BEYOND PHILOLOGY

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL
OF LINGUISTICS, LITERARY STUDIES
AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

20/2

Edited by Dorota Góreczna

WYDAWNICTWO UNIWERSYTETU GDAŃSKIEGO
GDAŃSK 2023

ISSN 1732-1220
eISSN 2451-1498

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Beyond Philology is published in print and online:
<https://fil.ug.edu.pl/wydzial_filologiczny/instytuty/instytut_anglistyki_i_amerykanistyki/czasopismo_naukowe_beyond_philology>,
<https://czasopisma.bg.ug.edu.pl/index.php/beyond>.

The online version is primary.

Beyond Philology is indexed by

- The Central European Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities
- ERIH PLUS European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences
- Index Copernicus
- MLA International Bibliography
- Norwegian Register for Scientific Journals, Series and Publishers

ISSUE PROOFREADER
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Beyond Philology No. 20/2, 2023
ISSN 1732-1220, eISSN 2451-1498

https://doi.org/10.26881/bp.2023.2.01

Several dozen times more words: A preliminary outline of the development of Esperanto lexicographical publications in Poland

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Received 3.11.2023,
received in revised form 9.12.2023,
accepted 11.12.2023.

Abstract

The article gives an insight into Esperanto lexicography in the territories of Poland – from the first *Vortaro por Poloj* (1887) by Ludwik Lazarus Zamenhof, through other compilations, including Antoni Grabowski's *Słownik języka esperanto* [*Esperanto Dictionary*] (1910 and 1916) and Tadeusz Józef Michalski's *Słownik esperancko-polski* [*Esperanto-Polish Dictionary*] (1959), to Edward Kozyra's enlarged edition of Esperanto-English-Polish, English-Esperanto and Polish-Esperanto dictionary (2020). It shows how the general concept of traditional Esperanto dictionary has changed as well as that, although the development of Esperanto vocabulary has been inevitable and natural, there are more features of a good Esperanto lexicographical publication than its length, including short grammar instructions which facilitate the formation of new terms, the clarity of individual entries as well as derivatives, and the consistency of Esperanto dictionaries published in Poland with dictionaries issued in other countries.

Keywords

dictionary, Esperanto, Ludwik Lazarus Zamenhof, Antoni Grabowski, Tadeusz Józef Michalski, Edward Kozyra

Kilkadziesiąt razy słów więcej – wstępny zarys rozwoju esperanckich publikacji leksykograficznych w Polsce

Abstrakt

Artykuł prezentuje w skrócie esperanckie publikacje leksykograficzne wydane na ziemiach polskich, począwszy od pierwszej listy *Vortaro por Poloj* Ludwika Łazarza Zamenhofa (1887), poprzez inne opracowania, w tym *Słownik języka esperanto* Antoniego Grabowskiego (1910 i 1916) i *Słownik esperancko-polski* Tadeusza Józefa Michalskiego (1959), do rozszerzonego wydania słownika esperancko-angielsko-polskiego, angielsko-esperanckiego i polsko-esperanckiego Edwarda Kozyry (2020). Pokazując, jak zmieniła się ogólna koncepcja słownika esperanckiego, autorka dochodzi do wniosku, że choć rozwój słownictwa esperanckiego jest naturalny i nieunikniony, to poza zwiększoną objętością dobra esperancka publikacja leksykograficzna powinna charakteryzować też innymi cechami, do których należą krótkie instrukcje gramatyczne, ułatwiające tworzenie nowych terminów, przejrzystość poszczególnych haseł i derywatów oraz spójność słownika wydanego w Polsce ze słownikami wydanymi w innych krajach.

Słowa kluczowe

słownik, esperanto, Ludwik Łazarz Zamenhof, Antoni Grabowski, Tadeusz Józef Michalski, Edward Kozyra

1. Introduction

This paper gives an insight into Esperanto lexicography in the territories of Poland – from the first *Vortaro por Poloj* [*Dictionary* *for the Poles*] (1887) by Ludwik Lazarus Zamenhof – an appendix to the author's first textbook (Zamenhof 2019), through other compilations, including Antoni Grabowski's *Słownik języka esperanto* [*Esperanto Dictionary*] (1910 and 1916) and Tadeusz Józef Michalski's *Słownik esperancko-polski* [*Esperanto-Polish Dictionary*] (1959), both reprinted under the auspices of the Polish Esperanto Association (Pola Esperanto Asocio, PEA, or Polski Związek Esperantystów, PZE) in 1990, to Edward Kozyra's enlarged edition of Esperanto-English-Polish, English-Esperanto and Polish-Esperanto dictionary (2020). Its aim is not to present a detailed study of these publications but rather to raise the questions as to how the general concept of traditional Esperanto dictionary has changed and whether this kind of evolution has been necessary to support the use of the Esperanto language today.

2. Esperanto

Esperanto was devised by Ludwik Lazarus Zamenhof, who was born into a Jewish family on December 15th, 1859, in Białystok, a city in the Russian part of then partitioned Poland. Białystok was nonhomogeneous, with a big Jewish community of about 18,000, 5,000 Germans, 4,000 Russians and 3,000 Poles (Grzybowski 2010: 184). These groups were often hostile to one another, and Zamenhof, who in his teens already spoke fluent Polish, Russian, Yiddish and German as well as basic Hebrew, Belarussian, English, French, Latin and Greek, was imagining a perfect tool of communication and was linguistically prepared to create such a tool himself. He hoped that an invented international language would facilitate day-to-day contacts "in a commercial city, whose inhabitants were of different unfriendly nations" (Zamenhof, cited in Crowcroft 2016) and eventually bring peace to the world.

In 1887, a year after he had finished his studies of ophthalmology at the University of Vienna, Zamenhof published his forty page pamphlet *Język międzynarodowy. Przedmowa i pod-*

ręcznik kompletny, containing his project for a new language (Zamenhof 2019). The Polish version of this manual was preceded in the same year by its Russian edition *Между-народный язык* and followed by its editions in French – *Langue international*, and German – *Internationale Sprache*, whereas its English version – *International Tongue: Preface and Complete Method, Edited for Englishmen* appeared a year later, in 1888. As the book was issued under Zamenhof's pseudonym D[okto]r[o]. Esperanto 'Doctor Bearing Hope', the new, universal language, was named Esperanto. It soon found supporters around the world and still today remains the most popular so-called artificial language, however, many Esperantists prefer to use the term "planned", rather than "artificial" (Blanke 1989, 1997). For Detlev Blanke (1997: 1), for example, who defines planned languages as languages consciously created by people in accordance with defined criteria and with the goal of facilitating international linguistic communication, "Esperanto is a **planned** language in its genesis and an **international** language in its function".

Rob Amery (2016: 29) writes that Esperanto "is seen as a second, additional language available to all people for the purpose of cross-cultural communication. According to literature produced by the Esperanto Association, it is now spoken by 10 million people and is studied in over 100 universities". Such a high estimate is certainly based on the "universal vote" campaign launched by Zamenhof himself to allot 10 million signatures of people making the following pledge contained in his booklet: „Ja niżej podpisany obiecuję nauczyć się proponowanego przez dr-a Esperanto języka międzynarodowego, jeśli się okaże, że dziesięć miljonów uczyniło publicznie takąż obietnicę". (Zamenhof 2019: 25) / "I, the undersigned, promise to learn the international language, proposed by Dr. Esperanto, if it shall be shown that ten million similar promises have been publicly given". (Zamenhof n.d.) Zamenhof requested his reader to fill in one of the forms with promises provided in Esperanto on the following pages and send it to him as well as to distribute the other forms among friends and acquaintances for the same purpose:

> **Promes,o** Mi, sub,skrib,it,a, promes'as el,learn,i la propon,it,a,n de d-r,o Esperanto lingv,o,n inter,naci,a,n, se est,os montr,it,a, ke dek milion,o,j person,o,j don,is publik,e tia,n sam,a,n promes'o,n. *Sub,skrib,o:*

Already from the cited *promeso* (promise) one can infer that Esperanto, as it was planned, consists of words compiled of morphemes carrying specific meanings. The *promeso* itself was to prevent anyone from wasting time learning the language – if 10 million signatures were gathered, there was a significant population obliged to learn Esperanto, rendering the language useful.

The aforementioned inflated number of Esperanto speakers may, of course, not only result from Zamenhof's early campaign but also from the way surveys are conducted among users of this language. Their results must vary. It shall be noticed that Orlando Crowcroft (2016) says that Esperanto "is still spoken by as many as 2 million people worldwide", which is supported by the *Encyclopedia, Science News & Research Reviews* at Academic Accelerator ("Esperanto"). *Britannica* ("Esperanto, language"), in turn, gives still other numbers and estimates its speakers at simply more than 100,000. It also informs us that "[t]he Universala Esperanto-Asocio (founded 1908) has members in 83 countries, and there are 50 national Esperanto associations and 22 international professional associations that use Esperanto as well as that [t]here is an annual World Esperanto Congress, and more than 100 periodicals are published in the language". Disregarding the varied numbers, Esperanto can be considered the most popular planned language internationally used today.

No country has officially adopted Esperanto as an official language and thus the Esperanto community remains "a stateless diasporic language group based on freedom of association" ("Esperanto"). Characterising Esperanto, Amery also points out that

> Although the Esperanto movement claims to be independent of any language, religion, culture or ethnic affiliation, the language draws heavily on European languages for its vocabulary. Zamenhof relied on languages that he knew best. These included Latin, French, English, German, Polish, Russian, Yiddish and Volapük. The Slavic languages had a strong formative influence on the grammar of Esperanto, but are less important as sources of vocabulary. Because of its origins and the location of most of its users, Esperanto has a strong European bias.

Generally, Esperanto is believed to be an easy language to learn (Maxwell 1988) because the morphology is transparent and there is no allomorphy. Word stems are combined with particular suffixes and prefixes and thus receive various grammatical functions. All kind of stem-affix combinations are permitted provided that they make sense. The core vocabulary which is needed for communication is reduced as the rule of using only one word for each meaning is promoted. This, in turn, makes Esperanto an agglutinative language in which words are formed through combinations of smaller morphemes to express compound ideas. Each morpheme retains its original form in combination processes and should bear only one meaning.

In fact, in time, Esperanto has developed as a sociolinguistic system and already undergoes processes of language change. Its lexicon expands and – as esperantists intercommunicate – includes loans, which at times makes the rule of one word, one meaning break (e.g. *vagonaro* and *trajno* 'train' or *voki*, which in its extended meaning signifies – the way the word "to call" does in English – 'to call', 'to summon' or 'to telephone'). Aleksandr Dulichenko (cited in Amery 2016: 30) claims "that the principle of 'one word, one meaning' [...] is entirely unrealizable, because the active 'living' function of a language requires polysemy, the development of synonyms, heterogeneous means of expressing antonymous relations and so on".

In Esperanto it is possible to borrow words if new terms are needed, however, these terms should be carefully selected, preferably from the ones with the stems recognised internationally. Also, although one word, one meaning principle is hard to apply, it is recommended to borrow one word stem for the term needed and derive related terms from it. Since the conception of Esperanto many borrowings from other languages have entered this language, including technical and scientific terms, e.g. *komputilo* ‘computer’, *komputi* ‘to compute’, while the word *muso* ‘mouse’ have come to cover a new meaning, i.e. computer input device, like in English and Polish. Occasional debates among esperantists take place as to whether particular loans are legitimate, which definitely effects the compilation of new dictionaries.

3. Esperanto dictionaries in Poland

Esperanto’s original word base, as published by Zamenhof in 1887, contains 920 entries, but, when, in 1894, Zamenhof’s *Universala vortaro de la lingvo internacia „Esperanto”* (*Universal Vocabulary of the International Language “Esperanto”*) appeared, 1740 new words were added to provide a larger set of roots. The dictionary was written in the five languages in which Zamenhof’s first book was published and its users could look up Esperanto words and see their translations into Polish, French, English, German and Russian. Zamenhof assured them about the usefulness of his publication writing:

> Everything written in the international language Esperanto can be translated by means of this vocabulary. If several words are required to express one idea, they must be written in one, but separated by commas, e.g. **„frat’in’o”,** though one idea, is yet composed of three words, which must be looked for separately in the vocabulary. (Zamenhof 1898: 3)

In 1905, this *Universala vortaro* was consolidated into *Fundamento de Esperanto* (*Foundation of Esperanto*) (Zamenhof 1905: 85-178), where Zamenhof once more explained the grammar rules and vocabulary which constituted the language he had constructed. In 1906, Zamenhof's *Język międzynarodowy esperanto: Fundamenta vortaro esperanto-pola = Słownik esperancko-polski* [*The International Language Esperanto: Esperanto-Polish Dictionary*] was issued within the series *Książki dla wszystkich* [*Books for Everyone*] by the M. Arct publishing house in Warsaw. The book contains 47 pages with a dictionary of Esperanto words translated into Polish, which, however, is preceded by an explanatory note from the author:

> Wyrazy, stanowiące jedno pojęcie, piszą się razem; tak na przykład wyraz „frat|in|o," stanowiący jedno pojęcie, złożony jest z trzech wyrazów, zatem każdego należy szukać oddzielnie. Gwiazdka oznacza wyraz, który może być używany bez końcówek gramatycznych.
> [Words constituting one concept are written together; for example, the word "frat|in|o," which is one concept, is composed of three words, so each word must be searched for separately. An asterisk denotes a word that can be used without grammatical endings.] (Zamenhof 1906: 4)

Having checked the meanings of: ***frat*** *brat* 'brother' (Zamenhof 1906: 15), ***in*** *oznacza kobietę lub samicę* 'female' (Zamenhof 1906: 19) and ***o*** *oznacza rzeczownik* 'noun' (Zamenhof 1906: 32), it should be clear that *fratino* means 'sister'. In this way, Zamenhof's dictionary, like his previous lexicographic publications, serves also as a basic introduction to word-building processes in Esperanto. As announced by Zamenhof, full, independent words are preceded in his dictionary with an asterisk, e.g. ***ankaŭ*** *także, też* 'also' or ***antaŭ*** *przed* 'before' (Zamenhof 1906: 4).

Since 1906 a lot of other Esperanto-Polish dictionaries have appeared. In 1909, the 22-page enlarged *Esperanto-pola vortaro = Słownik esperancko-polski* [*Esperanto-Polish Dictionary*]

(Eldono de „Pola Esperantisto” [Edition of the *Polish Esperantist* monthly]) was issued in Warsaw by Jan Günther. It lists many Esperanto word forms, already combined, however, divided into morphemes with the use of hyphens, e.g. ***frat***-*o brat* 'brother' (*Esperanto-pola vortaro* 1909: 8). Although there is no term *frat-in-o* 'sister' in the list, the meaning of *in*, a suffix indicating femininity, copied from Zamenhof's dictionary, is found on page 10 to help users form new words themselves. This ability may have strengthened their belief that by using what were still quite basic dictionaries and knowing a limited number of word formation rules, they can generate huge numbers of new meanings and that Esperanto is an easy language to learn. From the very beginning dictionaries were designed not only to clarify meanings of the existing terms but also to teach users how to construct new words. Generally, as noted by Denis Eckert (2020: 1),

> [d]ictionaries were obviously a strategic tool for the diffusion of the new language: Zamenhof published the very first one (around 920 entries) together with the first brochure released in June 1887. This small unidirectional (Esperanto-Russian) dictionary had, curiously, a long career, despite its limited scope. It was adapted, translated, or reprinted 17 times between 1887 and 1890 […], and made available in 15 different target languages.

Numerous other Esperanto-Polish and Polish-Esperanto dictionaries followed the aforementioned publications, to list just a few: *Słownik esperancko-polski* compiled by Stanisław Łazica (1909), similar to the one in Günther's edition, but richer; *Język międzynarodowy esperanto: Problemat języka międzynarodowego, kompletna gramatyka, teksty, listy handlowe i proza opisowa, słownik esperancko-polski (około 800 pierwiastków)* [*International Language Esperanto: The Problem of the International Language, Complete Grammar, Texts, Business Letters and Descriptive Prose, Polish-Esperanto Dictionary (about 800 Elements)*] compiled by Stanisław Czarnowski (1912); *Słownik języka esperanto = Granda vortaro pola-esperanta* [*Great Polish-

Esperanto Dictionary], part 1 (1910) and *Granda vortaro Esperanto-pola* [*Great Esperanto-Polish Dictionary*], part 2 (1916), compiled by Antoni Grabowski; *Słownik esperancko-polski* [*Esperanto-Polish Dictionary*] by Tadeusz Józef Michalski (1959); *Mały słownik polsko-esperancki* [*Small Polish-Esperanto Dictionary*] by Kazimierz Tymiński (1969), *Słownik polsko-esperancki* [*Polish-Esperanto Dictionary*] by Andrzej Pettyn (1977), *Obszerny słownik polsko-esperancki* [*Large Polish-Esperanto Dictionary*] by Kazimierz Strzelecki and Maria Bonczol (2002), and some more specialised publications, e.g. *Mały słownik polsko-esperancki i esperancko-polski terminologii kolejowej* [*Small Dictionary of Polish-Esperanto and Esperanto-Polish Railway Terminology*] by Leszek Łęgowski (1978) and *Turystyczny słowniczek polsko-esperancki* (*Polish-Esperanto Tourist Dictionary*) by Regina and Andrzej Grzębowscy (1988).

It is interesting to read detailed information included by Grabowski (1916: IV) in the preface to the Esperanto-Polish part of his dictionary, which evidences the great importance – at least at the beginning of lexicographical undertakings – of the official Language Committee[1] in adopting new words:

> Obowiązujące esperantystów formy słów «Universala Vortaro» oraz uzupełnienia przyjęte przez Akademję i «Lingva Komitato» drukowane są w Słowniku czcionkami rozstawionemi, i z niemi to początkujący esperantysta przedewszystkim zapoznać się powinien. —Dalej zasługują na szczególne uwzględnienie słowa, znajdujące się w słownikach wydanych pod redakcją samego twórcy języka Esperanto. Powyższe obie kategorje stanowią też wyłączną treść skróconego wydania pracy niniejszej.

[1] The Language Committee (Lingva Komitato) existed from 1905 until 1948 under the supervision of what was called the Academy (Akademio). Then the two bodies were combined to create the Academy of Esperanto (Akademio de Esperanto). The Academy of Esperanto, subsidised by the Universal Esperanto Association (Universala Esperanto-Asocio, UEA), is an independent body of 45 Esperanto speakers who steward the evolution of this language ("Historio de la Akademio").

> Pozatym obejmuje Słownik cały szereg słów, które w ostatnich czasach stopniowo uzyskały prawo obywatelstwa w języku Esperanto, lub też które według § 15-ego fundamentalnej Gramatyki esperanckiej tym samym należą także do Esperanta.
> Podane w końcu Słownika dwa spisy słów, proponowanych w ostatniej chwili przez Akademję, niezawodnie wkrótce zostaną oficjalnie przyjęte, i wobec tego należałoby je również podać w Słowniku czcionkami rozstawionemu
> [The "Universala Vortaro" forms of the words which should be used by Esperantists and the additions adopted by the Academy and "Lingva Komitato" are printed in the Dictionary in spaced fonts, and a beginner Esperantist should first of all become familiar with them. — Further, the words contained in dictionaries published by the creator of Esperanto himself deserve special attention. The above two categories constitute the exclusive content of the shortened edition of this work.
> Moreover, the Dictionary includes a whole range of words which have recently, gradually acquired the right of citizenship in Esperanto, or which, according to § 15 of the Fundamental Esperanto Grammar, therefore also belong to Esperanto.
> The two lists of words given at the end of the Dictionary, proposed at the last moment by the Academy, will undoubtedly soon be officially adopted, and therefore they should also be given in the Dictionary in spaced type.]

Hence there is ***f r a t o,*** *brat* 'brother', but ***frata,*** *braterski* 'brotherly', ***frat|aro*** *bractwo, bracia* 'brotherhood', 'brothers' and ***frat|ino*** *siostra* 'sister' (Grabowski, 1916: 92). Still individual suffixes are explained: ***- a,*** *oznacza przymiotnik np.* ***hom'*** *człowiek,* ***hom'a*** *ludzki* [**- a** means an adjective, e.g. **hom**' man, **hom'a** human] (Grabowski 1916: 1); ***- o,*** *oznacza rzeczownik, n. p.* ***patro,*** *ojciec* [**- o** means a noun, e.g. **patro,** father] (Grabowski 1916: 232); ***- i n -,*** *oznacza kobietę lub samicę* [**- i n -,** means female] (Grabowski 1916: 118).

Apart from the preface, in Grabowski's Esperanto-Polish dictionary, the core 411 pages with vocabulary are preceded with a five-page-long introduction to the general rules of Esperanto – the alphabet, parts of speech, and so-called general grammar rules. What is more, the meanings of some of the terms included in the vocabulary section are facilitated with additional information, e.g. ***a b s i n t o***, *absynt (wódka); piołun (bot.)* [absinthe (vodka); wormwood (botany)] or ***absoluto***, *absolut, byt bezwzględny (filoz).* [absolute, absolute being (philosophy).] (Grabowski 1916: 2). Grabowski did not distinguish the "-o" suffix, indicating a noun, with a vertical line, yet he used such a line to indicate other, less frequently used affixes, e.g. ***abomen|ulo,*** *człowiek wstrętny.* 'abominal man.' (Grabowski 1916: 2). On page 386 he explains the meaning of **ul** as *człowiek, posiadający dany przymiot, np. r i ĉ| u l o, bogacz, b a b i | l u l o , gaduła.* 'a person who has a given attribute, e.g. r i ĉ| u l o , rich man, b a b i | l u l o, talker.' To a large extent, the dictionary is designed to teach word-formation rules, and therefore Esperanto itself, like many previous dictionaries as well as the ones that followed. For instance, the dictionary compiled by Michalski (1959) and reprinted under the auspices of the Polish Esperanto Association (Michalski 1990), 287 pages in total, includes an informative table of word-formation affixes, a description of elements of Esperanto grammar, and a table of Esperanto pronouns and prepositions.

