian perspective.

In the centuries that followed, the whole development of the field of historical research, and the corresponding publications, was firmly grounded in the absolute belief that there was a scientific dimension to history, based on the evidence of facts that we all share. William Godwin expressed some doubts on this score in 1797, when he wrote in *The Enquirer*, *Reflections on Education, Manners, and Literature in a Series of Essays*:

> History is in reality a tissue of fables. There is no reason to believe that any one page in any one history extant, exhibits the unmixed truth. The story is disfigured by the vanity of the actors,

> the interested misinterpretations of spectators and the fictions, probable or improbable, with which every historian is instigated to piece out his imperfect tale. (Godwin, 1797: 288-289)

The opinions of the historian thus seem to hold a certain sway over the "facts", or at least to condition the telling of them. And thus it seems that for Godwin – himself a philosopher, novelist and historian – the difference between history and romance/the novel is only a question of form, in the balance of formal properties: more rigorous and strict for the historian, more decorative for the writer of a romance or a novel.

It was in 1719 that Daniel Defoe wrote, in the Preface to *The Life and Strange, Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, *of York, Mariner*, "Written by Himself", that: «The Editor believes the thing to be a just History of Fact; neither is there any Appearance of Fiction in it. » (De Foe, 1962: 1)

The facts related by Robinson in the first person are claimed to be a history, although Defoe's literary successors adopted the expedient of a document or letter. Lost and then fortuitously found, the latter would also serve to give the illusion of a "history", retold, so it was claimed, with extreme fidelity to "Nature". This is the case with the "autographed" letters of Pamela and Clarissa, with Fielding's "comic epic poem in prose" (Fielding, 1968: xvii) and with the eighty-three letters of *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*. Indeed, it continues right up to Walter Scott's *Waverley* and the rest of his historical novels. So, can everything that fiction describes as "true" be as true and objective as history?

If Sterne preferred "Life and Opinions" to "Life and Adventures", there can be no doubt that the things that we have to deal with in life are not adventures, but opinions – "which disturb us" – about those facts. It is the interplay of opinions that gives us the story of individuals in their own particular context. History and the novel thus end up presenting two very similar narratives. Tristram/Sterne the novelist defines himself as a "historiographer" in ch. XIV of vol. I, in a similar vein to what is said of Locke's *Essay upon the Human Understanding,* that is: "a history book […] of what passes in a man's own mind" (Sterne, 2009: 70).

Was this perhaps a way to cast doubt upon the scientificity of history? Is this one of the many scandalous ideas and suggestions put forward in Sterne's anti-anti-romance? More than scandalous, over two centuries later Hayden White was to be accused of heresy for daring to cast doubt on the absolute objectivity of written history.

It was in fact in the second half of the last century that Hayden White,

the American historian in the literary criticism tradition, put forward the notion of history as narrative in his seminal 1973 book *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe*. Starting with a reconsideration of the Aristotelian distinction between λογος (history) and μυθος (myth), White dismisses the claim that historiography can be objective or truly scientific in itself, that it can be unaffected by things. Indeed, he goes as far as to say that history is a cultural practice closely linked to the wielding of power.

The writers of the eighteenth century had thus, perhaps inadvertently, reshuffled the pack when they claimed that their novels were histories: they quite genuinely believed in following Nature faithfully and representing objective truth in their real stories of the life and adventures of their fictional characters. On the other hand, how reliable is a search for truth, a commitment to truth, inherent in a literary movement later defined as "formal realism", which held sway throughout the eighteenth century, and strongly characterized the vast number of romances and novels that were produced?

What realism? And what are the real "facts" that every tale must draw on, but a constant elaboration of that complex network of "opinions" about those "facts" on the part of the narrator as expressed through the narrative voice of the writer or the protagonist in the first-person? If facts and reality exist only thanks to convention, that is, only because we have told them, do they only exist in our opinions of them?