4. Older lexicographical aids and modern solutions for Esperanto users in Poland

In 1887 Zamenhof preceded his first list of words with a statement that "WSZYSTKO, co napisano w języku międzynarodowym, można zrozumieć przy pomocy tego słownika" ["EVERYTHING that has been written in the international language can be understood with the help of this dictionary"]. Zamenhof provided the learners of his language with the basic word roots, affixes and rules of word-formation processes in Esperanto, and this was initially sufficient. But the world has changed since then, new words have appeared in languages to describe technological achievements and inventions, and esperantists have started using Esperanto at an academic level (e.g.

research within interlinguistic studies at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland). Although the first world list with grammatical instructions is enough for basic interactions, it has been inevitable to develop the modest terminology it included.

In 1990, the Polish Esperanto Association reprinted two relatively large dictionaries of the aforementioned publications. These reprints are still being sold, which makes them classic lexicographical publications. One is the first – Polish-Esperanto – part of the Esperanto dictionary by Grabowski, first published in 1910, in which the author provided users with ready-made terms, however, with a few words of explanation in his preface:

> Aby uczynić słownik ten możliwie kompletnym, postawiłem sobie za dewizę: nie omijać trudności, ale je pokonywać. Wobec takiego założenia przyszło mi niejedną kwestję rozwiązywać po raz pierwszy i uciekać się własnej inwencji. Dlatego też pragnąłbym, aby podane formy gotowe nie krępowały, gdzie to jest możliwe, pomysłowości czytelników Nie zapominajmy, że język żywy, jakim się stał Esperanto, nie może być ujęty w ostateczne ramy, ale musi doskonalić się bezustannie, a więc i pozostawiać pole indywidualnemu talentowi piszącego.
> [In order to make this dictionary as complete as possible, I coined a motto: not to avoid difficulties, but to overcome them. Given this assumption, I had to solve many problems for the first time and use my own inventiveness. Therefore, I would like the provided ready-made forms not to limit, wherever possible, the creativity of readers. Let us not forget that a living language, which Esperanto has become, cannot be put in a final framework, but must constantly improve and therefore leave room for the individual talent of the writer.] (Grabowski 1990: III-IV)

Andrzej Pettyn, who wrote a foreword to the reprint, emphasised Grabowski's undoubted contributions to Esperanto lexicography – his dictionary was used by authors of dictionaries abroad. Grabowski himself was not a linguist but studied philosophy and natural science in Wrocław (at the University of Breslau). He was fascinated with Esperanto so much that he not only compiled his own dictionaries but also became a translator into this language – particularly noteworthy is his inventive, faithful translation of the Polish national epic *Pan Tadeusz* by Adam Mickiewicz, published as *Sinjoro Tadeo* (Mickiewicz 1918). As regards Grabowski's dictionary, 14 entries containing the Polish word brat 'brother' are used here to show the way the terms contained therein are introduced:

> **brat,** frato.; **brat przyrodni,** duonfrato.; **bratać,** fratigi.; **bratać się,** fratiĝi.; **bratanek,** nevo, fratido.; **bratanka,** nevino.; **braterski,** frata, frateca. **braterskość,** frateco.; **braterstwo,** frateco (*związek bratni*); frato **kun edzino** (*małż.*); **bratni,** frata.; **bratobójca,** fratmortiginto.; **bratobójczy,** fratmortiga.; **bratobójstwo,** fratmortigo.; **bratowa,** bofratino, fratedzino
> [**brother,** frato.; **half-brother,** duonfrato.; **fraternise,** fratigi.; **fraternise oneself,** fratiĝi.; **nephew,** nevo, fratido.; **niece,** nevino.; **brotherly,** frata, frateca.; **brotherhood,** frateco.; **brotherhood,** frateco (*brotherly relationship*); frato **kun edzino** (*in marriage – brother and his wife*).; **brotherly,** frata.; **fratricide,** fratmortiginto.; **fratricidal,** fratmortiga.; **fratricide,** fratmortigo.; **sister in law,** bofratino, fratedzino] (Grabowski 1990: 21)

Grabowski's dictionary is old and some of the Polish words' meanings are already obsolete, as is the case of *braterstwo*, referring to somebody's brother and his wife together, which is explained in the Polish language dictionary edited by Witold Doroszewski but no longer or hardly ever used in this way ("Braterstwo"). Some of Grabowski's ready-made forms shall be treated as proposals and, as he himself said, his dictionary is not to limit anyone. Neither is the Esperanto-Polish dictionary by Michalski, the other reprinted publication, compiled by the author in the late 1950s. Already in the preface to the first edition the author noticed that the language had been developing and changing:

> Dziś już pojęcie „pierwiastek oficjalny" [usankcjonowany przez Akademię Esperancką w okresie „języka pomocniczego"] nie ma

praktycznego wpływu na piśmiennictwo w języku esperanckim, przekroczyło ono bowiem już dawno ramy tzw. pierwiastków oficjalnych [wówczas 4425], opatrzonych w niniejszym słowniku specjalnym znakiem x).
W literaturze pięknej, a zwłaszcza w poezji, chodzi przecież nie tylko o komunikowanie sensu, myśli, pojęć lecz i o stworzenie pewnych asocjacji umożliwiających przekazywanie obrazów i stanów emocjonalnych, a zatem synonimy i różne odcienie znaczeniowe mają tu niemałe znaczenie.
[Today, the concept of "official element" [sanctioned by the Academy of Esperanto during the period of the "auxiliary language"] has no practical influence on writing in Esperanto, because it has long exceeded the framework of the so-called official elements [which were 4425 at that time], in this dictionary marked with a special x).
What is important in belles-lettres, and especially in poetry, is not only communicating meaning, thoughts, concepts, but also about creating certain associations that enable to create images and emotional states, so synonyms and various shades of meaning are of considerable importance here.] (Michalski 1990: VII)

In Michalski's dictionary entries with basic stems give other forms to encompass further meanings, e.g.:

x **frat|o** brat; **~ino** siostra; **~a** braterski; **~ina** siostrzany; **~eco** braterstwo; **~aro** bracia; bractwo; **~ulo, kun~o** brat, członek bractw, konfrater, współbrat; **ge~oj** rodzeństwo; **bo~o** szwagier; **duon~o** brat przyrodni; **lakto~o**, **mam~o**, **nutro~o** brat mleczny; **~iĝi** bratać się; **inter~iĝo** zbratanie
[**frat|o** brother; **~ino** sister; **~a** brotherly; **~ina** sisterly; **~eco** brotherhood; **~aro** brothers; brotherhood; **~ulo, kun~o** fellow brother; **ge~oj** siblings; **bo~o** brother in law; **duon~o** half-brother; **lakto~o**, **mam~o**, **nutro~o** milk brother; **~iĝi** to fraternise; **inter~iĝo** brotherhood] (Michalski 1990: 83)

When in 1991 a new edition of this dictionary, extended by the author, was issued by the Wiedza Powszechna publishing house, a few more word forms appeared in the *x frato* entry, namely: ***~e*** *po bratersku, jak brat* 'like a brother', ***~ine*** *po* *siostrzanemu, jak siostra* 'like a sister', ***~aro, kun~aro*** *bractwo, konfraternia* 'brothers, brotherhood', ***~inaro, kun~inaro*** *bractwo żeńskie* 'sisters, sisterhood', ***~eto*** *braciszek* 'little brother', ***~ineto*** *siostrzyczka* 'little sister', ***inter~ iĝi*** *bratać się* 'fraternise', ***bo~ino*** *szwagierka* 'sister in law', ***duon~ino*** *siostra przyrodnia* 'half-sister', ***lakto~ino***, ***mam~ino***, ***nutro~ino*** *siostra mleczna* 'milk sister' (Michalski 1991: 164). It seems that what was added were simply feminine forms, diminutives, and adverbial forms. Michalski also included a note that both 'brother' and 'sister' can be used figuratively. Still, the edition of 1991 is enlarged as there are many more forms without *x* in it. For instance, it contains a loan-word ***prizono*** 'prison', which is not in the first issue. This borrowing might have appeared in the language after 1959. Indeed, prison, which according to the rules coined by Zamenhof is *malliberejo* – formed of *mal* – a prefix changing something into its opposite, *liber|o* – 'free|dom' and ej|o – 'place' or 'location' – is now often replaced by the loan *prizon|o*, a compound *pun|dom|o* 'punishment + building', and sometimes *karcer|o*.

Given the availability of the dictionaries by Grabowski and Michalski, the clear, unchanged grammar rules, and free access to modern Internet resources – *Reta Vortaro* (providing meanings also in the Polish language) and *Plena Ilustrita Vortaro de Esperanto 2020*, one may assume that the aids are more than enough to learn how to use the language with no limits. However, Edward Kozyra noticed serious gaps in the Esperanto lexis and decided to fill them by proposing a new dictionary (2007, 2009, 2014), which appeared in its enlarged version in 2020.

Kozyra's publication is divided into three parts: Polish-Esperanto, English-Esperanto and Esperanto-English-Polish. Unlike earlier Polish-Esperanto and Esperanto-Polish dictionaries, which were works of single authors, Kozyra's dictionary was compiled in collaboration with sixteen contributors from six different countries – Marian Borysiewicz, Marek Dackiewicz, Krystyna Dulak-Kulej, Agnieszka Kleczkowska, Maria Kozłowska, Daniel Mierzwa, Stanisław Płachta, Wiesława Urban, Ireneusz Wilczyński, Mariusz Zając and Stanisława Zielak from Poland, George Baker from the United States, Brian D. Kaneen from Canada, Ronald Schindler from Germany, Tokio Shojhi from Japan and Balázs Wacha from Hungary – and consulted with six researchers in different fields, from linguistics through philosophy to environmental and life sciences, namely Erich-Dieter Krause from Germany, John C. Wells and Paul P. Gubbin from England; Xie Longfei from China, Maciej St. Zięba and Eleonora Gonda-Soroczyńska from Poland. All of the mentioned persons have been in various ways involved in the Esperantism, including the main author, compiler and editor of the reviewed work, its sole copyright holder, Kozyra, veterinarian by profession, Polish esperantist and Esperanto enthusiast.

Each volume of Kozyra's dictionary contains a frontmatter, which consists of the content page, author's foreword, glossary of abbreviations, signs and symbols, list of affixes and endings, grammar rules in three languages, Zamenhof's table of correlatives, and bibliography (including the dictionary by Michalski, but none of Grabowski). In the foreword Kozyra explicitly states:

> The Esp.-Eng.-Polish Dictionary contains approx. 17,900 roots and 15,200 derivations and phrases, a total of around 33,100 elements, and the Pol.-Esp. section approx. 48,000, Eng.-Esp. 54,500. Almost 34 % of the terms are new and are not found in the Esp.-Polish dictionary of T. J. Michalski (republished: Warsaw, in 1991). The terms in the Michalski-dictionary date from the end of the 1950s. For example, in the present dictionary are terms not found in the Michalski-dictionary, in the *English Esperanto-English Dictionary* by J. C. Wells (2010) and in the New PIV 2005, such as: *abiotrofio*, *ablefario*... (the list continues in the Esperanto *ANTAŬPAROLO* [*Foreword*]). In this dictionary transitive verbs are marked (tr.) and intransitive (ntr.). This is something new in the Polish Esperanto-publishing. However, to save space, I have indicated only those verbs that are intransitive, because they are less frequent. In the English part I have indicated American (US) or British (GB) usage where differences exist (Kozyra 2020b: 10).

To compare Kozyra's dictionary with older lexicographic publications, the entries containing the word "brother" are used:

> **frat/o** brother *brat* (*także przen.*) **~oj** brothers (Bros.) *bracia* **~ino** sister *siostra* **~ulo** fellow, *GB* neighbour, *US* fellowman *rel. brat, braciszek* **~ulino** "sister" nun *siostra, zakonnica* **~aro, kun~aro, ~uluaro** fellow-ship *bractwo, kośc. konfraternia* **~eco** brotherhood *braterstwo* **duon~o, vic~o** step-brother *brat przyrodni* **duon~ino, vic~ino** half-sister, step-sister *siostra przyrodnia* (Kozyra 2020b: 247)
> **brother** frato; **~hood** 1. frateco 2. frataro; **~-in-law** bofrato; **~ly** frateca; **~s in arms** kunbatalantoj; **Big (B)~** diktatoraĉo; **Polish brethren (~)** (*rel.*) Polaj Fratoj, arianoj, socinanoj (Kozyra 2020a: 149)
> **brat, ~ (braciszek), ~ przyrodni, bracia i siostry, ~ cioteczny (stryjeczny), ~anek, ~ek, ~obójca, Wielki (B)~** [brother, ~ (*rel.* brother), step-brother, brothers and sisters, cousin, nephew, pansy, fratricide, Big Brother] *frat, du, vic, ge-, kuz, nev, [bot.] pense, [przen.] Kain, [lit.] diktator* (Kozyra 2020c: 82)

Although the entries from the Esperanto-English-Polish and English-Esperanto parts indicate new possibilities compared to the earlier dictionaries, the entry from the Polish-Esperanto part requires knowledge of the word-formation rules in Esperanto, because it only suggests stems to be used and possible combinations, which makes Kozyra's dictionary completely different from the approach presented by Grabowski. The presented entries also clearly show that the three parts of Kozyra's dictionary are very different from one another, which may have resulted from different groups of contributors and their approach to this novel project. A comparison of the 'brother' entries in its different parts shows also some inconsistency in the selection of terms through which particular meanings are accessed, e.g. *Polaj Fratoj*, a proper name in Esperanto, referring to the Minor Reformed Church of Poland, known as the Polish Bretherns, is found in the English-Esperanto (also in the ***brethren*** entry (Kozyra 2020a: 146)) and Esperanto-English-Polish parts (in the latter, in ***Ari/o*** *[…]* ***(a)~ano*** *arianist* <u>rel.</u> *arianin* ***(a)~anoj, Polaj Fratoj*** *[↑socinanoj, unitarianoj], Arians, Polish Brethern* <u>rel.</u> *arianie, Bracia Polscy […]* (Kozyra 2020b: 146), but it seems to be missing from the Polish-Esperanto part despite such entries as: ***ariani/n**, **~zm, ~e*** *[hist., kośc.] Ari, [kośc.] Socini* [sic!] (Kozyra 2020c: 59), *bracia,* ***~i siostry*** *(B)* ***~ Polscy (w Polsce)*** *frat, ge-, [kośc.] Socin, [hist., kośc.] Ari, [kośc.] unitari* (Kozyra 2020c: 81) and ***unitarianizm, ~e, ~zm*** *[kośc.] unitari, [kośc.] socin* (Kozyra 2020c: 450).

Kozyra certainly intended to create the largest Esperanto dictionary in Poland, also by employing representatives of various fields for his project. Hence, specialized terms are contained in the dictionary, which are, however, often unclear even to native Polish speakers. ***Abiotrofi/o*** 'abiotrophy' <u>med.</u> *abiotrofia* and ***ablefari/o*** (= senpalpebreco) 'ablepharia', 'ablepharon', 'ablephary' <u>med.</u> *wrodzony brak powieki* (Kozyra 2020b: 43), ***epilobi/o*** 'willowherb', 'fireweed' <u>bot.</u> *wierzbownica* or proper names like ***Nukualof/o*** Nuku'alofa <u>geogr.</u> *Nuku'alofa* or even *Narni/o* Narnia <u>lit.</u> *Narnia* are certainly not the entries everyone would need, still, if these and similar words are required, Kozyra's dictionary is possibly the best source. The dictionary is full of terms from various areas, from anthropology, through biology and botany, to slang and technology. What remains unclear is the corpus on which the dictionary's creators relied, if such a corpus exists. There is also no indication of the words officially sanctioned by the Academy.

5. Conclusion

Although Zamenhof's first compilation of basic elements would be probably enough to facilitate communication at a basic level, the creator of Esperanto himself soon made his vocabulary list more than twice as long. In 1905, at the First Esperanto Congress in Boulogne-sur-Mer in France, Zamenhof declared that Esperanto belonged to no one and that anyone could use it how they liked. At the same time he suggested that the Language

Committee be created. In other words, he gave the language he had invented to its users and in time, with some control, this language was to develop in the way living languages do. New terms have been coined, loans have appeared and, despite the lack of dialects, national cultures at times affect the meanings of individual words and phrases. Great dictionaries are certainly needed to clarify new meanings. In a short preface to the 1991 edition of his Esperanto-Polish dictionary, Michalski wrote that it included about 15,000 entries with basic elements and 30,000 derivatives and Kozyra talks about as many as 17,600 roots and over 15,000 derivatives and phrases in his 2020 dictionary, which makes the two publications several dozen times bigger than the initial list of roots and derivational morphemes proposed by Zamenhof. A question is whether this is what learners need. The development of vocabulary has been inevitable but there are more features of a good dictionary than its length, and in the case of Esperanto, they are: short grammar instructions which facilitate both the use of the dictionary and the formation of new terms, the clarity of individual entries as well as derivatives (preferably not too many, with the indication of their divisions into morphemes), and the consistency of Esperanto dictionaries published in Poland with dictionaries issued in other countries (after all, this language is used for cross-cultural communication) – this wonderful tradition, commenced by Zamenhof, of which the Academy of Esperanto should take care, sometimes seems not to be fully observed. However, in order to draw valid conclusions regarding what a traditional Esperanto dictionary should be like to satisfy the needs of modern users, including learners, it would be necessary to carry out examinations of their needs and expectations.

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Beyond Philology No. 20/2, 2023
ISSN 1732-1220, eISSN 2451-1498

https://doi.org/10.26881/bp.2023.2.02

English in Singapore, a city of migrants: Standard dialect ideology and attitudes towards Singlish

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Received 8.11.2023,
received in revised form 9.12.2023,
accepted 11.12.2023.

Abstract

Singapore is a city state whose location and history as a trading post and a British colony has made it a wealthy multiethnic and multicultural country. The history and current trends of migration have resulted in four official languages: English, Mandarin Chinese, Malay and Tamil. In addition to Standard English Singaporeans use an informal code known as Singlish, which is generally based on English but draws on lexical, grammatical and phonological resources of multiple languages spoken by Singaporeans. This paper investigates negative attitudes towards Singlish expressed by government-related sources such as websites and educational campaigns held in the late 2010's. It begins with defining language prestige and prescriptivism. Then, it describes the sociolinguistic context of English in Singapore, the local Standard English and selected features of Singlish. The main part of this paper is the analysis of texts and videos expressing prejudice against Singlish. The discussion attempts to explain the sources of linguistic ideology in Singapore by referring to ethnolinguistic vitality, historicity and so-called purity. The paper concludes that Singlish is a unique mode of expression for Singaporeans.

Keywords

language attitudes, language ideology, prescriptivism, Singapore, sociolinguistics

Język angielski w Singapurze, mieście migrantów. Ideologia odmiany ogólnej a postawy wobec dialektu singlish

Abstrakt

Singapur to państwo-miasto, którego uwarunkowania geograficzne i historia jako faktorii i kolonii brytyjskiej sprawiły, że stał się krajem bogatym, wieloetnicznym i wielokulturowym. Historia kraju i współczesne trendy migracji skutkowały uchwaleniem czterech języków urzędowych: są to angielski, mandaryński, malajski i tamilski. Oprócz odmiany ogólnej (standardowej) języka angielskiego Singapurczycy używają odmiany kolokwialnej zwanej *Singlish* (pol. singlish, singlisz), która jest oparta na angielszczyźnie, jednocześnie czerpiąc z zasobów leksykalnych, gramatycznych i fonologicznych wielorakich języków używanych przez Singapurczyków. Niniejszy artykuł bada negatywne postawy wobec singlisha wyrażane w źródłach publikacji rządowych, tzn. witrynach internetowych i kampaniach edukacyjnych, które miały miejsce w drugiej połowie lat 2010-tych. Artykuł zaczyna się definicją prestiżu w języku i normatywizmu. Następnie opisuje uwarunkowania socjolingwistyczne j. angielskiego w Singapurze, lokalną odmianę ogólną j. angielskiego i wybrane aspekty singlisha. Główną część artykułu stanowi analiza tekstów i filmów wyrażających uprzedzenie wobec singlisha. W części poświęconej dyskusji podjęto próbę wyjaśnienia źródeł ideologii odmiany ogólnej języka angielskiego w Singapurze poprzez odniesienie jej do żywotności, historyczności i tzw. czystości języka. Na koniec wysunięty zostaje wniosek, że singlish stanowi jedyny w swoim rodzaju sposób wyrazu dla Singapurczyków.

Słowa kluczowe

postawy wobec języka, ideologia językowa, normatywizm, Singapur, socjolingwistyka

1. Introduction: Language prestige and prescriptivism

Singapore has often been called a “melting pot” of nationalities, ethnicities, cultures, religions and languages; indeed, hardly any expression can better reflect the sheer social complexity of the city state perched on a small island at the southernmost tip of continental Asia. Singapore, with a total population of 5,685,000, including 4,044,000 residents (as of 2020, Department of Statistics Singapore), is a country with as many as four official languages: English, Mandarin Chinese, Malay and Tamil (Bankowicz 2005: 69, Crystal 2003: 57, McArthur 2003: 338, Wardhaugh 2006: 101, 371), as well as dozens of other languages and dialects, in particular varieties of Chinese. A former British colony, it has also created its unique English-based variety: Singapore Colloquial English, commonly known as Singlish. The nature of Singlish is often controversial for prescriptive and descriptive linguists alike, an issue discussed below. Note that in this paper the name *Singlish* will be used as an axiologically neutral term despite the fact that it is sometimes used as a derogatory word by its opponents, and many linguists thus prefer to call the variety e.g. *Singapore Colloquial English.*[1] It appears that the grammatical (phonological, morphological, syntactic) and lexical disparity between Standard Singapore English and Singlish is far greater than between, say, informal and formal British or American English, which renders the adjective *colloquial* insufficient as a description of Singlish.

The main focus of this paper is the attitudes towards Standard Singapore English, linguistic “correctness” in this variety and the prejudice against the non-standard variety of Singlish that can be found in selected online sources: websites connected to the Singaporean government and related ones. The second part of this paper is a brief introduction to the use of English in Singapore. It is followed by a discussion of what the

[1] Another reason for avoiding the term *Singlish* is its apparent ambiguity, viz. it may also refer to “the learner variety of English in Singapore” (Tan and Tan 2008: 469).

present author has called “the voice of institutions”; this is briefly compared with an analogical situation regarding the use of Mandarin Chinese. The results are compared to discussions presented in recent literature on the topic, namely a set of criteria determining the vitality of a language or dialect in a multilingual environment. It is worth pointing out that this text does not constitute a detailed portrayal of Singapore English as a whole or Singlish, as such descriptions abound (Deterding 2007, Leimgruber 2011, Leimgruber 2012, McArthur 2003) and can be found even in popular works addressed to the general reader (Crystal 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2004). Likewise, it is not an exhaustive analysis of Singapore’s language policy, another well described issue. This text was written without assistance from AI language models.

Before the discussion of Singlish, its definition, and its sociolinguistic context begins, it seems appropriate to define two key concepts whose understanding is indispensable in navigating the complexities of the Standard English-Singlish relationship: linguistic prestige and prescriptivism.

1.1. Linguistic prestige

Prestige in linguistics may be connected to single words or grammatical features as well as entire dialects and languages. Thus the question tags *aren’t I* or *am I not?* are generally more prestigious than *ain’t I?* (Matthews 2007: 317), while Standard American English is more prestigious than varieties such as African American Vernacular English, Chicano English or Appalachian English. More generally, standard language varieties and the forms that are typical of them are highly valued while non-standard regional or social dialects and their characteristic forms are not. However, this is but one aspect of the situation, for there exist two types of linguistic prestige, ones which oppose each other and may even be compared to centripetal and centrifugal forces in physics. These types are called *overt* and *covert* prestige.

Overt prestige is the aforementioned quality of the standard dialect functioning in a linguistic community which, according to its users, makes it “correct”, “proper” and therefore acceptable in all manner of formal contexts such as the government, law, schools, universities and colleges, science and technology, arts and literature (particularly the national canon of *belles lettres*), broadcasting (e.g. the news) and generally printed written texts as well as public speeches (for a study of British English speakers’ perceptions of Standard English, see Rataj 2016: 101-105, 126-134). This acceptability is a consequence or the last stage of the process of linguistic standardization, which also includes “selection”, “codification” and “elaboration of function”, terms introduced by Haugen (1966) and employed by numerous linguists since then. It is perhaps not surprising that standard dialects, along with some non-standard or pre-standard ones, enjoy overt prestige not because they possess any particular intrinsic merits but because they are native dialects of the upper classes, viz. people who have economic or political power and are often the most educated speakers (see Crystal 1994: 109). According to Wardhaugh’s (2006: 34) discussion of the selection stage in the standardization process, “The chosen norm inevitably becomes associated with power and the rejected alternatives with lack of power”. British Received Pronunciation (RP), for instance, is regarded as sophisticated because it is associated with the Royal Family – hence the popular, albeit misinterpreted, meaning of the term *the Queen’s English*. It is also connected with the oldest public schools (Eton, Harrow), universities (particularly Oxford and Cambridge, cf. the term *Oxford English*), the radio and television (Roach 2004: 239-240, Wardhaugh 2006: 46-47). As regards the latter, *BBC English* is another popular lay term, even though the BBC’s accent policy is less strict nowadays than it was in the past (see Crystal 2006: 184, Wardhaugh 2006: 47). The overt attitudes towards RP are a consequence of the British prescriptive tradition dating back to the eighteenth century, one in which writers regarded the upper-class southern English accent, which later evolved into RP, as a major symbol of proper linguistic behaviour, politeness, good education and upward social mobility in a class-based society (as described by Mugglestone 2003: 50-76). Understanding the notion of RP and its popular associations is of key importance in a discussion of Singapore as a former British colony whose standard English is Britain- rather than America-oriented. For native English speakers in Great Britain as well as elsewhere in the English-speaking world pronunciation – called "speaking with an accent" or "without an accent" – tends to be the most salient feature related to the standardness of other people's speech or, in linguistic terms, overt prestige. This in turn leads to all manner of social judgements, e.g. regarding class, level of education, position in society and even (in America in particular) ethnicity.

If speakers' language attitudes were guided by overt prestige alone, there would be no need for non-standard language forms, varieties or non-standardized languages, and all speakers in a community would just speak and write the official, codified or upper-class language to the best of their ability. Consequently, there would be no diglossic communities, with the H variety used in all contexts instead, and the eradication of non-prestigious varieties by dialect levelling in other communities would be a rapid and efficient process, e.g. British speakers of English would universally acquire Standard English together with RP.[2] None of this has been the case and thanks to covert prestige, non-standard or non-upper-class dialects and accents are still in use. RP is a particularly vivid illustration of this: it is used by a low and constantly decreasing number of people in the UK (2 % of the population, according to Crystal 2004: 472, 2006: 184), perhaps not despite but precisely because of its association with the "posh" upper classes (Leith 1997: 55-56, see also

[2] Incidentally, RP is not always considered to be a defining part of Standard English. According to Crystal (1994: 109), "It is important to note that SE is not a matter of pronunciation: SE is spoken in a wide variety of accents (including, of course, any prestige accent a country may have, such as Received Pronunciation)".

Rataj 2016: 22). Covert prestige is defined by Matthews (2007: 86) as follows: "The value implicitly attached by members of a speech community to forms or variants which they use quite normally but claim to avoid [...] forms which are overtly proscribed but which reflect the solidarity of each member with the others". The most significant concept here appears to be that of *solidarity*. In communities speaking a regional or social (class-based) dialect covert prestige makes speakers conform to the linguistic norms of their families, friends and neighbours rather than showing sociolinguistic distance by using the overtly prestigious standard or upper-class language variety. As Matthews points out, speakers may do so unconsciously and even deny using non-standard forms that they do employ occasionally or fairly frequently. Covert prestige is by no means unique to native speakers of working-class or rural dialects: middle-class speakers and educated people also use varieties such as slang and features of vernacular dialects for purposes of in-group solidarity. To illustrate this point, a study by Kiesling (1998, cited in Wardhaugh 2006: 177) showed that a group of male university students in the United States fronted the velar nasal [ŋ] to the alveolar nasal [n] in the *–ing* suffix (i.e. used *–in'*) regularly, in informal conversations even 75 % of the time. The students, who might have been expected to aspire to "proper" Standard American English and its academic register, chose instead to employ the lower-class non-standard pronunciation feature which had much appeal to them, symbolizing e.g. "hard work", "rebelliousness", "camaraderie" and "independence". In a similar vein, one should not assume that Singlish is an exclusive domain of the uneducated and the working class: using it may as well be a conscious choice of those who are able and willing to use Standard English at work, school, or other formal settings and it may be appealing in a covert way just as the standard dialect is appealing in an overt way (which is one of the many reasons why diglossia persists in speech communities).

1.2. Prescriptivism

An indispensable part of language standardization, prescriptivism is the practice of presenting standard codified usage as if it were the (only) "proper" way of speaking and writing a given language. Textbooks of linguistics usually contrast prescription with description or prescriptive grammar with descriptive grammar: they mention the difference between writing how a language *is* used and telling speakers how it *should be* used (Aitchison 1981: 27, Matthews 2007: 316). They also tend to mention the difference between grammaticality and correctness or system and (standard) usage. However, this simplified account does not do justice to the complexity of the issue and the mutual dependence of linguistic description and prescription. Firstly, the prescriptive approach is necessary in foreign language teaching (i.e. pedagogical grammars) and, to a certain extent, also in teaching literacy skills in the mother tongue at school. In other words, avoiding linguistic prejudice in the classroom does not mean that standard written usage cannot be presented as the nationwide model for students to follow. Likewise, there exist contexts in which it would be difficult not to enforce consistent use of the standard dialect, at least in writing; hence courses and textbooks for writers, editors and translators, style guides in newspapers and academic journals prescribe just one model with as little optional variability as possible. Secondly, the fact that descriptive linguistics focuses on analyzing standard varieties of languages (Standard British or American English, Putonghua Chinese etc.) renders such accounts very similar to descriptions of "correct" usage, e.g. *The Oxford English Dictionary* is a comprehensive descriptive work which is frequently regarded as an authoritative source on "correct" English vocabulary (Cameron 1995: 8). The various approaches and linguistic traditions that can be observed in different countries (such as so-called "linguistic culture" in Poland, see Rataj 2016) often make it difficult to decide whether a given book or dictionary is concerned with presenting standard usage without much comment or with telling its readers directly how they should or should not speak or write. Thirdly, although prescriptivism could be expected to slow down or even stop language change so as to prevent the language from what many believe to be “decay” (as discussed by Aitchison 1981), the rules nonetheless change as language changes and linguistic research develops. To provide an illustration, about fifty years ago many EFL textbooks still provided *I/we shall* and *I/we should* as the only “correct” first-person future and conditional/future in the past forms respectively; this has now disappeared, as prescriptive materials are likely to reflect current standard usage, i.e. *will* and *would* for what is known as simple predictions of the future. Likewise, the traditional proscription of grammatical features such as sentence-final prepositions in relative clauses or split infinitives is no longer considered to be of importance in the majority of present-day sources. Such changes in standard varieties of languages can also be observed in post-colonial societies. Depending on the views of codifiers such as textbook and dictionary writers, the alterations may try to follow the standardized language of the former colonizers (exonormative standardization) or steer away from it by reflecting the local use of the language rather than norms of foreign extraction (endonormative standardization). As will be shown, Singaporean prescriptivism displays features of both approaches.

Prescriptivism both as an approach towards language and as its practical outcome in the form of textbooks, grammars and dictionaries is part of two somewhat broader notions which have been described in reference to Standard English. The first concept is “standard language ideology”, which is discussed by Milroy and Milroy (1999) and has often been employed by sociolinguists dealing with language attitudes and prejudice. Milroy and Milroy (1999: 19) claim that spoken language cannot be codified as easily as written language; hence “it seems appropriate to speak more abstractly of standardization as an *ideology*, and a standard language as an idea in the mind rather than a reality – a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent" [original italics]. Lippi-Green (1994: 166) defines the ideology as "a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogeneous spoken language which is imposed from above and which takes as its model the written language. The most salient feature is the goal of suppression of variation of all kinds". This top-down approach is of key significance in this characterization, for it reveals the role of codifiers or politically powerful language users imposing their vision of the (standard and thus "correct") language on the rest of the populace. Needless to say, it is not necessary to regard the ideology as the enforcement of written usage norms in spoken usage – this pertains to the level of formality and/or register rather than the channel or means by which we use language, particularly now that the Internet allows ordinary people to write texts that can be accessed by millions of web users worldwide. The other concept is even broader than standard language ideology, as it encompasses all manner of normative practices: it is Cameron's (1995) "verbal hygiene". Instead of contrasting descriptivism and prescriptivism or regarding either approach as superior by definition, Cameron (1995: 5) reminds us that "all [languages] are subject to some normative regulation" and descriptive works are therefore normative as well (1995: 7). Both prescription and description are concerned with verbal hygiene, i.e. "a struggle to control language by defining its nature" (Cameron 1995: 8). A similar approach will be taken in the analysis below: it is impossible to avoid linguistic prescription in a modern society, particularly in areas such as education or publishing, but the questions remain, in Cameron's words (1995: 11): "who prescribes for whom, what they prescribe, how, and for what purposes". It will be shown what attitudes can be seen in prescriptive language commentaries in Singapore.

2. English in Singapore

Singapore Island is an optimal location for a trade and military outpost for those wishing to control the flow of people and goods through the Malacca Strait. Historically speaking, whoever was in control of Singapore Island had an important advantage over other states and rulers in southeast Asia, which eventually resulted in the interest of Europe's colonial powers in the region. When British colonists led by Sir Stamford Raffles of the East India Company established Singapore in 1819, bringing English to the island was a natural consequence of the event. Crystal (2003a: 56) describes the early influence of English on the Federated Malay States, including the founding of *The Straits Times* newspaper in 1845 and the introduction of British education, in the form of English-language schools run by British schoolmasters, to Penang (now Malaysia) in 1816. In this sense, Singapore English was a colonial variety based on British English norms, spread through official use and education in a way comparable to English in India at the time. When Singapore declared independence of Malaysia in 1965, a constitution amendment confirmed English, Malay, Mandarin and Tamil as official languages, with Malay given the status of the "national language" (Bankowicz 2005: 69). However, English became the *de facto* language of the government, courts of law, administration, and education, with an increasing percentage of young Singaporeans being raised bilingually in English rather than acquiring or learning it outside of the home (Leimgruber 2012: 3).

2.1. The ethnicities of Singapore

A motif that re-occurs in this paper in different contexts is the multitude of native languages spoken in Singapore. In order to understand why these languages are used, it should first be stated what the ethnic distribution of Singaporeans is. The "Census of Population 2020" infographic (Department of Statistics Singapore) states that 74.3 % of the population are Chinese, 13.5 % are Malays, 9.0% are Indians and 3.2 % are others. The document also provides an almost identical looking chart from 2010 and notes that "Resident ethnic distribution remained stable". When placed in the context of Singapore's geography and history, the ethnic composition of Singaporean society shows that the majority originally came from the north, i.e. the south of China, with Malays, closest to the area's *ab origine* inhabitants, being the largest minority and people whose ancestors were British colonists so few that they are not singled out in the statistics. Since China and India are large, populous and ancient countries, a simple label like *Chinese* and *Indian* is necessarily a simplification – people's regional roots and languages connected to them (e.g. Hokkien, Tamil as opposed to Mandarin or Hindi) may be felt to be significant as well. It is also true that marriages between different ethnic groups occur in Singapore and assigning a person to one ethnicity or another comes from self-reporting on a census. This also means that a person's ethnicity does not have to be an indicator of their mother tongue(s).

2.2. The role of English in Singapore

As described above, English serves as the lingua franca among the different ethnic groups in Singapore and its use in formal contexts is often taken for granted, even if English is not regarded as one of the ancestral languages of native Singaporeans. Education in Singapore officially became bilingual in 1983, in that apart from learning English, all students, depending on their ethnic origin, are required to study Malay, Mandarin, or Tamil, which are called "mother tongues". A child's mother tongue is actually determined on the basis of their father's ethnic background – educators do not ask families in which language the child has been raised (ELIS 2018: 3). Since 1987 English has been the only medium of instruction at all levels of education, including universities (Chye 2010: 4, Crystal 2003a: 57, McArthur 2003: 338-339, Waluś 2012: 64). One may note in passing that as of November 2023 the websites of the National University of Singapore and the Nanyang Technological University were available only in English.

Singaporeans pride themselves on their bilingual approach to education, thanks to which students rank high in international student assessment programmes. As regards English language skills, in the 2020 edition of the worldwide English Proficiency Index by Education First, a worldwide test administered to volunteers who are non-native English speakers, Singapore ranked tenth out of one hundred countries and the first among countries outside of Europe; two years earlier it came in third (EF EPI Singapore 2021). It should be noted that states with a monolingual English majority like the UK or the USA are not included in EF EPI surveys.

English is currently the second most popular home language in Singapore. Leimgruber (2012: 3, 2014: 48), citing Wong (2011) and older sources, notes a dramatic increase in the percentage of households where English is spoken the most often, from 12 % in 1980 to 32% in 2010. Mandarin is first, prevailing in 36 % of Singaporean households according to the 2010 census. Note that the statistics take account of the fact that more than one language is used in numerous families, which means that in many homes English is not used exclusively. Despite the official language policy that denies English the status of an “ancestral” language and wants it to be “culturally voided” (Leimgruber 2012: 2), it has become *the* or *a* mother tongue for a significant number of young Singaporeans.

2.3. Standard Singapore English

The multilingual and multicultural city-state possesses its own standard variety of English, which may be considered “exonormative” (Silver 2005: 57, Wee 2014: 85, 98), in that it generally tends to emulate Standard British English norms. However, nowadays American English also plays a part in shaping popular usage (McArthur 2003: 339). Wee (2014: 85) notes that an “Americanized” English accent is in fashion among Singapore’s radio DJ’s, much as it is criticized by some listeners (the emerging rhoticity, probably resulting from American influence, is noted by Deterding 2007: 21). Furthermore, in their study employing the matched-guise technique Tan and Tan (2008: 470) recorded a speaker using American English, since they also recognized its popular "connotation of youth and modernity" and its use by some radio DJs in Singapore.

Like other official varieties of languages, Standard Singapore English is codified. It is thanks to products of codification such as grammar books as well as linguistic research that one can learn about the features that distinguish Singapore English on the world stage, mostly common abbreviated terms such as *HDB* "(flat in) a public housing block built by the Housing and Development Board" (Leimgruber 2012: 6) or *MRT* "Mass Rapid Transit", a metropolitan public transport system including a modern underground (Fong and bin Ahmad 2008: 95-98). It would perhaps be a controversial decision to put some commonly known Singaporean words such as *kiasu* or *ang moh* in the standard or general usage category, which is why they are discussed as part of Singlish below.

Numerous sources (e.g. Chye 2010: 9, Crystal 2002: 296, Crystal 2003a: 174-175, Leimgruber 2014: 46-48, Wee 2014: 90, and above all Silver 2005), provide examples of politicians speaking about the importance of English for Singapore's participation in international trade, business and politics, which entails the imperative to learn and use standard or "correct" English rather than what is regarded as local "corruptions" of the language. Deputy Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong, for instance, deplored the use of Singlish in 2001: "Will we then write our own school and university textbooks in Singlish? Will Singlish help you to write a business proposal? Will MNCs [multinational corporations], banks or even local companies prefer to hire you if you speak Singlish instead of Standard English?" (Lee Hsien Loong, 5 April 2001, quoted in Silver 2005: 57, Silver's explanation in square brackets). His fear is that what is probably a stable diglossic situation – to the extent to which we may call it diglossic – poses a danger to a consistent use of "proper" English in formal contexts and thus to the position of Singaporeans on the international market. It appears that for the politician Singlish stands for the low level or even total lack of academic or professional standards. A particularly vivid instance, reported by Crystal (2002: 296), was Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong's National Day Speech of 1999, in which he warned the nation against speaking Singlish and thus making their utterances unintelligible to foreigners. Goh went as far as calling out the use of Singlish by the protagonist of a popular televised comedy. That motif in the leader's speech received numerous comments. To summarize, Standard Singaporean English is a largely exonormative variety of English which is frequently discussed and described ideologically in opposition to "incorrect" Singlish.

2.4. Singlish: Selected features

Alongside Standard English, there exists the aforementioned dialect called Singlish or Singapore Colloquial English, a variety which has proved difficult to categorize. Some papers call Singlish a type of creole (Chye 2010), English-language Wikipedia also classifies Singlish as a creole variety, whereas other sources (Wee 2014) label it simply as a colloquial variety, though this term is often difficult to interpret. Leimgruber (2012) devotes an entire paper to the different attempts at classifying Singlish: the L variety in diglossia, the informal basilect in DeCamp's (1971) post-creole continuum, Local Singapore English in Alsagoff's (2007) "cultural orientation model" and finally a more complex description based on different levels of indexicality, inspired by Eckert (2008). The term *Singapore Colloquial English* is reminiscent of diglossia. However, as was mentioned above, the labelling of Singlish as the L variety with Standard English functioning as the H variety is a simplification of a complex and dynamic situation (Tan and Tan 2008: 469), particularly in view of the fact that other languages, including several dialects of Chinese, are also parts of Singapore's linguistic mosaic and most people in the state are bilingual. It is impossible to discuss all these issues in this paper. Suffice it to say that Singlish is most easily defined by means of listing its most important features. It has a relatively simplified grammar, viz. less inflection and structural complexity than Standard English, which generally speaking resembles creole grammar. Hundreds of its words originate from a variety of Asian languages, namely Hokkien, Teochew, Fujianese, Cantonese, other Chinese dialects, Malay and Tamil (McArthur 2003: 341). Finally, it has a number of characteristic phonological features (especially when compared to accents like RP). Below are but a few instances, some of which can be applied to Singapore English as a whole: a smaller set of vowel phonemes, which entails the shortening of long vowels and monophthongization of some diphthongs, frequent realization of dental fricative phonemes as alveolar stops, reduced aspiration, and a syllable-based rhythm as opposed to a stress-based one (a detailed description can be found in Deterding 2007: 12-39, Leimgruber 2014: 49). It is important to note at this point that the percentage of non-standard or creole-like grammar and non-English words as well as sounds may vary to such an extent that some Singlish sentences can be easily understood by English speakers from outside Singapore while others cannot (Crystal 2003a: 165). There is, in other words, no hard-and-fast distinction between what could be regarded as “pure” Singlish and informal but nonetheless standard Singapore English. If anything, it is the presence and number of Singlish shibboleths that set the code apart from e.g. random attempts at speaking Singlish that could be made by a foreign national. Even though Singlish is not universally regarded as a creole variety, the same principle as the one described by Wardhaugh and regarding creoles (2006: 67-68) can be applied here: haphazard simplification of English will not yield an utterance in Singlish or anything easily intelligible to its speakers. In fact, a foreigner’s Singlish, however well-intentioned, could be regarded as a derisive parody of Singaporeans and cause offence.