According to the quotation on the frontispiece of *Tristram Shandy*, people are more interested in opinions about facts than in the facts that give rise to the opinions. Although they exist, facts are unique and elusive *per se*, in contrast to the meander/labyrinth of infinite opinions about them that influence communication – and our knowledge of those facts – in both fiction and in real life. And in these post-postmodern times, it is opinions that are increasingly more important than facts. This is evident in all aspects of modern life, with opinion makers and influencers enjoying positions of privilege, carrying out accepted roles with their opinions sought after: opinions that manipulate the opinions of their readers and followers. Indeed, news items, and even fake news, fuel the debate providing a vast range of viewpoints, quite independent of the facts, so that whether or not they are true is scarcely essential. Declarations of impartiality and objectivity are superficially reaffirmed, the goal being to be *subjective objective*, whether it is a news report, communicating some event in history, a piece of gossip or a political policy. Each day the media presents us with evidence of what is going on in the current politi-

cal debate. Biased opinions are presented and reinterpreted, using simple persuasive rhetoric so that they are appropriate for, and in tune with, the ideas and aspirations of many people. In most cases, however, the latter will be short-changed if they rely on the opinions of others when trying to find their own way in life: these opinions actually go counter to what their own vision of reality might be, and what their own position in that reality is.

In his early writing Joyce suggested a path that leads in a different direction, with the epiphanic experience being the essential stage in the creative process of art. The beginning of the last century were years that foregrounded the experiments of modernism, when the thing *per se* was seen in all its quidditas/whatness, above and beyond how it appeared. Then again, the idea of history and its problematicity runs throughout Joyce's work, which in many respects seems a continuation of Tristram/Yorick/Sterne's meandering type of digressive story telling. "Nestor" is the episode in *Ulysses* that is dedicated to History. The opening scene is a history lesson in a school in Dalkey, a suburb south of Dublin. The lesson starts in the form of a dialogue or personal cathechism, in which a teacher is questioning a pupil about Pyrrhus and his battles against the Romans in support of Taranto, then a Greek colony. The central idea of history, interwoven as it is with quotations from Aristotle's *Poetics, Metaphysics* and *On the Soul*, is then introduced by strong powerful images and echoes taken from William Blake's *A Vision of the Last Judgement* and *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. In fact, there is a radical shift from the few plain short opening lines of narrative in dialogue form to what Joyce defined as "soliloquy" in the Linati schema, an impressive metaphor of history: "Fabled by the daughters of memory. And yet it was in some way if not as memory fabled it. A phrase, then, of impatience, thud of Blake's wings of excess. I hear the ruin of all space, shattered glass and toppling masonry, and time one livid final flame. What's left us then?" (Joyce, 1993: 24).

History is Fable or Allegory, and the daughters of Memory, of Mnemosyne, are the Muses of the art of the Imagination. In the writing of history, memory and imagination interact, and documents – the evidence of facts – are filtered through our thoughts and opinions. Yet again, it is opinions that interpret and mediate the transmission of realities and fictional facts, as they do with historical realities and facts. And this continuous shift in function may tend to end up reducing the two genres to a single narrative form. Everything is history and everything is fiction: it is not "τά Πράγματα", but "τά Δογματα περι τών Πραγμάτων", the

opinions concerning things, "which disturb men", and which interest and engage them.

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Silvia Sperti*

Idiomatic Creativity and ELF: a Corpus-based Analysis of Transcultural Spoken Interactions

Abstract:
This contribution aims to investigate ELF transcultural spoken interactions with a special focus on idiomaticity. The research hypothesis is that ELF users differently appropriate the English language not only according to their own different native linguacultural patterns, but also to specific pragmalinguistic goals and intentions. Hence, a corpus-based investigation from a pragmatic perspective of the phenomenon of idiomatic creativity in ELF contexts is here presented. Data are explored in their conversational dimension with the aim of investigating (i) to what extent the resulting L1 idiomatic transfers affect the ELF creative use of the language (in terms of lexical suggestions, paraphrasing, code-switching, translanguaging); and (ii) how meaning and understanding are negotiated and cross-culturally constructed in interactions by means of creative idiomaticity.

Keywords: English as a Lingua Franca, Creativity, Idiomaticity

1. *Introduction*

Spontaneous transcultural spoken interactions between non-native speakers of English, namely English as a Lingua Franca (henceforth ELF) users, are the main object of the research fieldwork at the basis of this paper whose leading aim is to provide a contribution to the research studies on the exploration of linguistic creativity and its relationship with idiomaticity.

ELF encounters - often associated with spontaneous processes of plurilinguistic realizations and hybridizations - usually occur among speakers in several communicative contexts, such as professional ones in business or migration contexts, where businessmen or - women, and officials, mediators and migrants, or students in international academic contexts interact by means of cross-cultural exchanges. In any case, ELF often involves the use of specialized spoken discourse, e.g. on legal counselling and assistance or business and academic issues.

Various theoretical perspectives and assumptions sustain and justify the rationale of the research objectives, aimed at enquiring into the

* Università Roma Tre.

creative use of the language by ELF speakers from different L1 backgrounds in transcultural contexts, accounting for (i) the influence of existing L1 transfers into ELF instantiations; (ii) the co-construction of meaning and understanding in cross-cultural interactions through lexical strategies applied to the negotiation of speakers' attitudes, emotions, and socio-cultural 'schemata'; (iii) miscommunication and communication breakdown resulting from deviating interpretative processes of lexical idiomaticity, taking into account that ELF communication is often characterized by challenging pragmalinguistic accommodation strategies and, sometimes, by cross-cultural miscommunication (Guido, 2008; Sperti, 2017).

Moreover, data resulting from different contexts of use are here presented with a special focus on the lexical dimensions of cross-cultural legal-bureaucratic and post-traumatic reports in migration domains, where participants' ELF variations are characterized by: (i) different strategies of appropriation of the English language according to native linguacultural 'schemata' and pragmalinguistic processes revealing 'gatekeeping' and status asymmetries among the participants in interactions (Guido, 2008; Sperti, 2017); and (ii) the influence of idiomatic creativity in conveying illocutionary intentions and affecting perlocutionary effects.

2. *Theoretical background*

2.1.

Generally speaking, creativity is associated with the artful use of human skills and imagination to create something new. In cognitive linguistics, scholars like Chomsky (1965, 1971) have placed the notion of linguistic creativity at the very centre of their investigation of language acquisition and use. By emphasising the productive power of language, Chomsky opposed the behaviourist view, which described linguistic productions as the repetition of pre-heard linguistic stimuli. According to Chomsky, linguistic expressions are not the result of the reproduction of memorised linguistic structures but are derived through the combination of acquired units – the lexicon – by means of a combinatory system – the syntax. By contrast, various linguists from different subfields have

claimed that linguistic creativity cannot be fully explained on the basis of this syntax vs. lexicon dichotomy (e.g., Halliday, 1978; Tannen, 1989). In line with this attitude characterizing linguistic research in the 80s of the 20th century, Sinclair (1987) introduced the notion of the 'idiom principle', which he opposed to the 'open-choice principle' (Sinclair, 1987: 319). According to his perspective:

> «The principle of idiom is that a language user has available to him or her a large number of semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they might appear to be analysable into segments. To some extent this may reflect the recurrence of similar situations in human affairs; it may illustrate a natural tendency to economy of effort; or it may be motivated in part by the exigencies of real-time conversation. However, it arises, it has been relegated to an inferior position in most current linguistics, because it does not fit the open-choice model.» (Sinclair, 1987: 320).

In other words, he pointed out that the two principles seem to be at work in the production and interpretation of messages: the 'creativity principle' or 'open-choice principle' and the 'idiom principle'. Namely, in Sinclair's vision, idiomatic creativity is based on the speaker's competence to construct, structure, manipulate and produce conceptual patterns of 'figurativity'.

Traditionally, idiomatic expressions used by native speakers of English, such as *once in a blue moon*, *bite the bullet* or *the elephant in the room,* have been described as fixed structures and as conventional multi-word units. Thus, the internal organisation of idiomatic expressions may show marked semantic characteristics and structural peculiarities, and limits on their lexico-grammatical functioning which overstep the general grammatical rules of the language and fulfil specific pragmatic functions.

Nevertheless, in spite of the common sense, the importance of idiomaticity in English goes beyond the use of colourful traditional sayings and figures of speech, and involves, instead, the use of idiomatic collocations and lexical chunks in everyday conversation and writing; idiomaticity is a general phenomenon characterizing all languages and is defined by Cowie and Mackin (1975:8) as «a combination of two or more words which function as a unit of meaning».

Research studies on the acquisition and the use of ordinary collocations have been carried out in last decades, especially in English lan-

guage teaching (ELT) and developed the basis of the lexical approach to language teaching promoted by Lewis (1993) and Willis (1990) who pointed out the importance of the understanding of lexical phrases as "chunks" in language acquisition, especially because learners may perceive patterns of language, traditionally perceived as grammatical structures, as lexico-semantic phrases frequently used in spoken language. In this perspective, common idiomatic uses are represented by phrasal verbs, functional expressions, discourse markers, binomials and trinomials, fixed comparisons, and collocations. In other words, idiomaticity, in the broad sense, accounts for a great amount of native uses of the language, especially in spoken discourse, and this is particularly important in second language acquisition as well as in ELF contexts when non-native users of the language interact drawing from their acquired idiomatic background.