Since this paper is not an attempt at a detailed portrayal of Singlish, the following quotations from three sources presenting the variety serve only illustrative purposes. The first one consists of a few sentences that exemplify a number of its grammatical (syntactic and morphological) characteristics (Leimgruber 2011, quoted in Leimgruber 2014: 49):

(1) (a) *That boat Ø very short one.* (Copula-deletion, emphatic *one* […].)
(b) *How much it will be?* (Lack of inversion.)
(c) *Because she wants to sing mah. So she want to use, she want to join to sing, so we just groom her lor.* (Discourse particles […].)[3]
(d) *Because he want to see how we all talk, normally.* (Non-inflected 3SG.)
(e) *(That car) very expensive, you know.* (Null subject.)
(f) *Christmas, we don't celebrate, because we are not Christians.* (Topic-prominence.)

As regards Singlish vocabulary, perhaps the best-known lexical items derived from different languages spoken in the region are *makan* ("food/to eat", from Malay), *kiasu* ("afraid of losing out", from Hokkien), *ang moh* (literally "red hair", a Caucasian person or someone with features associated with Caucasian people, from Hokkien) (Leimgruber 2014: 49). Bars and cafés in Singapore also use the spellings *kopi* and *teh* for *coffee* and *tea* respectively, thus reflecting the local pronunciation. Singlish vocabulary is by no means limited to single words, for its speakers have created a number of longer fixed phrases and idioms, some of them akin to Standard English, some entirely non-English. The examples below and their descriptions come from a popular tongue-in-cheek source, *An Essential Guide to Singlish* (2003: 24-27):

[3] Sentence-final particles derived from Chinese dialects and other East Asian languages, such as *lah, lor* and *ah,* constitute what is perhaps the most important defining trait of Singlish. They have a variety of functions, e.g. expressing doubt or adding emphasis in a way comparable to question and comment tags in other varieties of English.

(2) (a) *Catch no ball.* No idea. To misunderstand. Example: "Don't talk so much about technology, *I catch no ball*, just give me auto focus camera!"

(b). *Cha si lang.* Noisy. A term that also means "loud enough to wake the dead". Example: "That building construction next door *cha si lang.* Too much drilling!"

(c). *Chinese helicopter.* To be Chinese-educated. Often used to describe people who do not speak English. Example: "You know, he's *Chinese helicopter*, then you ask him a question in Mandarin lah! Talking English, what for?" [original italics]

As can be seen, the examples in the book illustrate the use of Singlish phrases and idioms in a context of sentences which also contain features of Singlish grammar: (2a) contains a zero article instead of an indefinite article before the direct object; (2b) lacks a copula verb *be*; the second sentence in (2c) is an example of the topic-comment structure, and unless *Chinese helicopter* is treated as a proper noun, a zero article is used instead of an indefinite one, even though an indefinite article appears before the noun *question*.

Finally, let us consider a slightly longer passage in Singlish and Standard English. It is not authentic material in the sense that it was prepared and used by Tan and Tan (2008) in their matched-guise study of attitudes towards Singlish and Standard English among Singaporean schoolchildren.

(3) Passage 1: Today whole day rain, cannot go out mah. Have to stay at home, very sian leh. Hope won't be lidat for long. What time your appoingment tomorrow? I tink you got to go very early izzit? Maybe we go drink kopi after that? By the way, I finally got my results arredy. Quite jialat la.

Passage 2: It's been raining the whole day, so I can't go out. I hope it won't hold up. I have to stay at home, it's really boring. What time is your appointment tomorrow? I think you've got to be there quite early, right? How 'bout coffee after that? Oh, by the way, I've finally received my results. They're pretty bad. (Tan and Tan 2008: 470)

Tan and Tan asked their Singaporean speaker, who was also fluent in American English (i.e. bidialectal), to read Passage 1 using Singlish pronunciation and Passage 2 twice, using a standard Singaporean English accent and an American one. This constituted the three guises used to investigate attitudes to Singaporean English, with two "foils" being English spoken by speakers from Indonesia and Hong Kong. The differences between these two passages are clearly visible even in writing since the spelling of some words provided the Singaporean speaker with cues concerning Singlish pronunciation. Apart from phonetics, the passages differ in terms of morphology, syntax and vocabulary; for instance, one may notice the absence of null subjects or borrowings from Asian languages in Passage 2. It is also noteworthy that while Passage 2 is in Standard English, it is still informal, with contractions (*it's*, *won't* etc.) and other features of spoken rather than written usage (*oh, right?, how 'bout*) making the speaker's utterance more similar in form and – more importantly – function to its Singlish counterpart than a formal text that would immediately strike the informants as mismatching the context of an everyday conversation between friends. This also reminds us that while Singlish is informal by nature, as are L varieties in diglossic communities and creoles in postcolonial societies where they function alongside standard varieties of European languages, Standard English can be written and spoken in a range of styles and registers. As Trudgill (2000: 120) puts it, "English is no different from any other (non-standard) variety of the language. Speakers of Standard English have a full range of styles open to them, just as speakers of other varieties do [...]". At least theoretically, nothing can prevent a speaker of a non-standard dialect from trying to employ it in a formal style in formal contexts (Trudgill 2000: 120-121), though this use of Singlish does not appear to have been reported.

2.5. Singaporeans as a speech community

In any analysis of the linguistic varieties spoken in large urban centres it is necessary to bear in mind the complexity, heterogeneity and dynamism concerning their speakers. The traditional notion of speech community dating back to the 1960's or earlier times usually proves useful in studies of small rural communities. A case in point is Labov's 1963 study of English spoken on Martha's Vineyard, a small island off the coast of Massachusetts (Wardhaugh 2006: 197-200). However, with regard to entire nations or large cities which have been attracting migrants of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, it is often impossible to pretend that the researcher is dealing with a uniform group. Hence more recent studies of speech communities frequently take account of the diversity of speech communities inhabiting large cities and study local varieties which are used by speakers of different backgrounds (e.g. Multicultural London English as studied by Cheshire, Hall and Adger 2017).

Like other large urban centres and capital cities, Singapore is inhabited by native speakers of a multitude of languages – the more so if we take into account the diverse dialects of Chinese – and its native speakers of English are by no means a homogeneous group: some are locals raised in Singapore English and others are immigrants/expatriates from other English-speaking countries (the UK, the USA, Australia, India and the former British territory of Hong Kong). Singapore is a wealthy and significant business centre attracting migrant workers from all walks of life. It is also a post-colonial state, which makes its use of English similar to that in some other English-speaking countries in Asia, Africa, and elsewhere. Arguably, all these factors and many more (age, gender, education, religion, profession, class etc.) determine Singaporean English speakers' use of Singlish and Standard Singaporean English, and their attitudes to both these varieties.

The reason why this diversity must be borne in mind is that for the purposes of a study of a language variety such as

Singapore English one needs to treat its speakers as one speech community although in fact one is dealing with a complex and dynamic network of speakers with different beliefs, attitudes, and ambitions, people for whom English is either the first or a second language. Within Singapore, just as in any other larger community, it is possible to distinguish communities of practice, i.e. groups of people whose sense of togetherness is determined by the way their members meet, act, and therefore interact verbally. According to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992):

> A community of practice is an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor. As a social construct, a community of practice is different from the traditional community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages. (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992: 464)

Different communities of practice require or motivate the use of different styles, registers and even separate dialects, as is the case in diglossic communities; hence it is perfectly possible for the same Singaporean speaker to use Standard English on some occasions, Singlish on other occasions and another language or dialect (Malay, Tamil, Hokkien, Cantonese, Mandarin) on yet other ones. As will be shown below, it is not only linguists who should be aware of this multilingualism and multidialectalism of Singaporean citizens, particularly with regard to standard and non-standard English.

3. Standard language ideology in Singapore English: Government-related websites

Discussions concerning linguistic prescriptivism in Singapore and reactions to Singlish typically begin with the Speak Good English Movement (SGEM), a government campaign which promotes English language “correctness” among Singaporeans and the Speak Good Singlish Movement, a Facebook page whose anonymous authors express their support for the vernacular. A third popular source is Talking Cock, a satirical website that frequently uses Singlish and features "The Coxford Singlish Dictionary" consisting of over 800 entries. The SGEM in particular has been analyzed by several researchers, including Cavallaro and Chin (2009), Chye (2010), Leimgruber (2014) and Wee (2014), the latter focusing on the Singlish response to the governmental policy of prescriptivism. Besides, the Talking Cock website has been discussed by Chye (2010). This study pays somewhat less attention to the well-analyzed sources and focuses instead on some of the activities of the SGEM and the English Language Institute, part of Singapore's Ministry of Education, in the latter half of the 2010's.

3.1. The Speak Good English Movement

The Speak Good English Movement is a long-term campaign and organization whose activities resemble those of a language academy such as the Académie Française of France or prescriptivist language societies such as the Queen's English Society of Great Britain. The SGEM began in 2000 under the auspices of the government, then headed by Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, and has conducted a series of annual or longer campaigns with different leitmotifs and involving different activities: the publishing of new grammar books, language guidance, the promotion of book reading among children and adolescents, music and drama using "correct" English etc (SGEM). As can be seen, most of the activities and events are addressed to children, teenagers and occasionally young rather than older adults. The website states the following about the objective of the SGEM: "We encourage Singaporeans to speak grammatically correct English that is universally understood". On the same page one can read that "[t]he English language is a complex one and the resources on this site are not intended to be exhaustive, but rather to illustrate common usage of the language" (SGEM). There are two questions that suggest themselves here: first, what is "correct English", grammatically or otherwise? and second, how is common usage related to standard or "correct" usage? Some documents released by the SGEM reveal somewhat more. For example, the press release of the 2014 launch of the campaign quotes its Chairman Goh Eck Kheng as saying: "We are committed to encouraging Singaporeans to speak Standard English that is used all over the world" (SGEM 2014: 1). A similar statement, albeit a slightly confusing one, is to be found below in the same document: "Standard English is English with correct grammar and pronunciation, and is not about accent," (SGEM 2014: 3, also Leimgruber 2014: 48). It is interesting that the notions of "accent" and "pronunciation" are not equated and that no mention is made of vocabulary or style (formality). It may be noted at this point that no further explanation of "correctness" can be found and that accent, however defined, occupies a large part of the website. To be precise, it has a pronunciation guide that "contains a list of commonly mispronounced words with correct audio pronunciations and definitions in a Singaporean voice" (SGEM). However, the accent recorded sounds considerably similar to British RP.

In 2014 the SGEM launched its annual campaign promoting "good" English grammar. The project involved a series of six short comedy videos probably intended for younger viewers that were added on YouTube. In the videos the Queen of Grammar of the Land of Good English, portrayed by the Singaporean comedian and drag artist Kumar, fights against the spell put on the land by the jealous queens of the neighbouring lands. The curse is none other than "bad" English resembling Singlish. The Queen travels around her realm to "bring peace and good English back again" ("Queen of Grammar - Episode 1" on YouTube). In the series the Queen, accompanied by Jester, encounters subjects who make the following errors: the use of the past tenses to refer to the present (Episode 1), non-standard word order, the word *irregardless*, the comparative form *more better* and shifted word stress (Episode 2), the use of *many* instead of *much* with uncountable nouns such as *money* (Episode 3 – here the Queen is absent and Jester takes over), misused prepositions of place as in *between your head* ("over"), *in your side* ("by"), *after your back* ("behind") (Episode 4), inconsistent subject-verb concord shown by characters who are conjoined twins (Episode 5) and finally the seemingly vague expression *a lot of people* instead of more specific collective nouns such as *a crowd*, *a congregation*, *an audience* or *an army* (Episode 6). In the final episode the Queen's knights report that her castle is under siege, at which point the Queen delivers a short speech declaring that "good English" will be her army's weapons in the battle. The Queen of Grammar also appeared live on stage in The Arts House.

Several conclusions could be drawn from the imagery used in the Queen of Grammar series: the government (the Queen) knows best how people should speak, speaking "bad" English such as Singlish is a curse while learning to speak "good" English stands for being cured of the affliction. Apparently, the protagonist is also based on the popular misinterpretation of Henry Alford's term *the Queen's English*.[4] It is also interesting that the curse does not come from within but was put on the land by evil outside forces which can be defeated only by means of correct English. The probable idea of the creators is that if Singaporeans are shown that Singlish, in its various manifestations fought by the monarch, is not a natural part of their life, perhaps they can be more easily persuaded to abandon their vernacular.

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[4] The term *the Queen's English* does not in fact stand for the native dialect of the British monarch. It was first used by Henry Alford in his book *The Queen's English: Stray Notes on Speaking and Spelling*, published in 1864. He writes thus: "The Queen (God bless her!) is, of course, no more the proprietor of the English language than any one of us. Nor does she, nor do the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, possess one particle of right to make or unmake a word in the language," (Alford 1864: 2). Just like "the Queen's Highway", "the Queen's English" means that it is supposed to serve everyone in the nation: "It is, so to speak, this land's great highway of thought and speech" (Alford 1864: 2).

"Improve your English" is a large part of the website containing advice on "correct" English usage. Apart from the aforementioned pronunciation guide, it includes book recommendations, a grammar guide, a list of common errors, spelling tips and some other categories. One of the more interesting and perhaps also controversial texts is "Tips for Parents", divided into twenty-nine short texts with advice and examples of standard and non-standard usage. It focuses on advice on parent-child interaction which avoids errors, namely features of Singlish as well as offers hints on making children interested in reading literature. For instance, here is most of the text entitled "Finding out if your child has eaten":

> Are you a parent or a childcare provider? If you are, here's a challenge for you.
> Be a role model to your children. How many times have you asked your child, *"You eat breakfast/ lunch / dinner already?"*
> I'm sure you're aware that this sentence is incorrect. Yet, adults say it all the time out of convenience instead of saying *"Have you had your lunch?"* or *"Have you eaten?"*
> Children learn and imitate what they see and hear. Parents play an important role in helping children on speaking right [sic].
> Take on the challenge to become a good role model for your children. ("Tips for Parents", SGEM) [original italics]

The following is a fragment of another text, entitled "Are you a bad influence?":

> *"I tell you how many times already?"*
> Many parents say this in exasperation when their children or domestic help make the same mistakes repeatedly. This is a common non-Standard English phrase that has steadily crept into everyday language at home.
> **Imitating the Adults**
> Have you heard your child using your exasperated expressions? They will use the same words or phrases and even the way you say them. Adults often joke about how their kids learn and

> imitate. Don't just laugh it off; remember that your kids may be picking up improper English from you.
> **Kids Don't Know Better**
> You may be able to switch between using proper English at work and non-Standard English at home. But often kids do not see you at work and they only hear you speaking at home. ("Tips for Parents", SGEM) [original italics and boldface]

In both of these texts one may easily notice the same attitude: Singlish or more generally informal spoken English usage is equated with "bad" or "incorrect" English – these terms being used alongside the linguistic label *non-standard* – and parents are urged not to speak in this way in the presence of their children lest their offspring acquire such "improper" features. In a way reminiscent of other East Asian cultures ("tiger parents" or "helicopter parents", as described in Singaporean society by Chong Siow Ann 2016) the tips state directly that parents are supposed to be good role models for their children, also educationally, hence they need to be careful how they behave linguistically so as not to be "a bad influence". The second fragment, "Are you a bad influence?", contains direct reference to the different styles and registers of English used at work and at home, i.e. usage that could be compared to diglossia. Parents are advised to be on their best linguistic behaviour at home just as they are in the workplace even when expressing strong emotions such as "exasperation". The idea of parents making an effort is also present in the tip "Finding out if your child has eaten", namely in the words that the present simple tense instead of the present perfect is used "out of convenience" and yet parents should make sure that their children hear the correct (standard) model. The conclusion that can be drawn from these and other tips is that education begins at home and parents are supposed to avoid Singlish themselves, correct it when they hear their children use it, and encourage (but not force) their children to develop their literacy by reading books.

As far as the notions of linguistic correctness propagated by the SGEM are concerned, one may find evidence for linguists' claims regarding the exonormative character of language codification in Singapore by looking at the books and online guides that the SGEM website recommends to its visitors for further reference ("Book recommendations", SGEM). A look at the books on language suggested to adults shows that most of them have been published outside Singapore and in fact deal with either British or American English, e.g. Glatzer (2003) and Rozakis (2005) were published in the United States and Wajnryb (2005) in Australia. As for the online sources, two of the websites are American, one is British, and two deal with both British and American English. It is also worth noting that the suggestions include sources for native speakers of English as well as websites that are clearly intended for EFL learners.

The SGEM website and YouTube channel contain a good deal of other material worth studying, the recurrent motif being a direct comparison of Singlish to "bad" English and the importance of making children and adolescents aware of the necessity to speak Standard English instead. There also exist other sources which complement the image of the prescriptivist language policy of Singaporean authorities.

3.2. The English Language Institute of Singapore

Singapore's Ministry of Education is another major source of statements concerning the role of English, in particular Standard English, in the country's progress. The Ministry is in charge of the English Language Institute of Singapore (ELIS), an organization supporting the teaching of English in Singaporean schools. It should be noted here that the following description comes from an analysis of the website conducted in 2015 and updated in 2018; since then the website has been moved to another address and many of the texts have been archived, rewritten or removed (Academy of Singapore Teachers 2021). In 2015 ELIS defined its mission as follows: "To drive excellence in the teaching, learning and use of the English language in Singapore schools" (ELIS 2015). The "About" section of the website frequently emphasizes the significance of communicating clearly and effectively, yet it avoids overt references to Singlish. One of ELIS's flagship projects is the Whole School Approach to Effective Communication (WSA-EC), whose description included phrases such as "importance of good English and its role in effective communication", "[students] express ideas clearly and precisely, and where appropriate, in multimodal ways" and "[teachers'] role-model use of Standard English when communicating with students" (ELIS 2015). The prominent motif here is the focus on clarity and effectiveness of "good" English in all the classes taught in the language.

While the information presented above is very general and rather uncontroversial – the value of a shared code which is intelligible to all speakers concerned is undeniable – it is enough to enter the word *Singlish* in the ELIS website search box to come across a number of opinions strongly prejudiced against Singlish and labelling it as "bad English". A typical example is a short video interview with Carol Kuok, a secretary whose job involves writing and speaking "correct" English. In the video she talks about Singlish in a derogatory manner and presents the linguistic features which she particularly dislikes, such as non-standard verb forms as well as more general opinions about English language standards supposedly declining in Singapore and thus impeding understanding. Singlish, Kuok claims, is something that shows Singaporeans "in a bad light" and should therefore be eliminated for the sake of effective communication with the world. Since Kuok is not a linguist, her purist attitude is perhaps not surprising. The video is accompanied by a few questions containing quotations from Kuok's opinions, e.g. "'The standard of English has dropped to the point that it is hard to understand people.' Do you agree with Ms Carol Kuok's statement in this clip?" or "What are your views on code-mixing? In this clip, Ms Carol Kuok says that such utterances do not put Singaporeans in a very good light in the international arena".

("Carol Kuok", ELIS 2015). These and other questions asked below the clip leave little room for interpretation: Standard English is presented as the only proper variety of English and Singlish as inherently incorrect and difficult to understand. Thus it may be assumed that the ELIS accepts Kuok's prejudice against Singlish and expects the viewer to agree.

Another case in point is an article by Koh co-written with several Physical Education teachers and specialists. The aim of the article is to emphasize the importance of what is called "effective communication" in English-language PE classes, in view of the fact that groups of schoolchildren in Singapore are likely to be multilingual. The advice, apart from recommending brevity and clarity of instructions as such, also includes such phrases as "Eliminate all Singlish [...]" and "Communicate and instruct using only Standard English". The most dramatic sentence in the article reads thus: "Teachers who lack clarity when giving instructions during PE will affect student learning behaviour and outcomes, with the possibility of injuries occurring". One may draw the conclusion that if using Singlish makes instructions unclear and lack of clarity may lead to injury, then Singlish with its alleged imperfections is potentially dangerous to children playing sports. This arguably sends a very strong message to teachers and parents alike.

The views cited in the aforementioned paragraphs present the ELIS as if it were a society of language prescriptivists, not a government organization employing linguists or educators. However, the former is not the case, for the website also contains information about the English language teaching policies created and implemented (or at least recommended) in the classroom. A large part of the website is devoted to reports on research into teaching literacy skills and other language-related issues in Singaporean schools. The *ELIS Research Digest*, for example, is an open access brochure in PDF format which outlines various issues of interest to the public, in particular addressing English teachers. The website specifies its objective as follows: "The series aims to focus on English language-related issues of immediate interest to the education sector in Singapore. Each issue of the ELIS Research Digest reviews theory and research in a targeted area and summarizes the results" (*ELIS Research Digest*, ELIS). For instance, volume 5 of 2018 is entitled *Students from Diverse Language and Cultural Backgrounds* and focuses on the importance of recognizing the needs of learners brought up in various home languages and thus arriving at school with varied English skills. This pertains particularly to children of immigrants who spent the first years of their lives outside Singapore or another English-speaking country.

Interestingly, compared to the video featuring Carol Kuok or the article by Koh et al., the ELIS Research Digest (vol. 5, issue 1, 2018) presents Singlish in a different light. It describes the linguistic situation of education in Singapore in the first decades of its independence. English was used by teachers as the common medium of instruction and communication and some students replied to (Standard) English by using Singlish. ELIS (2018: 3) reports as follows:

> Hornberger and Vaish (2009) noted that Singlish was often blamed for what was described as the low standards of spoken English in Singapore. However, it was also seen as something quintessentially Singaporean by many and so represented "being Singaporean" as well as or even better than the Mother Tongues. (…) Hornberger and Vaish (2009) suggested that allowing some use of the Mother Tongues and Singlish in the classroom could give some students the resources they needed to better access English and improve their overall language skills.

Even though these words are a citation from Hornberger and Vaish (2009) and not claims made directly by a writer at the ELIS, the fact that they are included and left without a negative comment shows that the author of the digest does not share the prescriptivist views that can be found elsewhere on the ELIS website. The citation from Hornberger and Vaish (2009) is then followed with Dixon's (2005) discussion of the benefits and drawbacks of mother tongue focus in bilingual education. Dixon notes that while the insistence on English has allowed Singaporean students to score very highly in international tests, namely PISA, it has also caused students of Chinese origin to become less skilled at writing Chinese characters than young Chinese in China as well as more interested in reading books in English than in Chinese in their free time (ELIS 2018: 3-4). Singlish is mentioned further in the document in a citation from Pua, Lee and Rickard Liow (2017), who note that the use of Singlish by children, in particular features such as simplified verb inflection, may cause teachers to believe that such children have limited verbal skills. Fortunately, when combined, standardized tests, teacher reports and conversations with parents can lower the risk of misjudging a child's abilities (ELIS 2018: 8-9). The report concludes by emphasizing the significance of giving an equal chance to all children in Singaporean schools, regardless of their home language. To summarize, it may be claimed that by discussing the advantages and disadvantages of its current language policy the ELIS uses self-reflection rather than promotion of standard language ideology.

3.3. A different language, the same concerns: The Speak Mandarin Campaign

Although Singaporean Chinese is not the focus of this paper, the Speak Mandarin Campaign (SMC) is arguably worth mentioning since it is based on a premise analogical to that of the Speak Good English Movement: the use of (Standard) Mandarin Chinese should be encouraged, as opposed to non-standard dialects whose native speakers inhabit Singapore. Just as the exonormative version of Standard English is distant geographically from Singapore, so is Mandarin, a variety of Chinese considerably different from the southern Chinese dialects that are spoken by numerous people in Singapore (Hokkien, Teochew, varieties of Cantonese etc, see Leimgruber 2012: 2, Leimgruber 2014: 58). Mandarin possesses greater overt prestige as the official variety in China, a language of business, diplomacy and education. The SMC is older than the SGEM, having been launched in 1979 by the then Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, and its objectives are considerably similar to those of the SGEM in that it regards the standard language as a factor unifying Chinese Singaporeans of different linguistic (dialectal) backgrounds; speaking Mandarin is supposed to be intertwined with "an appreciation for the Chinese culture, heritage and language" ("About the campaign", SMC). Similar to the SGEM website, the SMC website contains information about the literary, cultural and educational events organized as part of the campaign, learning tips such as vocabulary posters and infographics (accompanied by English translation on the English version of the website), and even a competition for parents and children (SMC). For the people involved in running the SMC, Mandarin, like Standard English for the SGEM, stands for a/the good language, one that is worth speaking and promoting. There is one major difference, however, which lies in the way that the two campaigns treat the respective non-standard varieties: while Singlish is clearly labelled "bad" and "incorrect", no dialect of Chinese appears to be thus stigmatized on the SMC website. The probable reason for this is the relative novelty of Singlish when compared to the recognisable historicity[5] of Chinese dialects.

4. The background of standard language ideology in Singapore English

The analysis of government websites conducted above shows rather clearly that Standard Singapore English enjoys overt prestige and is the model promoted by the Singaporean authorities not only in highly formal contexts but also in everyday oral communication. Standard language ideology in its Singaporean

[5] Historicity is the feeling on the part of speakers "whether or not the language has grown up or grew up through use by some ethnic or social group. The possession of this attribute clearly divides L1 languages from L2" (Bell 1976: 148).

manifestation consists in promoting Standard English in opposition to Singlish as well as Mandarin Chinese in opposition to non-standard Chinese dialects. The situation regarding English is well known to linguists and has been widely analyzed. For instance, Alsagoff (2007: 39, quoted in Leimgruber 2012: 7) contrasts the features of "International Singapore English", i.e. the exonormative standard variety of the language and "Local Singapore English", i.e. Singlish: "International Singapore English: globalism, economic capital, authority, formality, distance, educational attainment; Local Singapore English: localism, sociocultural capital, camaraderie, informality, closeness, community membership". The following part provides more details to the claims regarding the roles of and attitudes towards Standard Singapore English and Singlish which have been put forward by Alsagoff, Leimgruber, and other linguists cited throughout this paper.

4.1. Singapore English and ethnolinguistic vitality

The vitality of a language or dialect, i.e. the extent to which it is used by a community of native speakers and its chances of survival in the foreseeable future, can be analyzed in detail thanks to an extended notion of vitality which combines the work of sociologists and linguists. This is known as ethnolinguistic vitality; its basic contributory factors are specified in Table 1.

Meyerhoff (2011) discusses ethnolinguistic vitality in a chapter on bilingualism and multilingualism, in which she also analyzes the linguistic situations of several postcolonial nations. In a similar vein, it is possible to contrast Singlish and Standard Singapore English by referring to some of the aforementioned factors.

Table 1
Factors contributing to ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977, quoted in Meyerhoff 2011: 113)

Vitality		
Status	Demography	Institutional support
Economic status Social status Sociohistorical status Language status -within; -without	Distribution: national territory, concentration, proportion Numbers: absolute birth rate, mixed marriages, immigration, emigration	Formal: mass media, education, government, services Informal: industry, religion, culture

Firstly, as regards the Status elements, it is clear that while Standard English is significant in all the categories, Singlish, being a vernacular variety common to Singaporeans, also enjoys covert prestige and as such has some social status. Since it may be said to continue the mode of communication which produced Bazaar Malay and other contact varieties spoken in the region in the past, Singlish perhaps has sociohistorical status as well (despite arguments to the contrary, see below). The status of Singlish is definitely oriented towards intracommunity use in Singapore, while Standard English allows its speakers to communicate with representatives of the outside world in Singapore, abroad, and on the Internet (intercommunity use).

Secondly, the Demography factors, which will not be analyzed in full here, are substantial as Singapore is a significant hub of international business, education, and research. The local roles of English as a native, second, and foreign language are therefore dynamic, with migrant manual labourers, foreign students, sea people, and corporation employees – some of them native English speakers – contributing to the multifariousness of the city state. These factors help exonormative Standard English rather than Singlish to spread and they are not infrequently mentioned by politicians. More importantly, one may observe the fact that both Standard English and Singlish are not limited to parts of the city but appear to be widely used in every district of Singapore. Furthermore, no native Singaporeans appear to be monolingual speakers of Singlish (for using it requires drawing on the resources of other languages); likewise, it would be difficult to find speakers of Standard Singapore English who were raised in Singapore and yet are entirely unfamiliar with Singlish.

Finally, Standard Singapore English benefits from both formal and informal institutional support. The formal support manifests itself not only in official government-related documents or on the news in the mass media, but also in other places where in more typical diglossic communities the H variety (acrolect) is widely used and considered more appropriate than the L variety (basilect). Nonetheless, Singapore's popular culture occasionally employs Singlish for various purposes, again mostly in products addressed to Singaporean rather than international audiences. ELIS website also mentions the use of Singlish at school, which demonstrates that some teachers tend to use features of Singlish in less formal instruction or general classroom communication and probably also tolerate the occasional use of Singlish on the part of their students (one needs to be careful in this suggestion, hence the phrase "features of Singlish" instead of "Singlish", since the latter word would indicate its consistent use). Singlish has also become part of Singapore's literature: for instance, Gwee Li Sui writes poetry in Singlish (Ho 2017), as did Arthur Yap, whose 1981 poem *2 mothers in a hdb playground* is a Singlish exchange between two women talking about their children (quoted in Crystal 2003b).

To conclude this part, one may notice that more elements of ethnolinguistic vitality can be ascribed to Standard Singapore English, particularly as regards Status and Institutional support factors; however, Singlish is also widely used, though naturally in less official or formal contexts than the standard variety, and can even become a medium of literary expression.

4.2. Historicity and purity

The fact that Standard Singapore English is overtly considered superior to Singlish may be related to two more factors, namely historicity and purity. Historicity, as defined in a footnote above, causes speakers to regard older language varieties, ones connected to tradition and folklore, as more prestigious than fairly recent ones (pidgins, different types of jargon or slang). Thus ancient dialects of Chinese spoken in Singapore are more likely to be treated as symbolizing culture and tradition than Singlish, whose history is short in comparison. Even if it is suggested that Singlish continues the tradition of trade languages such as Bazaar Malay, its sociohistorical status is hardly comparable to that of Chinese, Malay or Tamil dialects. The other significant feature is purity, a notion that would perhaps require inverted commas since there are no "pure" languages. It is part of "*Mixture* – whether or not the language consists essentially of items and structures derived from no source outside itself" (Bell 1976: 152) [original italics]. Singlish by nature combines different phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical elements of a variety of languages and dialects spoken natively by Singaporeans, with general informal English being similar in function to superstrate languages in pidgins and creoles. Just as pidgins and creoles usually enjoy little respect from their users as well as outsiders, so does Singlish when compared to "pure" English. Needless to say, this is all a matter of perception, since Standard English vocabulary contains so many non-Germanic items originating from French, Latin, and other languages that regarding it as "pure" is ideological. Though not taken seriously by descriptive linguists, linguistic purity is nonetheless a significant part of the popular perception of languages and dialects, and may affect the vitality of a variety if a standard language is considered superior and promoted as such by official bodies like government-related language academies.

5. Conclusions

From the examples presented it can be inferred that while Singapore's policy makers and educators are aware of the features of Standard English, in most cases they can see no merits whatsoever in Singlish. Standard English is supposed to be clear, precise, and useful at work, in particular on the international market. It is equal to "good English" at school not only as a subject *per se* but also as the only acceptable medium of instruction. Furthermore, it is the defining trait of the Land of Good English, whose queen needs to heal her curse-stricken subjects. Just as the Queen of Grammar represents something foreign and probably British, so does the kind of English that closely resembles Standard British English and that can even be studied and practised thanks to British and American books and websites. The government sources analyzed here use the words "good", "correct", "grammatical" and "standard" in reference to English without really explaining what they mean by them: this shows that the sociolinguistic perspective is wholly absent from the SGEM website and most of the ELIS website. As regards Singlish, on the other hand, it is not always mentioned by name, however all local forms of non-standard English are seen as barbarisms that have to be eradicated. The vernacular is seen as an annoyance, a flaw visible to the outside world (Chye 2010: 5) and a source of confusion and miscommunication that may even lead to injuries in sports. Finally, it is a spell put on the land by its enemies and speaking it can even be interpreted as a sign of disobedience to the allegorical Queen of Grammar. Good subjects can please the Queen by learning to speak "proper" English and the message to Singaporeans is the same: they are to abandon "bad" English (Singlish) in order to be better citizens. The imagery of a curse is strongly reminiscent of the words used by the PM Lee Kuan Yew, who called Singlish "a handicap we must not wish on Singaporeans" (Chye 2010: 9).

Linguistic prescriptivism does not have to involve fighting against the use of vernaculars in everyday life. Crystal (2006:

102) uses the LANGUAGE IS CLOTHING metaphor by claiming that we use different forms of language for different occasions just as we dress differently depending on the circumstances and adds, “The more types of clothing we have, the better. But having a large and varied wardrobe is only useful if we have developed a ‘clothes sense’”. If the vast majority of Singaporeans avoided Standard English altogether and insisted on using Singlish in all walks of life, including international business and academia, campaigns promoting the learning of Standard English and keeping Singlish confined to informal situations would perhaps be more justified. However, seeing that Singaporeans know when to speak Singlish and when to avoid it (Chye 2010: 22-23), the government’s prescriptive practices are not about developing people’s linguistic equivalent of a dress code or fashion sense but rather talking them into wearing the most formal suits and dresses all day every day, regardless of what they do and to whom they speak.

A different, more objective attitude can be seen in the issue of *ELIS Research Digest* (2018) discussed above. Although the document does not actually recommend the use of Singlish in education, it offers some hope in that it includes suggestions of other researchers that Singlish could support communication in the school environment just as the so-called “mother tongues”. Likewise, it cites a suggestion that a small child using Singlish is not linguistically challenged even though some non-standard features of Singlish grammar could be mistaken for limited verbal skills. Among all the government-related material discussed above only this document displays a degree of linguistic tolerance.

Does anyone need Singlish? The answer is yes. People who are descendants of several ethnic groups speaking a variety of languages and dialects arguably need a common code, something that is uniquely Singaporean, uniquely theirs. In the unofficial contexts of everyday life they do not wish to communicate using a largely exonormative version of a standardized language, one reminding them perhaps of their country’s colonial past. Like other postcolonial nations Singaporeans have reinvented the language of their former colonizers to suit their needs. The fact that the Singaporean government does not seem to appreciate this duality of English-language communication suggests that it refuses its people the right to shape their linguistic identity on their own. It remains to be seen how its language policy, particularly in education, will be shaped, i.e. whether standard language ideology will yield to a focus on tolerance and equal opportunities for Singaporeans.

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Beyond Philology No. 20/2, 2023
ISSN 1732-1220, eISSN 2451-1498

https://doi.org/10.26881/bp.2023.2.03

Diminutivization as a metaphor engendered phenomenon

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Received 4.10.2023,
received in revised form 26.11.2023,
accepted 28.11.2023.

Abstract

The roles of diminutive morphemes in English and in Polish are hardly equivalent. In English, diminutivization of a noun indicates either a relatively small size of a referent and/or a speaker's emotional attitude towards it (in the hypocoristic function). In Polish, however, besides the two aforementioned roles, a diminutive noun may mark a conception much more complex than just a smaller version of a regular noun's denotation, possibly very different than that represented by a regular noun. The semantic function of a Polish diminutive morpheme, thus, extends far beyond indicating smallness and amounts to specifying properties that may be absent from referents of regular noun forms. Oftentimes employing such a morpheme is indicative of metaphorical thinking.

Keywords

diminutive, conceptualization, imagery metaphor

Deminutywizacja jako zjawisko o genezie metaforycznej

Abstrakt

Role morfemów deminutywnych w językach angielskim i polskim nie są sobie równe. Deminutywizacja rzeczownika w angielszczyźnie podyktowana jest albo wskazaniem stosunkowo mniejszych rozmiarów denotatu i/albo wyrażeniem emocji wobec niego (funkcja hipokorystyczna). W polszczyźnie, natomiast, funkcje semantyczne morfemów deminutywnych wykraczają daleko poza wyżej opisany zakres. Rzeczowniki w formie deminutywnej mogą odnosić się do denotatów o cechach zgoła innych w porównaniu z tymi konwencjonalnie określanymi przez formy niezdrobnione; funkcje semantyczne morfemów deminutywnych są dalece szersze niż wskazywanie niewielkich gabarytów. Oprócz określania cech niewystępujących w denotatach rzeczowników w formie regularnej, ich zastosowanie często wynika z myślenia metaforycznego.

Słowa kluczowe

zdrobnienie, konceptualizacja, obrazowanie, metafora

1. Introduction

According to the accurate and comprehensive *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, the diminutive suffix is attached to "a word or name" in order to express "[…] smallness in size and sometimes endearment or condescension". This explanation may be quite satisfactory given the role which diminutives play in English, but it is seriously incomplete with regard to a language like Polish, which employs diminutives on a large scale for more numerous and by far more important purposes than those mentioned in WNWDAL. The aim of the present paper is to discuss semantic information contributed to conceptions represented by Polish complex words to which diminutive morphemes are suffixed. Especially important proves to be their conceptual (or so-called *intellectual* function), thanks to which the meaning of lexemes to which they are affixed not only becomes richer and more complex, but can be metaphorically extended.

2. Diminutives in English – the most popular approach

English-based researchers generally seem to display little interest in diminutivization. If any references to the phenomenon are available in English linguistic literature, they mostly concern word formation mechanisms, i.e. the attachment of diminutive morphemes to regular nouns. As regards their meaning, its specification in principle does not extend beyond that already quoted from *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language* succinct entry, which indicates that it boils down to expressing smallness or diminution. *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* (1992) adds that, apart from smallness, it may "[…] paradoxically [suggest] either affection or dismissal". It also identifies a diminutive as a nickname or hypocorism. If this explanation exhausts the subject in regard to English, then there is indeed no need to engage in a thorough study of the phenomenon in question by researchers concerned with that language, as its semantic role therein really appears to be of relatively little significance.

Therefore, there seems to be no reason to argue with the aforementioned stance represented by English-speaking linguists, at least those few who as little as mention diminutives in their works, e.g. Allan (1986: 240). It must, moreover, be indicated that there is practically hardly anyone to argue with, as many outstanding authors, e.g. Lyons (1968, 1995), Quirk and Greenbaum (1973), Palmer (1976), completely ignore the issue. Those who do not (Allan 1986, McArthur 1986), generally repeat definitions provided by the aforementioned sources stating that, apart from marking smallness, diminutives can be identified as hypocorisms and as means to create the atmosphere of comity and camaraderie (cf. Allan 1986: 240). All in all, it seems that diminutivization, though not alien to English, is not very important for the language in which its role is reduced to occasional marking smaller than ordinary or average size of a referent and/or expressing tenderness.

As indicated, some authors (e.g. Allan) point to the fact that the use of diminutives, on a par with hypocorisms, is characteristic of informal, in-group language. He also seems to recognize little difference between the two notions proposing that "Hypocorisms […] are without exception informal, and often have similar status to diminutives […]" (1986: 240). This statement seems to be a slight oversimplification considering the presence in standard English of such "serious" diminutive lexemes as e.g. *novella, homunculus, cigarette, piccolo, casserole.* Nevertheless, since the classes of diminutive and hypocoristic words are not clearly distinguishable, Allan's claim can be to a degree justified.

However, it must be mentioned that, despite the common opinion that English is an "adult" language, reportedly free of diminutives, which are generally associated with child speech, it sports over 50 diminutive suffixes (cf. http://www.dailywritingtips.com/50-diminutive-suffixes-and-a-cute-little-prefix/), many of which have been borrowed from other languages, such as Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, but there are also quite a few native ones. Some selected examples are:

-cule/-culus: *molecule, homunculus*
-een: *childreen, girleen*
-ella: novella
-ette: *cigarette*, *kitchenette*
-erel/-rel: *doggerel*, *mongrel*
-ie: *doggie*, *laddie*, *Willie*
-ine: *figurine*, *linguine*
-kin(*s*): *napkin*, *mannequin*, *Motherkins*
-ling: *duckling*, *gosling*, *darling*
-let/-lette: *booklet*, *leaflet*, *roulette*, *omelette*
-o: *kiddo*, *wacko*, *milko*
-sie/-sy: *footsie*, *tootsie*, *Betsy*, *sissy*
-ster: *youngster, bankster*

-ula/-ule: *spatula*, *granule*
-y: *puppy*, *Mummy*, *Bobby*
(http://www.dailywritingtips.com/50-diminutive-suffixes-and-a-cute-little-prefix/)

Indeed, a brief look at the provided examples justifies the less than limited interest of English-based linguists in diminutive morphemes, as it confirms the assumption that they only mark smallness, and/or an emotional (predominantly, though not always, positive) speaker attitude towards a given denotation. Nevertheless, even if English diminutive morphemes have little semantic significance, it is still possible to recognize two general functions which they perform:

- the semantic function, i.e. introducing the notion of smallness into the conception represented by the basic noun;
- the pragmatic – expressive function, i.e. indicating an emotional attitude of a speaker (generally positive, as in *doggie, mummy, sissy* but also possibly negative: *doggerel*).

It should be indicated that an overlap of both functions is possible, since small size in humans and animals is usually coincident with youthfulness, and children (as well as young animals) typically arouse warm feelings in normal people, whence the abundance of diminutives in child speech (by and to children), e.g. *footsie*/*tootsie*, *handies*, *girlie*, *sissy*. These two classes of lexemes (diminutives and hypocorisms) do, indeed, seem to be closely related - to the degree of merging with each other, even though a diminutive does not always have to be a hypocorism, and not every hypocorism is necessarily a diminutive (at least in Polish).

As mentioned, despite the fact that English diminutive morphemes do not contribute very significant contents into the conceptions represented by entire lexemes, they perform generally the same roles as their equivalents in other languages, such as, e.g. Polish, do. However, while the expressive function is very similar in both languages, even though Polish speakers seem to depend on diminutives to express their feelings to an incomparably higher degree than English speakers, the semantic function is in Polish by far more extensive, as the meanings thereby expressed involve a broad array of various issues beyond smallness.

3. The role of diminutives in Polish

Though diminutives are not treated very seriously by researchers concerned with English, such an attitude would be unprofessional and extravagant in regard to Polish. Definitely, in the case of the latter language it is necessary to classify as untenable Allan's statement that all hypocorisms, which, as indicated, he seems to treat on a par with diminutives "[…] are synonymous with the standard words from which they derive and should probably be included in the same lexicon entry, with some attached note that they are generally excluded from formal discourse" (1986: 240). As is further demonstrated, Polish hypocorisms may well be metaphorical, therefore it is impossible to talk about their synonymousness with standard words.