2.2.

The scientific debate around lexical creativity and word-formation in ELF uses is considerably growing. More precisely, Pitzl (2012) focuses her attention on the distinction between norm-following and norm-developing – or rather norm-transcending – creativity, reporting a series of examples containing words spontaneously coined by ELF speakers during spoken interactions, underlining the fact that the general perception of L1 creative uses and particular lexical forms coined by L1 speakers seems much less controversial than the idea that ELF users may produce and adopt successful creative forms of the language. Pitzl (2012) also underlines how the analysis of these emerging data confirms that each of these new formations can be norm-transcending as well as norm-following (and even norm-reinforcing) at the same time. In other words, from a lexical perspective, these words are new instantiations that are norm-transcending. The new word was not available before being coined by an ELF speaker. From a morphological perspective, the same words are creative in a norm-following way since they all make use of native English suffixes or patterns respecting a 'regular' word-formation process. ELF speakers coin new expressions according to existing and codified L1 words or phrases.

Besides, starting from the perspective of 'language contact theory', Pitzl (2016) explores the different idiomatic creativities in ELF and World Englishes (WE) with two parameters: time, and language

users, arguing that language contact is "an essential property of ELF" (2016: 295). Her analysis of non-English idioms in ELF interactions demonstrates the multilingual creativity of ELF speakers and its speech communities which is not found in WE speakers.

Other common strategies used by the ELF speakers include the use of communication strategies which meet the lexical level of the language, e.g. in paraphrasing, code-switching, translanguaging, asking for clarification and avoiding the use of local idioms. In addition, ELF speakers are able to demonstrate a certain degree of sensitivity and flexibility in dealing with cultural differences and changes, by frequently using backchannels, conversational hedging and echoing.

Moreover, the scientific research confirms that idiomaticity plays an important role in ELF interactions. Seidlhofer (2009) argues that the divergence from native norms is a strategy used by ELF users to overcome the challenges posed by the so-called *unilateral idiomaticity* – a strategy which "may even be harmful to the success of communication, if the participants do not share a similar linguistic repertoire" (Gnutzmann, 2000: 358). In ELF interactions where both native and non-native speakers of English are involved, the idiomatic dimension of the language employed by native speakers often represents an obstacle in intercultural communication.

The phenomenon of 'unilateral idiomaticity' has been explored by means of the Vienna-Oxford Corpus of International English (VOICE)[1] in Seidlhofer and Widdowson (2009) where the two scholars demonstrate that ELF users co-construct idioms in interaction. In these cases, speakers use idioms as markers of a common ground where they interact and mutually share meaning and experiences, spontaneously establishing an exclusive place of reciprocal understanding and belonging between interlocutors. In Seidlhofer & Widdowson's (2009) words:

> «…it may turn out that what is distinctive about ELF lies in the communicative strategies that its speakers use rather than in their conformity to any changed set of language norms.» (Seidlhofer & Widdowson, 2009: 37-38).

[1] The VOICE corpus consists of 1 million words of spoken ELF interactions, approximately 120 hours of transcribed speech, derived from non-native, experienced ELF speakers of the language using naturally-occurring spoken English, with entries classified by speech event type, including conversations, service encounters, dialogues among students and press conferences.

In addition, data suggest that ELF users try to avoid unilateral idiomaticity respecting cultural and pragmatic norms, since ELF is more concerned with communication. Seidlhofer (2011)'s assumption is that language development in ELF uses is "self-regulating and that the formal adaptations that are made can naturally enhance functional effectiveness" (Seidlhofer 2011: 148).

Cogo & Dewey (2012), studying other crucial aspects of lexis and grammar including prepositions, articles and collocations, aim to identify the relationship between pragmatics and lexicogrammar and the underlying causes and processes that contribute to the emergence of new forms in ELF, which they describe with respect to "redundancy, regularization, prominence, explicitness and semantics" (Cogo & Dewey, 2012: 112).

It has also emerged that ELF speakers present a high degree of pragmatic competence in making their messages more intelligible by adopting suitable communicative strategies rather than selecting and preferring native speaker norms and standards. Mutual cooperation is considered as the major characteristic of ELF communication (Jenkins, *et al.*, 2011) and the implicit willingness of ELF users to achieve successful communicative outcomes overcomes possible linguistic constraints: as confirmed by most research, ELF interactions are usually effective and successful.

With respect to the same illocutionary aim of facilitating mutual understanding, ELF speakers usually tend to avoid using lexis or idioms of their native cultures with interactants from different speech communities. Nonetheless, non-native speakers are able to manipulate the resources of the English language and rely upon both traditional idioms and creative figures of speech shaped for that specific interaction. For example, ELF users can skilfully use idiomatic language to maintain social contacts in a professional or in a teaching and learning environment, adopting humour and hedging strategies to maintain a constructive atmosphere. In these idiomatic uses speakers tend to employ non-English idioms not only to embody their L1 culture, but also to show their awareness or knowledge of another language and culture (Pitzl, 2016). In most cases, idioms are used by the speakers, because they think the idiom is shared by the participants.

The following data, gathered from a corpus of authentic ELF interactions, will show how the previous assumptions are confirmed and sometimes contradicted, especially in migration contexts where 'gate-keeping' asymmetries among the participants involved may occur.

3. *Investigating idiomatic creativity in ELF spoken interactions*

The considerable relevance of the exploration of authentic ELF interactions to the study of linguistic creativity is particularly important not only in language education but also in the training of future mediators and operators for international and intercultural communication. Deductions and reflections provided by the ethnographic fieldwork, conducted by means of a data-driven methodology, are particularly useful for the exploration of common strategies used by ELF speakers, included the use of lexical derivation, paraphrasing, neologisms, code-switching, and translanguaging. In the following paragraphs some occurrences of creative use of idiomatic expressions in ELF contexts are presented. In addition, ELF speakers will show the ability to express a certain degree of sensitivity and flexibility in dealing with cultural differences and pragmalinguistic behaviours.

A qualitative method was applied to authentic materials[2] selected from a corpus of recorded spontaneous speech in cross-cultural interactions among (i) migrants, mediators and legal advisors in Italian public centres for assistance and counselling to asylum-seekers and refugees, and (ii) spontaneous online conversations among Erasmus students.

Taking into consideration all the previous assumptions on the study of ELF users' attitudes and behaviours in interaction, a conversational analysis perspective is also applied to the following authentic data, with the aim of investigating how the identified lexico-semantic strategies match with the speakers' performing of speech acts, turns and moves in conversation, producing (i) unavoidable perlocutionary outcomes from their receivers and (ii) a constant negotiation and co-construction of meaning for the sake of mutual intelligibility (Sperti, 2017).

3.1.

In the selected extract speakers involved are two Erasmus students from different sociolinguistic backgrounds. S1 is a German girl and S2 is an Italian girl. Their level of English proficiency is very high (C1)

[2] The following data have been collected, classified and transcribed in order to preserve participants' and non-participants' privacy, though keeping their natural production as spontaneous and non-induced conversational exchanges. In defence of each speaker's privacy, proper names have been erased and signalled throughout the text by means of asterisks.

and they are both undergraduates. They use English as a lingua franca in their daily interactions and are exposed to English not only for academic purposes but also in their free time and for entertainment (e.g. tv shows, books, social media).

What follows is a segment of the speech analysis:

(1) S1: I think speaking of M*** like (.) she was or ehm sometimes *I got even jealous* of her because I mean obviously her English was not the best [but]
(2) S2: [mhmh]
(3) S1: *she was always like* she was never afraid to say something o:r regretting anything so: (.) I don't know I think *it was always easy-going* to talk to her [because]
(4) S2: [mhmh]
(5) S1: (..) *you know what I mean?*
(6) S2: yeah of course I know what you mean and it's (.) I don't know I also: (..) sometimes I wa- I felt like intimidated by her (.)
(7) S1: yeah [to:tally]
(8) S2: [I don't know] >if you know what I mean< [because I don't know]
(9) S1: = [because she was really] *like an outgoing person* [I'd say]
(10) S2: [ye:ah] yeah (.) and for me *it was just crazy that* you can be that (..) I don't know that open and mm *easy-going* i:n that kind of situation with people that maybe you you meet just once and then you (.) won't see them ehm anymore [and she]
(11) S1: [yeah]
(12) S2: was just super comfortable a:nd
(13) S1: she *was really confident* that's true
(14) S2: yeah

In the previous extract the co-construction of meaning is guaranteed by both speakers involved: they make use of various lexico-semantic strategies to assure mutual intelligibility and avoid negative perceptions or undesired perlocutionary effects. In particular, both speakers tend to overlap, use backchannels (e.g. (2), (4), (10)), and employ idiomatic expressions (e.g. (3), (9), (10)), rephrasing (e.g. (1), (3), (12) negotiated in (13)) and metadiscourse (e.g. (5), (6), (8)) to make themselves understood.