As mentioned, the quoted above statement by Allan does not apply to Polish, where the role of diminutive suffixes (the most common ones are *-ek*, *-ka*, *-ko*, marked, respectively, for the masculine, feminine and neuter gender) is extremely important, incomparably more important than in English, where diminutive morphemes are only occasionally used to indicate smallness of a noun referent. In Polish this property is not incidentally but typically signaled by means of diminutivization, whereas in English there is a strong tendency to develop separate, morphologically independent lexemes to achieve a similar semantic effect. Some examples are presented in the following table, which comprises a list of selected nouns referring to phenomena differing from each other along the parameter of size. As can be observed, the English lexemes are composed of completely distinct, simple stems, while the corresponding Polish ones are morphologically complex and contain a suffixed diminutive morpheme (Table 1).

Table 1
Common techniques to mark the difference in size –
some examples in English and Polish

English		Polish	
shed	booth	buda	bud**ka**
mountain	hill	góra	gór**ka**
bell	ring	dzwon	dzwon**ek**
gulp	sip	łyk	łycz**ek**
branch	twig	gałąź	gałąz**ka**
clock	watch	zegar	zegar**ek**
shovel	spatula	łopata	łopat**ka**

Of course, Polish also has some non-diminutive lexemes, part of the meaning of which is the conception of smaller size, such as, e.g. *kuc* 'pony', or the loaned *bus* 'minibus'; also the terms for young animals in whose case smallness is determined by age do not have to be diminutive, e.g. *szczenię* 'pup', *kocię* 'kitten', *cielę* 'calf', *źrebię* 'foal', etc. Generally, however, such words are hard to find since the need to morphologically mark the property of smallness of an entity on a noun referring to it seems irresistible to Polish speakers, who are rather more likely to describe the just mentioned smallish phenomena with such words as *kuc**yk***, *bus**ik***, *szczeni**ak***, *koci**ak***, *ciel**ak***, *źreb**ak*** – all of which are diminutive versions of regular terms. However, the non-diminutive lexemes quoted above have a technical and formal tinge, and speakers tend not to use them in casual speech.

3.1. Bogusław Kreja'a research and findings concerning the semantics of diminutives in Polish

The Polish linguist Bogusław Kreja (1969), in his account of Polish diminutives, also recognizes basic functions of such lexemes, which are the same as those performed by their counterparts in English, i.e. the expressive/emotional function, connected with the pragmatics of language, and the semantic, conceptual function. However, the latter one extends in Polish far beyond the semantic role ascribed to English lexical units of this type.

The range of emotions and attitudes which a speaker of Polish may express through the use of diminutives is very broad, and it may encompass, e.g.

- tenderness, affection
- pity
- satisfaction, contentment
- irony
- contempt, criticism
- suspicion
- servility

Attending to this function, Polish lexemes of the type in question do not necessarily instantiate metaphorical mappings. An exception is constituted by diminutive terms of endearment, expressing affection for loved ones, which often involve the A PERSON IS A SMALL ANIMAL / OBJECT type of conceptual metaphor. Some most common examples are *kotek* 'pussycat' (literally 'little cat'); *rybka* 'little fish'; *żabka* 'little frog'; *myszka* 'little mouse'; *słonko* 'little sun'; *kwiatuszek* 'little flower'. As can be observed, in such uses a lexeme is, at the same time, a diminutive and a hypocorism.

However, it is due to the semantic (conceptual) function of the discussed morpheme, which Kreja calls *intellectual*, that it is an extremely important part of the inventory of symbolic units developed by Polish. Thus, the diminutive morpheme is a marker of a certain specific construal of a cognitive input, i.e. its intellectual, conceptual assessment, a mental operation described by Langacker (1987). That assessment may merely concern the evaluation of the size of the referent of a diminutive noun, which is considered smaller than average or expected. In this respect, Polish diminutives impart the same information as English ones. Nevertheless, performing their semantic function the Polish diminutives accomplish much more than that; Kreja points out that the morpheme in question may mark differences between the referents of the regular and the diminutive nouns other than those pertaining just to size. Those differences more often than not are of qualitative rather than quantitative nature.

3.2. The partitive (singulative) function

The simplest qualitative difference marked by diminutivization of a noun is individuated, partitive construal of a mass, uncountable entity. This mental process has certain grammatical consequences and results in a speaker's using a count, potentially pluralizable, noun instead of a mass one. Langacker (1987) illustrates this process with examples similar to *She roasted a chicken for dinner*; *We ate roast chicken for dinner* or *a roof of red tiles*; *a roof of red tile*. The reference by means of a count noun is claimed to indicate the recognition of discontinuity, a bounded region (typically, though not necessarily, in such domains as physical space or time) occupied by the entity in question. By the same token, a Polish diminutive form of a mass noun may (but does not have to) refer to an individual, limited in space, sample of a mass material. Kreja calls this function of the respective morpheme the *partitive* (*singulative*) one. It may indicate the small size of a referent but also the presence of its special qualities not represented by the "regular" counterpart (cf. examples provided below, especially *mydełko*, *szkiełko*, *papierek*, *słomka*, *cukierek*). Diminutivization in the provided instances applies to mass nouns and changes them into count ones. As mentioned, the referents of so affected words, in addition to their relatively small size often display certain, often numerous, special properties. Some examples are:

- *mydło* 'soap' → *mydeł**ko*** 'bar of soap'; literally 'small soap'
- *węgiel* 'coal' → w*ęgiel**ek*** 'glowing coal'; literally 'small coal'
- *szkło* 'glass' → *szkieł**ko*** 'watch glass'; literally 'small glass'
- *papier* 'paper' → *papier**ek*** 'sweet wrap'; literally 'small paper'

- *ogień* ‘fire’ → *ogn**ik***/ *ogien**ek*** ‘glimmer’; literally ‘small fire’
- *słoma* ‘straw’ → *słom**ka*** ‘[drinking] straw’; literally ‘small straw’
- *trawa* ‘grass’ → *traw**ka*** ‘grass leaf’; literally ‘small grass’
- *cukier* ‘sugar’ → *cukier**ek*** ‘sugar candy’; literally ‘small sugar’

As can be noted, the diminutive noun may merely stand for a chunk of substance separated from a mass but otherwise displaying the same characteristics as the “parent”, e.g. *węgielek, ognik, trawka*, but, more commonly, it represents a conception involving the specification of properties additional to those “inherited” from the regular term. For example, the conception represented by *mydełko* involves the notions of scent, handy shape, color, apart from that of a chemical substance also found in the semantic representation of the non-diminutive word *mydło*. Similarly, the conceptions of such special, unprecedented properties are represented by *szkiełko*, *papierek*, *słomka* and, especially, *cukierek*.

3.3. The gradual transition from the partitive/ conceptual to the purely conceptual function

In the case of many diminutives the partitive function becomes subdued or entirely muffled, and is superseded by the clearly conceptual (intellectual) one. Such diminutives may highlight certain characteristics very different from those found in the referents of regular nouns, and the phenomena symbolized by both forms are related by only vague similarity. The following examples illustrate the fact that the similarity between the entities represented by the regular and the diminutive forms is a matter of degree. The provided list of words referring to various phenomena demonstrates that in some cases the resemblance is relatively close (as between a mitten – *rękawica* and a glove – *rękawiczka*, or a gown – *suknia* and a dress – *sukienka*), in others only few general properties are shared, e.g. *biuro* and *biurko* are both places to work and prepare documents at, *komin* and *kominek* are both fire-resistant places where smoke is emitted.

- *biuro* ‘office’ vs. *biur**ko*** ‘desk’
- *komin* ‘chimney’ vs. *komin**ek*** ‘fireplace’
- *rękawica* ‘mitten’ vs. *rękawi**czka*** ‘glove’
- *suknia* ‘gown’ vs. *sukienka* ‘dress’
- *sałata* ‘lettuce’ vs. *sałat**ka*** ‘salad’
- *potrawa* ‘dish’ vs. *potraw**ka*** ‘stew’
- *kieł* ‘fang’ vs. *kieł**ek*** ‘sprout’

Indicating that diminutive nouns highlight some properties absent from the conceptions represented by their regular counterparts, Kreja points out that the relationship between them is, nevertheless, based on “objective similarity”. Furthermore, he notes that in some cases the similarity between the denotations of regular and diminutive nouns cannot be recognized as “objective”, like in the case of, e.g. *cukier* ‘sugar’ and *cukierek* ‘candy’, or *młyn* ‘mill’ and *młynek* (*do pieprzu*) ‘pepper mill’. Consequently, he concludes that when the differences between the denotations are considerable (i.e. there is no “objective” similarity), as in, e.g. *pięt**ka*** ‘[bread] heel’, referring to a part of a loaf rather than a part of a foot, *głów**ka*** ‘nail head’, referring to the upper part of a metal object rather than a body part, the considered words must be classified as “false diminutives”. In such “false diminutives” the only function of the attached morpheme is supposed to merely indicate that a respective referent is of small size. However, from the perspective of recent developments in linguistic studies, such a conclusion definitely needs to be revised.

4. The metaphorical extensions of diminutives

Since Kreja published his paper well before the advent of the cognitive theory of conceptual metaphor, he did not consider the role of figurativeness in establishing new senses of lexical units. Yet, in view of the findings presented by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), instead of calling the apparently incidental diminutives “false” ones, it is possible, in an attempt to explain their genesis, to refer to the Cognitive Linguistics account of polysemy, where the senses of a lexeme representing a number of meanings are either[1]

- elaborations (specializations) of a basic, prototypical sense (which seems to be the case with *młyn**ek*** ‘pepper mill’, *rękawicz**ka*** ‘glove’, *biur**ko*** ‘desk’, *sałat**ka*** ‘salad’, *cukier**ek***, in whose case the referents of both regular nouns and their diminutive forms indeed share some “objective” properties, or
- metaphorical extensions, senses which are inspired by conceptualizing a certain target notion in terms of another, source one. In their case the similarity is of mental, rather than independent-of-cognition, nature; it is conceived similarity. Such is the case of e.g. *kieł**ek*** ‘sprout’.

The present author discusses these issues in relation to the phenomenon of *subjectification* in an earlier work (cf. Sokołowska 2010).

In view of certain assumptions concerning human knowledge and the way it is obtained, it seems dubious whether there is at all such thing as “objective similarity”. The unreliability and erroneousness of people’s sensory perception was already drawn attention to by the Sceptics in Ancient Greece, cf. Tatarkiewicz (1973: 146-153). Recognizing this fact leads to the conclusion that the knowledge of objective reality, of the world “as it is”, is in principle inaccessible to human mind, just because it is human, and whatever reaches the mind is determined and shaped by human perceptual and mental capacities. This idea, promoted specifically in the works by Lakoff (1982, 1987 lies at the foundation of cognitive linguistics, which claims that the human account of the reality is entirely determined by human physical and mental capacities. Therefore, the term “objective similarity” should, as it seems, be re-phrased as “the recognition

[1] Lakoff’s account of polysemy (the *Full Specification* approach) has been revised and completed with a more synthetic and economic explanation of the phenomenon, the *Principled Polysemy* approach proposed by Evans (2019: 435-445) (also in the earlier edition of 2006, co-authored by Melanie Green).

of shared properties that appear similar from the human point of view". Resemblance, in turn, is a matter of degree, and, as indicated, it is based on conceived correspondence of certain properties shared by two phenomena. The properties may be of, e.g. visual (in general sensory), functional or interactional nature, and they can be considered similar as a result of an assessment influenced by the human factor, rather than of registering by the mind an objective state of affairs.

It is such conceived (not objective) similarity that lies at the foundation of many well-known and widespread conceptual structural metaphors, such as

LIFE IS A JOURNEY
ARGUMENT IS WAR
TIME IS MONEY
THE MIND IS A CONTAINER

In their case the metaphorical mappings are indeed established on the basis of a certain similarity, yet this similarity is recognized only in conceptualizers' minds, it is not a matter of sharing any physical, "objective" properties by the two phenomena involved. Such conceived similarity can be, for example, observed between the entities represented by the polysemous English noun *ram*, which can refer to a male sheep or to an ancient military machine, both of which are associated with forceful striking, but which "objectively" have nothing in common. By the same token, the Polish diminutive noun *kiełek* applies to an entity (a sprout) whose shape and color are conceived by humans as similar to those characterizing a fang – *kieł*, even though, otherwise, the two phenomena are completely distinct. These simple examples illustrate how metaphorical thinking engenders diminutive lexemes in Polish. English, in accordance with the general policy followed in this language, has produced two distinct lexical representations of the two objects, despite the fact, registered by Polish, that they are similar to the human eye.

Generally, the metaphors involved in certain senses of Polish diminutives seem to be of the ontological type, i.e. they structure target notions (domains) in terms of common, well-known physical entities, like containers, buildings, animals and, of course, persons (source domains). Such metaphors are cognitively quite simple since the mappings are based on visual or functional, easy to conceive similarity, as in the case of *kieł* 'fang' vs. *kieł**ek*** 'sprout' – the example provided above. Metaphorical uses of words do, of course, also function on an everyday basis in English, but the mappings are not morphologically signaled, as in the above-presented example of *ram*, or also *leg* (of a table), *face* (of a watch), *foot* (of a mountain).

In metaphorical mappings marked in Polish by the use of a diminutive morpheme the source domains are typically such phenomena as body parts, animals, plants, e.g.

- *głowa* 'head' vs. dim. *główka (sałaty)* 'head (of lettuce)'
- *stopa* 'foot' vs. dim. *stop**ka*** 'presser foot of a sewing machine'
- *żaba* 'frog' vs. dim. *żab**ka*** 'wrench' or 'curtain hook'
- *świnia* 'pig' vs. dim. *świn**ka*** 'mumps'
- *róża* 'rose' vs. dim. *różycz**ka*** 'rubella/German measles'

There are numerous other examples illustrating how the observation that some property appears to be shared by two different phenomena has inspired metaphorical extensions of the meanings of diminutive nouns in Polish. It should be noted, however, that diminutivization does not always have to be indicative of metaphoricity; it may very well mark nothing beyond smallness. In the case of metaphorical uses, however, the extensions are motivated by conceived resemblance. Table 2 illustrates this process.

Table 2
Properties highlighted by Polish metaphorical diminutives – examples

Diminutive noun	Conventional sense	Metaphorical sense	Highlighted (shared) property
byczek	small bull	athletic male	massive body build
sarenka	small roe deer	long legged, slender girl (also dog)	light body build
mostek	small bridge	breastbone	connecting function
łopatka	small shovel	shoulder blade	overall shape
żabka	small frog	wrench	overall shape: broad “mouth”
krokodylek	small crocodile	crocodile clip	overall shape
świnka	small pig	mumps	roundness and puffiness of face
różyczka	small rose	rubella	red color
maczek	small poppy seeds	small print	fine structure
żółwik	small turtle	fist bump	overall shape
stopka	little foot	presser foot of a sewing machine	overall shape
paprotka	small fern	a female, participating in some organization or event, but unimportant, considered to be just an “ornament” (ironic)	function

5. Final remarks

The above-presented examples of metaphorical extensions of diminutive lexemes belong, as indicated, to the group of the simplest ontological metaphors, in which the mappings between the source and the target domains are based on physical similarity. Moreover, the target domains involved are conceptions of material entities, such as people, physical objects or physical conditions. The metaphorical cognitive strategy does not seem, thus, to be in such cases adopted for the sake of better understanding, as is normal in figurative thinking, where the typical target domains are abstract, intangible phenomena, whose mental accession and processing requires expending certain mental effort. Thinking metaphorically about such notions as time, life, love, freedom, etc., makes them mentally better manageable. By contrast, metaphorical diminutives, such as those described above, seem to be used for a more mundane purpose, which is efficient reference, rather than for enhancing comprehension. They effectively highlight properties (mostly shape or color) shared by entities whose conceptions are involved in a metaphorical mapping, thus making the so-named phenomena easier to identify. Diminutivization in Polish, often metaphorical, transparently points to those properties and, at the same time, it is a formally simple and productive method of creating new lexical items. The effectiveness and practicality of this method must be appreciated, since the Polish lexicon involves a great number of basic vocabulary (basic-level terms) coined in this way, which is used on an everyday basis by casual speakers.

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TRANSLATION STUDIES

Beyond Philology No. 20/2, 2023
ISSN 1732-1220, eISSN 2451-1498

https://doi.org/10.26881/bp.2023.2.04

Translating emotions: Emotive aspect in Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and its Polish translation by Bronisław Zieliński

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Received 13.02.2023,
received in revised form 11.11.2023,
accepted 16.11.2023.

Abstract

This article constitutes a stylistic analysis of expressing emotions in Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and its Polish translation by Bronisław Zieliński. It takes into account 8 excerpts which, on the one hand – are the most distinctive to Ernest Hemingway's literary style, and in which, at the same time, the emotive aspect is predominant, and on the other – such, which exhibit a significant analytical potential from the point of view of translation studies. Consequently, the analysis aims to investigate the linguistic means (lexical, grammatical, syntactical, semantic and phonetic) applied by both the writer and the translator. The nature of this article is qualitative; an attempt is made to present the challenges which the translator needed to face and to assess the decisions of the translator in terms of transferring emotions and style.

Keywords

emotions, translation, literary style, Ernest Hemingway, Bronisław Zieliński

Tłumaczenie emocji:
Aspekt emotywny w powieści *For Whom the Bell Tolls* Ernesta Hemingwaya i jej polskim przekładzie autorstwa Bronisława Zielińskiego

Abstrakt

Niniejszy artykuł stanowi analizę stylistyczną wyrażania emocji w powieści *For Whom the Bell Tolls* Ernesta Hemingwaya i jej polskim przekładzie autorstwa Bronisława Zielińskiego. Uwzględnia 8 fragmentów, które z jednej strony – są najbardziej charakterystyczne dla stylu literackiego Ernesta Hemingwaya, i w których jednocześnie dominuje aspekt emotywny, a z drugiej – takie, które wykazują znaczny potencjał analityczny z punktu widzenia studiów translatorycznych. Celem analizy jest zatem zbadanie środków językowych (leksykalnych, gramatycznych, składniowych, semantycznych i fonetycznych) zastosowanych zarówno przez pisarza, jak i tłumacza. Artykuł ma charakter jakościowy – podjęto w nim próbę opisania wyzwań, z jakimi musiał zmierzyć się tłumacz, a także oceny podjętych przez niego decyzji w zakresie tłumaczenia stylu oraz warstwy emocjonalnej powieści.

Słowa kluczowe

emocje, przekład, styl literacki, Ernest Hemingway, Bronisław Zieliński

1. Criticism of Ernest Hemingway's prose

Ever since his rise to stardom, Ernest Hemingway's prose came under the close scrutiny of critics, including great writers and specialists in the field of literary criticism. It seems significant to mention that reviews of Hemingway's literature varied depending on his particular work and on the personal inclinations and beliefs of the critics. Some of them believed his novels (as well as short stories) to be simple, dull, too factual and unsentimental. Although the repetitive character of Hemingway's style became a valued trademark of his prose, it may be that it was the idiosyncratic repetitions that were criticized most often. Commenting on *Across the River and Into the Trees*, Morton Dauwen Zabel pointed out the writer's "unbelievable prodigies of flatness, mawkishness, repetition, and dead wastes of words" (1950, cited in Meyers 2005: 288), and by no means was he alone in his opinion. Also Mario Praz assessed Hemingway's style as "monotonous in the long run" (1929, cited in Meyers 2005: 90), and Donald Davidson claimed it to be an "imitation of science […], a hybrid beast, ill-begotten and sterile" (1929, cited in Meyers 2005: 98).

Apart from his literary style, Hemingway's views were also often considered controversial. Some insisted that the writer propagates brutality and a misogynist attitude towards women. For instance, Max Eastman (1933, cited in Meyers 2005) and Paul Theroux (1971, cited in Meyers 2005) both agree that Hemingway's prose promotes killing and exudes an exaggerated picture of masculinity. Linda Patterson Miller admits that it is a common belief that "Hemingway's world of machismo both alienates and undermines women" (2002: 4). Hemingway's novels were also thought to be egocentric and insignificant in terms of the message they carry. Alfred Kazin described one of Hemingway's characters as "too full of Hemingway's pettiest, most irrelevant opinions (1950, cited in Meyers 2005: 292), and Bernard De Voto argued that Hemingway in his books practised exhibitionism (1935, cited in Meyers 2005: 160).

It may be that such accusations come from the misconception of Hemingway's "philosophy of writing", which is based on transferring one's experiences and observations to a work of literature. In his introduction to *Men at War*, Hemingway himself wrote that "a writer's job is to tell the truth" (1942), and it seems that he did his job perfectly. Hemingway's literature is a reflection of reality, a description of human struggles, and it should be "read with passion, with commitment and without pretension" (Patterson 2002: 22).

Therefore, it must be pointed out that Hemingway was indeed a great and well-respected writer, and that his innovative style strongly influenced the world literature. A variety of critics and writers praised Hemingway for his extraordinary and meaningful style. Baker, for instance, believed that Hemingway learned to "get the most from the least, how to prune language, how to multiply intensities and how to tell nothing but the truth in a way that allowed for telling more than the truth" (Baker 1972:117). Meanwhile, Dorothy Parker wrote that Hemingway "has an unerring sense of selection", and that he "discards details with a magnificent lavishness" (1927, cited in Meyers 2005).

Whether or not one approves Hemingway's exceptional prose, one should admit that his style is very consistent and thought-through. His works perfectly fit into *the iceberg theory*, for their minimalistic form and straightforward plot hide deeper meanings and truths which wait to be unveiled. One can say that Hemingway's literature is an art of things unsaid. However, Hemingway's declarative sentences and repetitions, spare usage of adjectives and ornamental language, and, finally, preference for dialogues and cold facts may turn out to be very misleading for the receiver. According to Henry Louis Gates, Hemingway embraces a style "in which meaning is established through dialogue, through action, and silences—a fiction in which nothing crucial—or at least very little—is stated explicitly" (Gates, qtd. in Putnam 2006). One of these crucial aspects Gates refers to is certainly the emotive layer of the story. Hemingway's works are, in fact, rich with emotions, but they remain hidden or implied and are expressed through various stylistic devices.