In the next example, instead, the encounter involves a legal advisor (LA), a Nigerian asylum-seeker (AS) and a mediator (IM), as in

typical mediation session in migration context. The main point of the conversation is the court appeal against the rejection of the asylum application. Socio-cultural 'schemata' about migration and asylum experience emerge from the participants' conversational exchanges. The intercultural encounter is an example of informative mediation, because the mediator supplies information to the asylum seeker, introducing legal issues by means of Italian technical terms which are popularized in the ELF mediation process. What follows is a segment of the speech analysis:

(15) LA: ma hai lavorato in Lybia? one [year]?
(16) IM: [did you] worked when you were in Lybia?
(17) AS: = me?
(18) IM: = hhh yes E*** you (.) you (..) informatic engineer?
(19) AS: no no I (.) auto (.) wash (.) autolavasc-
(20) IM: = autolavaggio [AS: yes] *wash car*
(21) AS: = yes
(22) LA: ok and what (.) che è successo in Lybia? something?
(23) IM: E*** did something happen in Lybia? you have been in Lybia for one year you worked and lived there (.) nothing else?
(24) AS: I was [unclear] [M: what?] when I was in Lybia (.) no money I have to work to have money to (.) *to come on*
(25) IM: ah ok you had to work ok (.) doveva lavorare per mantenersi
(26) LA: e perché te ne sei andato?
(27) AS: but this question is [IM: = eh E*** answer] (.) there was war it's not a place to stay
(28) LA: why?
(29) AS: because there was >*fight battles*< they (.) they (.) you have to stay in close places
(30)IM: ah ok they (.) sequestravano le persone
(31) AS: yes
(32) IM: = so *were you afraid* to stay in Lybia?
(33) AS: yes yes *I have fear* it's not a place to stay

In the previous conversation IM tends to manage the turn-taking among the three participants involved. From a lexical perspective, basic and simplified terms are used avoiding legal expressions. Interestingly, in (19) and (20) *autowash-autolavasc* is successfully used instead of *carwash*¸ while AS opts for *to come on* to express the idea of 'working for a living' employing a phrasal verb which usually has other connotations.

In these cases, it is also interesting to explore whether unidiomatic expressions hinder or not the successful outcome of the conversation.

In the following extracts, instead, examples of L1 lexical and structural patterns, transferred onto the use of ELF variations by speakers belonging to different speech-communities, are presented. AS is trying, with the help of his LA, to textualize his traumatic experience which forced him to ask for asylum in Italy:

(34) AS: one day we are coming back to school when I went to take the kids back when we have an accident on the way *which cost the death* of those kids (.) One of them (.) was a girl
(35) LA: Mmm
(36) AS: And the other was a boy (.) among the two kids the girl died first and the boy was still breathing before we take him to the hospital (.) he's dead (.) then I said I went to kids father's house to tell him what happened (.) after telling him he wanted to kill me (..) and *I was lucky to escape* because this man was the leader of the ruling party in this State (.) life was a question (..) the political (.) solution in the community become *so hard to run for my life* out of the community

Leaving out significant narrative devices used by AS to retrace past events in his country, he interestingly employs some idiomatic structures (in (34) *which cost the death*, in (36) *I was lucky to escape* and *so hard to run for my life*) which signal his attempt to draw from his ESL (English as a second language) lexical repertoire and negotiate it with his interlocutor who uses English exclusively as a lingua franca.

In the following passage, instead, the migrant employs pragmalinguistic strategies to answer the mediator's questions about work exploitation, negotiating with her idiomatic expressions to be more effective in his narrative:

(37) IM: So twenty (.) twenty-five euros for (..) ehm so you can say that from morning=
(38) AS: =From morning to evening (.) yeah I have somebody we work from morning to evening without pause (.) because we were helping *to get the work to do* (.) to have something to eat (.) yeah and sometimes it was night when you finish work (.) you can even do what (..) to give it for free *but you really had a lack of chance* (.) *you had no chance* before to go home

In the previous extracts salient elements typical of ELF interactions emerge: regardless of the communicative context or the speakers' socio-cultural background, in any ELF encounter meaning is constantly negotiated for pragmalinguistic purposes by means of making recourse to linguistic and cultural repertoires which become a common ground of lexical and structural resources that cannot be taken for granted or supposed and predetermined in advance.

4. *Conclusions*

Previous examples confirm that ELF interactions are characterized by a flexible, plurilinguistic and creative nature; its users are often non-native speakers, from different socio-cultural backgrounds and represent different types of pragmalinguistic approaches and intentions. If, as research on language acquisition confirms, English idioms are difficult to teach and acquire, students often seem to have a great interest in trying to learn and use them. One possible reason for the attractivity of idioms is that they effectively allow learners to approach the culture of the language they are learning and this, at the same time, gives an explanation to the fact that idioms are not easy to acquire. As a result, the previous assumptions on the considerable linguistic observations which may be derived from real and spontaneous cross-cultural interactions in ELF settings demonstrate the extent to which authentic materials may be of special and powerful relevance in terms of pedagogical exploitation. English taught in schools should take into consideration this multifaceted reality, and it is no longer enough to learn an idealized model of British or American English to communicate in international contexts and become successful, interculturally aware, social agents.

Researching ELF and integrating ELF findings into ELT (English language teaching), it would seem of crucial importance to realize – and make all the stakeholders involved in the field aware – that communication is at the basis of language use and that linguistic creativity can be accidental and spontaneous, especially in intercultural contexts. Miscommunication and communication breakdown, in ELF as well as in L1 use, is always part of the communicative process but in some cases it might not be a problem, rather an opportunity. In this perspective, ELF research can provide a significant contribution to language education and language teaching: looking at real and authentic

communicative dimensions, language uses become more realistic and less distorted. Moreover, ELF interactions very often prove the emergence of a plurilingualism used not only to signal local cultural identities but also to promote the multicultural and multilingual natures of speakers through the adoption and negotiation of linguacultural references as well as the creative mixing of different kinds of idiomatic expressions and figures of speech.

Despite the past three decades of descriptive ELF studies (e.g. Widdowson, 1994; Seidlhofer, 2001; Prodromou, 2008; Mauranen, 2012), research still needs to gradually deconstruct and dismantle some traditional notions related to the myth of the 'native speaker' as a target for language teaching and learning. The previous considerations, in line with previous research, confirm that ELF is not a variety that can be taught, as British English or American English. It is not a language but a mode, selected by speakers to communicate and characterized by flexibility, creativity, and variability. ELF users employ different and variable strategies and forms during their interactions to fulfil communicative goals, hence these behaviours cannot be classified or normalized, but observed and researched to provide additional elements to the traditional way of considering language use and language teaching, giving learners a set of skills and competences that will help them become more flexible and open-minded, thus leading from intercultural awareness to mutual accommodative strategies in communication.

ELF users, in appropriating the language fulfil their purposes, naturally following what Sinclair (1987) called the 'idiom principle' whereby words are combined and shaped in phrases to respect the speakers' interests for effective communication. Besides, what emerges in ELF interactions is the fact that these phrases are creatively co-constructed online and do not need to correspond to conventional native-speaker idiomatic usage. In this respect, there is a primary dependency on Sinclair's 'open-choice principle', without avoiding the conformity to the idiom principle. Spontaneous and immediate idiomatising processes can be seen as a means whereby ELF speakers make use of English as their common communicative resource to accommodate to each other and cooperate by developing temporary idiomatic expressions. ELF users naturally try to establish a contact, to identify speakers as members of the here-and-now group, and in this respect are also players on a provisional communicative playground.

To conclude, further investigation in ELF research should aim at analysing the role of socio-cultural and pragmatic factors in the creative

use of idiomatic patterns as well as in the effects of illocutionary acts in the cross-cultural communicative processes, especially in professional settings, i.e. when migrants interact with specialized experts or Western and non-Western participants are involved in ELF business contexts.