Thus, Hemingway's prose, being highly developed in terms of style and emotions, constitutes a real challenge for a translator. Not only does he need to transfer all key aspects regarding the plot and the literary style, but also the whole emotive layer, which is not given directly. First, as a reader, the translator needs to decode emotions hidden in the text, and only then may he begin to look for appropriate stylistic devices and translation techniques that will help him transfer the content of the novel fully.

2. Criticism of Hemingway's translations

Most of Hemingway's works were translated into Polish by Bronisław Zieliński. The translator was often praised for the accuracy of his translations and his ability to imitate the style of the American writer. Anna Rogulska, in her essay, dubbed Bronisław Zieliński the "Polish Hemingway" (2016: 97), which seems very appropriate, considering that thanks to Zieliński, Hemingway's literature gained popularity among Polish readers.

According to Arezou Nezam and Hossein Pirnajmuddin, also Persian translations of Hemingway's prose turned out to be quite successful. The scholars analysed Persian translations of *The Old Man and the Sea,* paying special attention to translating ellipsis. The study proves that most of the Persian translators successfully transferred the content of the novel without affecting the original style. In order to achieve such balance, they mostly resorted to literal translation.

Irina Orujova investigated Russian translations of short stories regarding imitating Hemingway's idiosyncratic style. According to her study, Russian translators managed to translate short stories quite accurately. However, due to the natural differences between English and Russian, they often resorted to the compensation technique, which resulted in adding and diminishing the emotional load in some specific fragments. The author also mentions that Russian translations are eagerly read by the target readers.

José Rodríguez Pazos, in turn, analysed contextual mismatches in the Spanish translation of *The Sun Also Rises*. According to the scholar, Joaquín Adsuar's translation is marked by a complete miscomprehension of the original novel. The Spanish translation lacks accuracy in terms of style and content; the translator introduces new, often misleading, information, and, surprisingly, enriches the linguistic layer of the text. Rodríguez also highlights the fact that the Spanish translation is not as widely read as the original, which seems even more striking, considering that so many of Hemingway's works were closely connected to the Spanish culture.

The following article aims to contribute to the discourse of Hemingway translation studies by presenting a slightly new insight into transferring his literary style. Although much has been said about translating the uniqueness of Hemingway's style of writing, it seems that not enough attention has been paid to the aspect of emotionality, which appears to be one of the core elements of the author's style. The analysis, therefore, seeks to indicate the presence of emotions in Hemingway's prose and emphasize the importance of transferring them into the target language.

3. Implemented methodology

The following analysis deals with Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, which was first published by Charles Scribner's Sons in 1940. The novel tells a story of a young American man named Robert Jordan, who comes to Spain as a volunteer during the Spanish Civil War. Following the orders, he cooperates with a Spanish guerrilla, a group of anti-fascists hiding in the mountains. As a dynamiter, he is trying to complete the task assigned to him – blowing up a bridge. The book describes four days from the lives of people affected by the war. It is a story of great courage, brotherhood, love, and dedication. The novel is often said to be Hemingway's most prominent piece of writing. The book was translated into Polish by Bronisław Zieliński and published in 1957 as *Komu bije dzwon*.

Eight different excerpts are taken into consideration and juxtaposed with their Polish translations done by Zieliński. The criterion for choosing fragments was their emotional and stylistic richness. Thus, the analysis is based on excerpts, whose common factor is dominant emotive function; it includes both fragments in which emotions are explicitly stated, and such in which emotions remain hidden or implied.

The chosen *For Whom the Bell Tolls* fragments constitute a representation of multiple linguistic means Hemingway uses in the book to express emotions. They come from different parts of the novel and include narration, free direct discourse/free indirect discourse, as well as direct discourse (dialogues). Further, to broaden the analysis, the excerpts presenting a variety of feelings and emotions were chosen.

Since the article aims to investigate the differences and similarities between the writer and the translator in operating style and transferring emotions, first it is necessary to ask a fundamental question: What linguistic and stylistic means does Hemingway use to express emotions? Further, it is crucial to consider, whether Zieliński follows Hemingway's techniques or uses some different devices to transfer the emotional load of the novel.

An attempt is made to compare Hemingway's novel with its Polish translation at two levels, emotional and linguistic, and determine whether the emotive layer has been successfully translated. Did Zieliński manage to imitate Hemingway's style and properly transfer the emotions? Did he capture the covertly expressed emotions and attempt to translate them?

Since the nature of this study is descriptive, and qualitative research methods are applied, first, some key notions should be discussed in order to systemise the findings presented in the article and avoid possible confusion.

3.1. Feelings or emotions?

To analyse a literary work in terms of emotions and feelings it expresses, first, these two concepts should be defined. Since both are commonly used in everyday language and often used interchangeably, it may be surprising to some that these two terms do not exactly remain synonyms. In fact, the words "emotions" and "feelings" are distinct notions.

Anna Wierzbicka (1999) states that a line should be drawn between these two concepts. When it comes to defining emotions, she agrees with Michelle Rosaldo, an anthropologist, who defined emotions as "thoughts somehow felt in our bodies" or "embodied thoughts" (Rosaldo 1980: 143, qtd. in Wierzbicka 1999: 2). In accordance with this assumption, one can speak about emotions only when a thought is followed by a certain human bodily response. For instance, sadness is to be classified as an emotion because a sad thought is normally followed by tears, the same as in the case of fear, a thought of performing on stage is followed by a trembling voice.

Thus, the relations between emotions and thoughts on one hand, and emotions and bodily responses on the other, make emotions a very complex notion, far more complex than feelings. It is of high importance to note that if one wants to speak about the difference between the words, "emotions" and "feelings", one must not be confined only to the lexis, as the discrepancy goes far beyond the borders of language. Consequently, whereas emotions remain strongly connected to simultaneous appearance of thought and physiological reaction, feelings can be only associated with one of these factors at a time. According to Wierzbicka (1999: 2), there is a feeling of hunger, not an emotion of hunger, because hunger does not constitute a response to a thought, only to a bodily sensation as in the case of a feeling of loneliness (not an emotion of loneliness) there is no particular reaction of the body that would come after the thought. However, it seems vital to highlight the fact that Wierzbicka clearly opposes treating the word 'feeling' as a substitute for 'bodily feeling'.

3.2. *Emotion words, emotion-related words* and *emotion-laden words*

Language, without a doubt, remains a great means of expressing ideas, emotions, and feelings. Writers can use it in a variety of ways: apply different types and modes of narratives, enrich sentences with stylistic devices, or even play with graphic notation. Considering the emotionality that language can articulate, Pavlenko (2008) argues that, aside from abstract and concrete words, in the mental lexicon, there should be distinguished three more types of words: *emotion words*, *emotion-related words* and *emotion-laden words*.

The researcher states that emotion words are "seen as words that directly refer to particular affective states ("happy", "angry") or processes ("to worry", "to rage"), and function to either describe ("she is sad") or express them ("I feel sad")" (Pavlenko 2008:148). Emotion-related words, in her division, are words "("tears", "tantrum", "to scream") that describe behaviours related to particular emotions without naming the actual emotions" (Pavlenko 2008:148). Finally, emotion-laden words "are seen here as words that do not refer to emotions directly but instead express ("jerk", "loser") or elicit emotions from the interlocutors ("cancer", "malignancy")" (Pavlenko 2008:148).

The division Pavlenko proposes can be of great help when it comes to analysing literature, especially Hemingway's prose of spare style and hidden meanings. Her view goes together with Hemingway's *iceberg theory*, which, in its essence, is based on textual implications. In light of Hemingway's fiction, one might even argue to coin a term *emotion-laden phrases* that would describe characteristic phrases Hemingway creates in order to express emotions.

3.3. Foregrounding and defamiliarization

Also, the concept of foregrounding, introduced by the Prague School of the 1930s, may be relevant while analysing the emotional layer of a text, for it is closely connected to both style and content of a literary work. According to Mukarovský, foregrounding stands for "the range of stylistic variations that occur in literature, whether at the phonetic level (e.g., alliteration, rhyme), the grammatical level (e.g., inversion, ellipsis), or the semantic level (e.g. metaphor, irony)" (Miall and Kuiken 1994: 390).

Further, Leech and Short defined this notion as "artistically motivated deviation" (Leech and Short 2007: 39). Verdonk, on the other hand, states that foregrounding is equivalent to "conspicuous elements [that] hold a promise of stylistic relevance and thereby rouse the reader's interest or emotions" (Verdonk 2002: 6). Therefore, foregrounding, whose role is to single out the most significant fragments of the work by contrasting them with the background, may be treated as a means of expressing emotions, both in a covert and overt way. Applying this strategy lets the author make the text more unpredictable and, more importantly, express his individual style and the message that hides behind it.

Since an analysis of the emotive aspect is to be made, it also seems worthwhile to mention defamiliarization. According to Viktor Shklovski, the notion refers to the way of depicting reality in literature. The scholar describes it as a technique of "estranging objects and complicating form" (Shklovski 1990: 6). One can also say that defamiliarization is about expressing familiar things in a non-obvious manner, so that the reader could be attracted by the strangeness of a literary text. Similarly to foregrounding, Shklovski's concept constitutes a great device for a writer to transfer emotions, as well as for a reader to decode them.

3.4. Levels of analysis

It seems without a doubt that even small units of language can have great significance for expressing style, content, and, consequently, emotions. A writer who attempts to convey a message has plenty of options, from grammatical structures and idiomatic word sequences, through individual words, to repetitions of sounds, and, even, the usage of punctuation. However, to provide a thorough and detailed analysis of such a complex concept as language, it seems of high importance to make use of a systematised set. David Crystal and Derek Davy provide a perfect tool for such language analysis by organising means of expression into five main levels, which are as follows: phonetic/

graphitic, phonological/graphological, grammatical, lexical, and semantic (Crystal and Davy 1969: 15).

4. Comparative analysis of the emotive aspect in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and its Polish translation

Excerpt 1

THEY were walking through the heather of the mountain meadow and Robert Jordan felt **the brushing of the heather** against his legs, felt **the weight of his pistol** in its holster against his thigh, felt **the sun** on his head, felt **the breeze** from the snow of the mountain peaks **cool** on his back and, in his hand, he felt the girl's hand **firm** and **strong**, the fingers locked in his. From it, from the palm of her hand against the palm of his, from their fingers locked together, and from her wrist across his wrist something came from her hand, her fingers and her wrist to his that was as **fresh** as the first **light air** that moving toward you over the sea barely wrinkles the glassy surface of a calm, as **light** as a feather moved across one's lip, or a leaf falling when there is no **breeze**; so **light** that it could be felt with **the touch** of their fingers alone, but that was so strengthened, so intensified, and made so urgent, so **aching** and so **strong** by the **hard pressure** of their fingers and the close **pressed** palm and wrist, that it was as though a current moved up his arm and filled his whole body with an **aching** hollowness of wanting.
(*For Whom the Bell Tolls* 1995: 158)

Szli między wrzosami przez górską polanę i Robert Jordan czuł, jak **ocierają** mu się o nogi, czuł na udzie **ciężar pistoletu** w kaburze, na głowie **ciepło słońca**, na plecach **chłodny podmuch** dolatujący od śniegów na szczytach gór, a w dłoni dłoń dziewczyny, **mocną** i **jędrną**, z palcami wplecionymi między jego palce. Od tej dłoni, **przyciśniętej** do jego dłoni, od splecionych razem palców, od kiści **dotykającej** jego kiści przenikało w jego dłoń, palce i kiść coś tak **świeżego**, jak pierwszy **delikatny powiew**, który nadlatując znad morza zaledwie marszczy jego szklistą, gładką powierzchnię — coś tak **lekkiego** jak puch osiadający na wargach czy liść, który opada, kiedy nie ma **wiatru**; coś, co było tak **lekkie**, że mogły to wyczuć tylko ich palce, ale zarazem dzięki **uściskowi** palców, dzięki **przywartym** do siebie kiściom i dłoniom stawało się tak silne, wezbrane, tak nieodparte, **bolesne** i **mocne**, że po ręce przebiegał mu jakby prąd, który wypełniał całe ciało **bolesnym drążącym** pragnieniem.
(*Komu bije dzwon* 2000: 220)

For Whom the Bell Tolls is rich in passages where emotionality is not explicitly stated. Such a way of presenting emotions almost entirely prevents them from being overdrawn; they are unlikely to be perceived as artificial or exaggerated. Instead of constructing long-winded sentences full of abstract and ornamental language, Hemingway bases the narration on familiar concepts and only pushes the boundary a little towards the unfamiliar. Thus, Wyatt's words, although said in a different context, seem to be true also in the aspect of evoking emotions: "Here, we are introduced to a central Hemingway's effect, a sense of the world as at once mysterious and homelike" (2016: 14). One could also say that Hemingway tends to slightly defamiliarize well-known concepts of "real-life" situations.

In the above excerpt, Robert and Maria (the main lovers of the story) are left alone by Pilar and are about to make love. The narration is based on a very familiar concept, that is, physicality – one that is expressed through various stylistic means and is so elaborately foregrounded that it simply cannot remain unnoticed.

First, it should be noted that, in this case, emotions are transferred at the semantic level, for the above paragraph is full of references to the body and senses. In such a short piece of writing, body parts are mentioned 22 times (above, underlined), including multiple repetitions. When it comes to senses, various types of tactile experience are listed, for instance: feeling the weight of something, touch, pressure, or even ache (above, in bold). Interestingly, even the sensation of the sun's heat and the coolness of the breeze are presented as tactile experiences, since they refer to concrete body parts. Additionally, the only metaphor which occurs in the excerpt is connected to the flesh. Hemingway writes: "as though a current moved up his arm", which shows how thematically consistent the above fragment is.

Hemingway often makes use of grammar and resorts to a repetition of particular words and phrases. Generally, Hemingway's repetitions constitute a significant element of the emotive aspect of *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Zieliński, therefore, faced a great challenge to transfer them into Polish. The juxtaposition of the above excerpt with its original clearly shows that Zieliński consistently follows Hemingway's style in expressing emotional states through physicality. First of all, he does not avoid the numerous references to senses (above, in bold) and body (above, underlined). There can be found 23 words connected to the human body, which is one more than in the original version. When it comes to physicality, it is crucial to highlight the fact that Zieliński succeeded in finding a Polish equivalent of the noun "palm", which would not be the same as the established equivalent of the noun "hand". Consequently, he decided to reserve the word "dłoń" only for "hand", and came up with the word "kiść" (its closest English equivalent would be "bunch"), which could replace "palm". Due to this separation of nouns, the translator did not need to reduce the number of repetitions.

Thanks to the intensity of the references to the body and senses in the above fragment, the writer builds up the emotional load. The temptation and arousal of the main characters intensify and seem more genuine as Hemingway bombards the receiver with repetitions. Zieliński consistently recreates this technique; he foregrounds the lexis and imitates the repetitions, thereby transferring the same (or at least nearly the same) emotionality (desire, intimacy, and arousal).

It is also crucial to point out that the dominating means of expression used in the paragraph is parallel syntax. Within 216 words, the verb "felt" itself is repeated six times. It is evident that the author deliberately keeps using the same verb, as five of these repetitions are located within one sentence, and they could be easily omitted. Further, the parallelism is also expressed through prepositional phrases, in which the preposition "from" is combined with different body parts, for instance: "from the palm of her hand", "from their fingers", etc. Finally, Hemingway also builds parallelism by using adjective phrases: "as + adjective + as" and "so + adjective".

Zieliński tries to recreate the parallel syntax. However, since he is aware of the differences between English and Polish, he does not copy it entirely. He builds the parallel with repetitions, but he simply limits their number. Accordingly, there are not so many repetitions of the equivalent of the verb “to feel”. Zieliński uses the verb “czuć” and its derivative “wyczuć” three times. Five repetitions of the phrases “from + body part” are reflected in three prepositional phrases. What is more, in order to highlight them, the translator places them in succession at the beginning of the clauses separated with commas.

Further, when it comes to repeating the adjective phrases, Zieliński reconstructs them; however, he adjusts them to the target language. He decides not to repeat the adverb “tak” (in English “so”) as many times as it is used in the original. Instead, he groups the adjectives and puts the adverb in front of the whole group. As a result, the repetitions do remain visible, but do not introduce any excessive unnaturalness into the Polish language.

The next important aspect is the usage of antithesis, which is to introduce contrast by mentioning two contrary sensations, namely, a feeling of warmth (“felt the sun on his head”) and a feeling of cold (“felt the breeze from the snow of the mountain peaks cool on his back”). Such juxtaposition of contrasting epithets also increases the emotional value of the scene.

It seems that the translation technique chosen by Zieliński in this excerpt may be compensation (Molina and Albir 2002), as he skips some repetitions, but, at the same time, he emphasizes other parts of the paragraph. The emphasis might be seen in the following fragment: “a w dłoni dłoń dziewczyny, mocną i jędrną”. The translator plays with the word order, deliberately opposing two identical nouns (they could be easily and naturally split by placing the two following adjectives between them). Such a juxtaposition stands out from the text (both graphically and phonetically) and enhances the feeling of intimacy between the characters. Moreover, the very end of the paragraph gains more emotionality in Zieliński’s text, for he translated “with an aching hollowness of wanting” as “bolesnym drążącym pragnieniem”. The translator changes the lexical category of the word “hollowness” from a noun to an adjective “drążącym”, which can be treated as another reference to the senses. Also, the choice of the very last word seems to have a deeper meaning in Polish. “Pragnienie”, apart from its sexual tenor, may bring to mind another meaning, namely, the physiological one (in English “thirst”).

All the means discussed regarding the above excerpt used by both Hemingway and Zieliński play a key role in transferring the characters’ feelings and emotions. References to physicality and senses imply that Robert and Maria experience the feeling of desire, intimacy, and arousal. Further, repetitions, parallel syntax, and antitheses are intended to amplify these feelings to show excitement, rapture, and pleasure.

Excerpt 2

Then they were together so that as the hand on the watch moved, unseen now, they knew that nothing could ever happen to the one that did not happen to the other, that no other thing could happen more than this; that this was all and always; this was what had been and now and whatever was to come. This, that they were not to have, they were having. They were having now and before and always and now and now and now. Oh, now, now, now, the only now, and above all now, and there is no other now but thou now and now is thy prophet. Now and forever now. Come now, now, for there is no now but now. Yes, now. Now, please now, only now, not anything else only this now, and where are you and where am I and where is the other one, and not why, not ever why, only this now; and on and always please then always now,

A potem byli razem, tak że kiedy wskazówka zegarka, na którą już teraz nie patrzył, posuwała się naprzód, wiedzieli, że jednemu z nich nie może zdarzyć się nic, co by się nie zdarzyło drugiemu, że nie może się zdarzyć nic więcej niż to; że to jest i wszystko, i zawsze — to, co było, jest i kiedykolwiek będzie. Mieli to, czego mieli nie mieć. Mieli to teraz i przedtem, i zawsze, i teraz, i teraz, i teraz. Och, teraz, teraz, teraz, jedynie teraz, nade wszystko teraz, i nie ma innego teraz niż ty, i ono jest twoim prorokiem. Teraz i na zawsze teraz. Chodź teraz, teraz, bo nie ma innego teraz. Tak, teraz. Błagam cię, teraz, tylko teraz, nie ma nic, tylko to jedno — gdzie jesteś, gdzie jestem i gdzie to drugie, nie pytaj, nigdy nie pytaj, jest tylko teraz; i jeszcze, i na zawsze, błagam na zawsze teraz, zawsze teraz, już na zawsze jedno jedyne, jedno jedyne, nie ma nic, tylko

always now, for now always one now; one only one, there is no other one but one now, one, going now, rising now, sailing now, leaving now, wheeling now, soaring now, away now, all the way now, all of all the way now; one and one is one, is one, is one, is one, is still one, is still one, is one descendingly, is one softly, is one longingly, is one kindly, is one happily, is one in goodness, is one to cherish, is one now on earth with elbows against the cut and slept-on branches of the pine tree with the smell of the pine boughs and the night; to earth conclusively now, and with the morning of the day to come.
(*For Whom the Bell Tolls* 1995: 379)

to jedno, a teraz już idzie, wznosi się, ulatuje, pędzi, toczy się, wzbija, coraz wyżej i dalej, i dalej; nie ma teraz tego drugiego, jest tylko jedno; jedno i jedno jest jednym, tym jednym, tym jednym, tym jednym i ciągle jednym, wciąż jednym, odpływające, miękko, tęsknie, łagodnie, szczęśliwie, w rozkoszy, w uwielbieniu, i znów na ziemi, z łokciami na uciętych, wygniecionych od snu gałęziach, w zapachu sośniny i nocy, i już się spełniło, na ziemi, w świcie nadchodzącego dnia.
(*Komu bije dzwon* 2000: 508-509)

The above passage shows how well free indirect discourse works when it comes to conveying emotions and feelings connected to sexuality. First, it should be emphasized that this type of speech presentation is not as frequently used in literature as direct speech, and yet this makes the emotions evoked here unique. Hemingway very smoothly intertwines here the third-person narration with the perspective of the main character and enriches all this with a distinctive number of repetitions. The figurative and abstract description defamiliarizes the sexual act, which results in conveying an emotional load weight.

The excerpt presents a considerable number of repetitions, which highlight Maria's great feeling of euphoria, ease, and desire. The conjunction "and" is repeated 22 times, and the adverb "now" is repeated 41 times. One may also notice that Hemingway operates the language at the phonetic and graphic levels. Since he eagerly reaches for one-syllable words: "one", "now", "no", "and" the paragraph gains a rhythmical pattern and visual repeatability.