Considered from this perspective, the introduction of an ELF-aware approach (Sifakis, 2014; Sifakis & Bayyurt, 2018) to lesson planning could be a useful pedagogical strategy applied to the production of innovative materials and tasks in the plurilingual and multicultural classroom, from school to academic and professional contexts, especially in a desirable ELF-oriented attitude and expanding scenario, in order to encourage learners to perform a successful and effective communicative role. In this sense, teachers should be properly trained in considering not only the pragmalinguistic processes involved in conversation (in terms of a correct semantic and pragmatic encoding and decoding of the message), but also lexical, structural and semantic approaches and habits deriving from different L1s and transferred by each speaker to his/her use of ELF.

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Il volume raccoglie una serie di quattordici saggi da parte di studiosi italiani e stranieri – colleghe e colleghi, allieve di un tempo, amici – che hanno inteso così onorare la figura personale e professionale di Stefania Nuccorini, Professore Onorario dell'Università di Roma Tre, e autorevole studiosa di lingua e linguistica inglese. I saggi esplorano ambiti di ricerca in cui si è distinta l'operosità scientifica di Stefania Nuccorini, definita "Master of Words" dalle colleghe e amiche di Roma Tre. In primis, passato, presente e futuro della lessicografia, con saggi sui glossari anglosassoni (Faraci), note d'uso nella storia della lessicografia inglese (Bejoint), learners' dictionaries (Klotz) e e-lexicography (Pettini). Poi, studi di carattere lessicologico, con particolare riferimento alle collocazioni (Pinnavaia), agli anglicismi in italiano (Pulcini e Fiasco), ai *verba dicendi* in prospettiva comparativa e traduttiva inglese-italiano (Bruti), nonché all'uso di *già* nella traduzione audiovisiva dall'inglese (Pavesi e Zanotti). Di taglio didattico e transculturale sono due saggi su *English as a Lingua Franca* (Lopriore; Sperti) e un terzo sull'inglese come *relay language* (Nied Curcio). Completano la raccolta due saggi di carattere letterario e teatrale, relativi a Laurence Sterne (Ruggieri) e al *Macbeth* shakespeariano (Di Giovanni e Raffi), mentre si muove tra lingua e letteratura un saggio sulle pratiche stenografiche di Charles Dickens (Bowles). Nella varietà dei suoi contenuti, questo *liber amicorum* esemplifica alcune delle più rilevanti e attuali traiettorie di ricerca nell'ambito dell'anglistica.

Dora Faraci è professore di Filologia germanica all'Università di Roma Tre. Le sue ricerche riguardano aspetti linguistici, critico-testuali e letterari di testi di area germanica del periodo antico e medio analizzati in un'ottica comparativa. Si è a lungo occupata della tradizione medievale del *Physiologus* e di recente della ricezione di testi anglosassoni in epoca moderna.

Giovanni Iamartino è professore ordinario di Lingua inglese all'Università di Milano, dove insegna Storia della lingua inglese, Letteratura inglese medievale, e Linguistica inglese. I suoi interessi di ricerca si focalizzano sulla storia della traduzione, la storia della lessicografia (e della codificazione linguistica in generale), e la storia dei rapporti linguistici e culturali anglo-italiani.

Lucilla Lopriore, professore ordinario di Lingua inglese all'Università di Roma Tre, in pensione dal 2021. Esperta di formazione, ha tenuto corsi in Italia e all'estero. Ha svolto ricerche sulla valutazione, l'apprendimento precoce delle lingue (La Sapienza, 1999; ELLiE, 2006/10), le variazioni dell'inglese (ENRICH, 2018/21), il CLIL e l'alfabetizzazione disciplinare (eCOST, 2022/26).

Martina Nied Curcio è professore di Lingua e Linguistica Tedesca presso l'Università di Roma Tre. I suoi interessi di ricerca riguardano la linguistica contrastiva, la valenza, la fraseologia, la lessicografia, la didattica e la metodologia del tedesco lingua straniera, in particolare la mediazione linguistica e culturale, e l'educazione linguistica plurilingue. Dal 2014 dirige l'Erasmus Mundus "European Master in Lexicography (EMLex)" in Italia.

Serenella Zanotti è Professoressa Associata di Lingua e traduzione inglese all'Università di Roma Tre. I suoi temi di ricerca spaziano dalla traduzione audiovisiva alla pragmatica interculturale, dalla storia dell'insegnamento della lingua inglese al translinguismo. I suoi lavori più recenti si incentrano sul ruolo degli archivi negli studi di traduzione.

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