One of the main characteristics of excerpt 2 is the focus on the notion of time (semantic level). Much emphasis is put on the adverbs of time and frequency: “now” repeated 41 times, “always” repeated 6 times, “forever”, “before”, and “still”. It seems that the point of all these references is to convey love and trust, that is, feelings which “whatever was to come” remained timeless and imperishable. It is also worthwhile to mention the repetitions of the pronouns/adjectives: “one” and “other”, appearing in different configurations. They constitute a direct reference to the feeling of unity.

What may be noticed at first glance is that the translator does not try to deprive Hemingway of his trademark. He follows the repetitive character of the text; however, the way in which he does it merits a commentary. Accordingly, analysing the excerpts word by word shows that Zieliński does not translate the text by dividing it into sequences, but rather treats it as a coherent whole and composes it anew in Polish, focusing on the emotive aspect of the paragraph (desire, love, euphoria, and ease).

It becomes evident that Zieliński limits the number of the individual lexical units, thereby preventing the passage from being excessively and unnaturally verbose. The time adverb “now” (used 41 times in the original) was translated as “teraz” (used only 23 times), the pronoun and the adjective “one” (used 24 times) was translated into different forms of “jeden” (17 times), and the frequency adverb “always” (6 times) into “zawsze” (repeated 7 times) also in the form “na zawsze” as an equivalent of the English “forever”. The negations, which in English are expressed both through the determiner “no” and the adverb “not” (mentioned 9 times) were translated into “nie” (10 times).

It must be stated that the phonetic and graphic patterns in the Polish translation could not be expressed so explicitly as in the original. However, it seems quite obvious that, in this case, the fault lies not with the translator, but it rather comes from the specificity of the Polish language, which is rather poor in one-syllable words. Being unable to recreate all the patterns used by Hemingway, Zieliński partly maintains the rhythm by frequently repeating the conjunction "i".

Another feature worth mentioning is the usage of the verb "mieć", as it helps the translator to partly compensate for the previous reduction of repetitions. Taking advantage of the Polish language, Zieliński repeats "mieć" in differently conjugated nine instances, which replaces the English "to have" and "there is" (each repeated 3 times). The above excerpt seems the most expanded in terms of intertwining repetitions in the whole novel, and this is possibly why Zieliński does not limit the constant linking of the phrases with the conjunction "and" (used 22 times in the original); in the target text the conjunction "i" is mentioned 21 times.

Excerpt 3

Then there was the smell of heather crushed and the roughness of the bent stalks under her head and the sun bright on her closed eyes and all his life he would remember the curve of her throat with her head pushed back into the heather roots and her lips that moved smally and by themselves and the fluttering of the lashes on the eyes tight closed against the sun and against everything, and for her everything was red, orange, gold-red from the sun on the closed eyes, and it all was that color, all of it, the filling, the possessing, the having, all of that color, all in a blindness of that color. For him it was a dark passage which led to nowhere, then to nowhere, then again to nowhere, once again to nowhere, always and forever to nowhere, heavy on the elbows in the earth to nowhere, dark,

Potem był zapach rozgniatanych wrzosów, szorstkość przygiętych łodyg pod jej głową i słońce świecące w zamknięte oczy, a on zapamiętał na zawsze wygięcie jej szyi, gdy odchyliła głowę w tył, między korzenie wrzosu, lekkie, mimowolne drganie warg, trzepotanie powiek zaciśniętych mocno przed światłem słońca, przed wszystkim — a dla niej wszystko było czerwone, pomarańczowe, złotoczerwone od słońca padającego na zamknięte powieki, i wszystko miało tę barwę — całe spełnienie, posiadanie, osiągnięcie — wszystko było tej barwy, oślepiające tą barwą. Dla niego było to mrocznym przejściem prowadzącym do nikąd, znowu do nikąd i znowu do nikąd, i jeszcze raz do nikąd, wciąż i na zawsze do nikąd, gdy leżał ciężko na łokciach wpartych w ziemię — do nikąd, w mrok, w nieskończoną nicość

never any end to nowhere, hung on all time always to unknowing nowhere, this time and again for always to nowhere, now not to be borne once again always and to nowhere, now beyond all bearing up, up, up and into nowhere, suddenly, scaldingly, holdingly all nowhere gone and time absolutely still and they were both there, time having stopped and he <u>felt the earth move out and away from under them.</u>
(*For Whom the Bell Tolls* 1995: 159)

i ciągle w tę niewiadomą nicość, teraz i na zawsze do nikąd, i znowu nieznośnie, raz jeszcze do nikąd — aż wreszcie ponad wszelką wytrzymałość, coraz mocniej, mocniej, mocniej, nagle, piekąco, wciąż w nicość, i wtem nicość znikła, czas się zatrzymał, oboje znaleźli się poza czasem i wtedy <u>uczuł, że ziemia poruszyła się i usunęła spod nich.</u>
(*Komu bije dzwon* 2000: 221-222)

In the above excerpt, emotions are transferred mainly on the semantic level. The narrator constantly refers to the sense of sight, conveying the emotional states through images. The fragment is focused on the visual; Maria's body (seen by Robert) is described through brightness, colours, etc. (above, in bold). The idyllic picture, calm and flooded with sunlight, demonstrates deep affection, fondness, and incipient love. One can also say that the passage is packed with emotion-laden phrases (above, underlined). Also, a certain semantic pattern is visible in the text. Numerous repetitions of an abstract concept "nowhere" are contrasted with various sensory experiences, mainly connected to nature.

Furthermore, there is one more distinct aspect of Hemingway's style, which lets him intensify the emotional load of the story, namely, the usage of the conjunction "and". In the above excerpt, for example, the word "and" is repeated nine times within one long sentence. Such construction of the passage does not let the emotionality subside; there are no full stops, which could put it on hold. Instead, the emotive aspect is amplified by building up further sentence parts and linking them with "ands". This stylistic device is very frequently used by Hemingway (in narrative parts as well as in free direct discourse or free indirect discourse). According to Wyatt: "it is a prose of 'quick choppy strokes' except where it is a prose of sentences extending themselves through 'ands'" (Wyatt 2016: 14).

While comparing the original excerpt with its translation, one can notice that Zieliński attempts to transfer the emotional load of the paragraph by following the sentence structure. The source fragment consists only of two sentences, whose length is of vital importance for intensifying Maria and Robert's feelings. The translator imitates the writer's style and decides not to hold the emotionality back by dividing the sentences. To keep the proper flow of the first sentence, he reaches for em dashes and commas, avoiding the constant repetitions of "ands". However, in the second sentence, since it is almost entirely based on repetitions, Zieliński follows Hemingway's strategy and inserts nine conjunctions "i", which is even two more than in the original.

The next crucial aspect visible in the above paragraph is the defamiliarization of the sexual act (also mentioned in excerpt 2). Hemingway's narrator describes it in a very subtle, abstract way, yet still maximally enriches the emotional layer of the text. Zieliński, being aware of the fact that the emotional weight of the excerpt lies in its abstractness, tries to stick to the original as close as it is possible. One may notice that he uses quite a lyrical language, thoroughly chooses the vocabulary, and cares for the consistency of the images that are being described.

Excerpt 4

"Then we will do the bridge without **thy** aid," Robert Jordan said to Pablo. "No," Pablo said, and Robert Jordan watched his face sweat. "**Thou wilt** blow no bridge here." "No?" "**Thou wilt** blow no bridge," Pablo said heavily. "**And thou**?" Robert Jordan spoke to the wife of Pablo who was standing, still and huge, by the fire. She turned toward them and said, "I am for the bridge." Her face was lit by the fire and it was flushed

— Wobec tego zrobimy most bez **twojej** pomocy — powiedział do Pabla. — Nie — odparł Pablo, a Robert Jordan zauważył, że na twarz wystąpiły mu krople potu. — **Ty** tu nie będziesz wysadzał żadnego mostu. — Nie? — **Nie wysadzisz** żadnego mostu — powtórzył z naciskiem Pablo. — A co wy na to? — zapytał Robert Jordan kobiety Pabla, która stała przy ogniu, zwalista i nieruchoma. Obróciła się do nich i powiedziała: —

and it shone warm and dark and handsome now in the firelight as it was meant to be. "*What do you say*?" Pablo said to her and Robert Jordan saw the betrayed look on his face and the sweat on his forehead as he turned his head.
(*For Whom the Bell Tolls* 1995: 53)

Ja jestem za tym, żeby most zrobić. Ogień oświetlał jej twarz ciepło zarumienioną, smagłą i przystojną teraz w jego blasku. — *Co ty gadasz*? — zapytał Pablo, a kiedy obracał głowę, Robert Jordan dostrzegł na jego twarzy wyraz człowieka zdradzonego, na czole zaś krople potu.
(*Komu bije dzwon* 2000: 79-80)

Translating some aspects of the novel seems to be very problematic due to the limitations of the Polish language. One such aspect is the usage of archaic forms of pronouns and verbs (above, in bold), which aim to imitate the Spanish formal "usted". In excerpt 4, for instance, the archaic forms are supposed to express both respect and irreverence towards the interlocutor.

Since directly reflecting this means turns out to be unworkable in Polish, Zieliński, to convey emotions, follows the compensation technique (Molina and Albir 2002). In order to transfer Robert's contempt towards Pablo, he changes the archaic forms into regular 2nd person singular (above, in bold). When Robert addresses Pilar, in turn, the translator decides to apply *pluralis maiestatis* – 2nd person plural (above, underlined), a form which was used in the past as an honorific (in addressing parents, kings, persons of high status, etc.), and later as a language of the Communist party. It is also worth mentioning that, in the above fragment, Zieliński tries to highlight the change of the register in the original. When the narrator of the novel reaches for the pronoun "you", the translator emphasizes it by lowering the register of the sentence (above, in italics). However, as the novel quite frequently builds up the emotional load (respect, affection, love, etc.) thanks to the usage of archaisms, there are some fragments in which Zieliński completely omits this means of expression.

Excerpt 5

"She said that nothing is done to oneself that one does not accept and that if I loved someone it would take it all away. I wished to die, you see." "What she said is true." "**And now I am happy that I did not die. I am so happy that I did not die.** And you can love me?" "Yes. I love you now." (*For Whom The Bell Tolls* 1995: 73)	— Że człowiekowi nie dzieje się nic, póki się z tym nie godzi, i że jeżeli kogoś pokocham, to tamto wszystko ode mnie odejdzie. Bo, widzisz, ja chciałam umrzeć. — To prawda, co powiedziała. — **A teraz jestem szczęśliwa, że nie umarłam. Taka jestem szczęśliwa, że nie umarłam!** I będziesz mógł mnie kochać? — Tak. Już teraz cię kocham. (*Komu bije dzwon* 2000: 106)

Translating emotionality is naturally connected to finding the most relevant equivalents of emotion words, emotion-related and emotion-laden words. In the below excerpt, the narrator overtly speaks about Maria's feelings, using the adjective "happy" (above, in bold). Thus, it is quite obvious that the feeling that is being described is contentment; Maria says she is happy with her present situation. It should be noted that no other stronger positive feelings or emotions (happiness, for instance) are mentioned. However, the usage of anaphora (above, in bold), based on going from one extreme to another, implies hopefulness, relief, and peace of mind, which results in reinforcing the overtly stated contentment.

Zieliński translates the expression: "I am happy" as "jestem szczęśliwa" (above, in bold), which may seem a bit too strong under the context, since Maria recalls her feelings connected with the violent rape she experienced. As Wierzbicka states: "it must be emphasized […] that the adjective *happy* differs in meaning from the noun *happiness* and is, so to speak, weaker" (1999: 52). In Polish, by contrast, the adjective "szczęśliwa" and the noun "szczęście" remain identical in terms of meaning. Having said that, it turns out that the translation of this fragment goes a bit too far from its original and slightly changes the emotive aspect. Consequently, the verb "cieszę się" seems to suit the excerpt better, for it might be treated as a natural equivalent for English "to be happy".

Excerpt 6

The **anger** and the **emptiness** and the **hate** that had come with the **let-down** after the bridge, when he had looked up from where he had lain and crouching, seen Anselmo dead, were still all through him. In him, too, was **despair** from the **sorrow** that soldiers turn to **hatred** in order that they may continue to be soldiers. Now it was over he was **lonely**, **detached** and **unelated** and he **hated** every one he saw. (*For Whom the Bell Tolls* 1995: 447)	Wciąż jeszcze przenikało go uczucie **gniewu**, **pustki** i **nienawiści**, które przyszło wraz z **odprężeniem** po wysadzeniu mostu, gdy leżąc skulony przy szosie podniósł głowę i zobaczył martwego Anselma. Była w nim także **rozpacz** i **ból**, które żołnierze przemieniają w **nienawiść**, aby móc dalej być żołnierzami. Teraz, kiedy już było po wszystkim, czuł się **samotny**, **daleki** i **nieszczęśliwy** i **nienawidził** każdego, kogo zobaczył. (*Komu bije dzwon* 2000: 596)

The next excerpt, in turn, shows Zieliński's great sense of emotionality. Fragment 6 provides a wide range of emotion words (above, in bold), and it should be noted that all of them were successfully translated into Polish. Regarding the most common feelings, such as "anger", "emptiness", "hatred", "despair", "sorrow", and "lonely", he chooses the established Polish equivalents: "gniew", "pustka", "nienawiść", "rozpacz", "ból", and "samotny", respectively. But Zieliński also succeeds in translating less common emotion words, probably by following the context more than the lexicographic equivalents. He changes "let-down" into "odprężenie" (the closest English equivalent would be "relaxation"), "detached" into "daleki" (English "distant"), and "unelated" into "nieszczęśliwy" (English "unhappy").

Excerpt 7

Robert Jordan looked him in the eyes and clinked his cup. You **bleary-eyed murderous sod**, he thought. I'd like to **clink this cup**	Robert Jordan popatrzył mu w oczy i zrobił to samo. Ty **przeklęty pijanico z mętnymi oczami**! — pomyślał. — Chętnie bym **trącił cię tym**

against your teeth. Take it easy, he told himself, take it easy. […] "Thanks," Robert Jordan said. "'I'll be sleeping outside." "In the snow?" "Yes" (**damn your bloody, red pig-eyes and your swine-bristly swines-end of a face**). "In the snow." (**In the utterly-damned, ruinous, unexpected, slutting, defeat-conniving, bastardcessery of the snow**.)
(*For Whom the Bell Tolls* 1995: 179)

kubkiem w zęby. Tylko spokojnie — powiedział do siebie. — Tylko spokojnie. […] — Tak. — (**Niech szlag trafi te twoje przekrwione, zaczerwienione, świńskie ślepia i świńską szczecinę na świńskim ryju**.) — Na śniegu, — (**Na tym przeklętym, fatalnym, niespodziewanym, ohydnym, pechowym draństwie — na śniegu**.)
(*Komu bije dzwon* 2000: 248-249)

Excerpt 7 is a very distinct one in terms of expressing negative emotions. As one may notice, the whole emotional load of this scene is expressed through free indirect discourse – at the beginning, in the form of sentences located next to the narrative part, and later, in the form of interjections placed in parentheses. Additionally, Robert's thoughts remain contrary to the spare and fully unemotional dialogue, which appears in the scene, and they are also packed with insults towards Pablo (these can also be treated as emotion-laden phrases). All these elements convey Robert's annoyance, as well as his revulsion, aversion, and contempt he feels for Pablo.

Zieliński proves himself a very creative translator of offensive language (above, in bold), which may be observed, for instance, on the example of the above excerpt. It becomes evident that in composing the phrases, the translator focuses on their naturalness and does not slavishly copy Hemingway's ideas. For example, he translates the following expression: "You bleary-eyed murderous sod" into "Ty przeklęty pijanico z mętnymi oczami". Not only is this phrase uncontrived, but also very interesting in terms of vocabulary. The same applies to finding equivalents for Hemingway's quite peculiar compound adjectives.

Excerpt 8

How little we know **of what** there is to know. I wish that I were going to live a long time instead of going to die today because I have learned much about life in these four days; more, I think, than in all the other time. I'd like to be an old man and to really know. I wonder if you keep on learning or if there is only a certain amount each man can understand. I thought I knew about so many things that I know nothing of. I wish there was more time. (*For Whom the Bell Tolls* 1995: 380)	**Jak mało** wiemy **z tego**, co można wiedzieć**!** Chciałbym móc pożyć jeszcze długo, zamiast umierać dzisiaj, bo przez te cztery dni dowiedziałem się wiele o życiu; myślę, że więcej niż przez cały czas dotąd. Chciałbym doczekać starości i wiedzieć naprawdę. Ciekaw jestem, czy człowiek ciągle się uczy, czy też istnieje tylko pewna suma wiedzy, którą każdy może wchłonąć. Zdawało mi się, że rozumiem tyle rzeczy, o których nie wiem nic. Chciałbym mieć przed sobą więcej czasu. (*Komu bije dzwon* 2000: 510-511)

It should be stated that from the semantic point of view, *time* constitutes a core aspect of the novel. One might even say that *For Whom the Bell Tolls* is a story about time, the lack of time, and about taking advantage of the time that is left. For instance, Wyatt, who believes that Hemingway's "I wish there was more time" (*For Whom the Bell Tolls* 1995: 380) is the most crucial sentence in the novel, describes this aspect as follows: "None of Hemingway's books spends so much time talking about 'time'"(Wyatt 2016: 148). Having said that, the above excerpt may be seen as one of the most emotional fragments in the whole story; it expresses regret, helplessness, disappointment, and sadness connected to the passing of time.

In excerpt 8 much attention is put on the verbs. Basic verbs which may be associated with comprehension (know, learned, etc.) are juxtaposed with verbs which gently express Jordan's desires, beliefs, and pondering (wish, wonder, etc.). Consequently, the passage seems to carry a huge emotional load; it is full of helplessness and disappointment.

The Polish translation of the above fragment seems to be slightly weaker than its original. Since the passage is very concise itself, and it provides a huge load of emotionality, each word used here is of great significance. The first two phrases (above, marked in bold) could have been expressed through stronger words, for example: tak mało wiemy, wobec tego, co można wiedzieć. Further, the verb: "pożyć" does not imply such seriousness as "to live"; instead, there could be used an adjective phrase "długie życie" (in English "a long life"). It also does not seem necessary to resort to linguistic amplification (Molina and Albir 2002) (above, underlined), for the sentence without it remains simpler and more focused on the passing of time, thereby expressing great regret and sadness – "chciałbym mieć więcej czasu".

However, Zieliński does not completely change the last sentence of the paragraph, for he decides to keep the final emotion-laden phrase "more time" in the place where it appears in the original. It seems that Hemingway deliberately put it at the very end of the sentence. Since the expression is very powerful from the perspective of the whole novel's context, it functions as a crowning of the paragraph.

5. Conclusions

Ernest Hemingway's prose, widely praised and heavily criticized, changed the canon of world literature permanently. The writer gained popularity due to his extraordinary and innovative literary style. His works, rich in implications and hidden emotionality, exhibit great consistency in terms of language and themes. Regarding the nature of Hemingway's literature, it becomes clear that his novels constitute a great challenge for a translator and that the whole process of translating must be very careful and scrutinous.

The above qualitative analysis has shown that Bronisław Zieliński does succeed as a translator of the emotive aspect of *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. As revealed in the analytical part, the translator understands the distinctive literary style of Hemingway and, more importantly, manages to transfer it into the

Polish language along with the whole emotive aspect of the novel. Zieliński proves himself to be an attentive reader and translator. He is aware of the exceptionality of Hemingway's style and recreates it in Polish; he tries not to add or remove anything, and he changes as little as possible. Zieliński does not treat the translation superficially; he makes every effort to translate the emotive layer of the novel, which makes his translation very accurate.

Zieliński displays great sensitivity in translating Hemingway's repetitions, as in most cases, he follows the author's lead but also remains careful not to push the Polish text towards the direction of caricature. He appears to pay much attention to the original sentence structure and tries to recreate it. The translator also proves himself in choosing accurate equivalents of emotion words as well as in translating emotion-laden words and phrases. Understatements and misinterpretations in terms of emotionality remain rare, and it is worth mentioning that, in some of the fragments, the translator slightly changes the text to its advantage without affecting the style of the author.

As the Polish language itself sometimes constitutes an obstacle in the process of transferring the original emotional load, Zieliński's translation shows his skill in applying the compensation technique. He uses various ways to convey the additional emotive meaning inherent in archaic forms of pronouns and verbs, which Hemingway inserts in the text. Furthermore, the translation of offensive language benefits from its naturalness.

Overall, Zieliński's translation, similarly to the Russian translations mentioned in this article, may be deemed a success due to its high accuracy. It certainly contrasts with Adsuar's Spanish translation of *The Sun Also Rises*, which Rodríguez assessed as inaccurate in terms of style and content. The translations into Persian, in turn, though mainly correct and faithful, do feature some discrepancies when it comes to imitating the author's style. The Polish translation of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* demonstrates such consistency and naturalness that one can even say Zieliński simply wrote Hemingway in Polish.

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Beyond Philology No. 20/2, 2023
ISSN 1732-1220, eISSN 2451-1498

https://doi.org/10.26881/bp.2023.2.05

Selected cultural elements and allusions in five Polish translations of F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*

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Received 4.04.2022,
received in revised form 30.11.2023,
accepted 5.12.2023.

Abstract

The Great Gatsby (1925) is considered the greatest literary achievement of Francis Scott Fitzgerald. Its first Polish translation was published in 1962. Presently, readers in Poland can choose from among six translations of this iconic work, with three of them added in 2021 and 2022, probably as a result of the entry of the book into the public domain in 2021. Fitzgerald, often regarded as a chronicler of the tumultuous Jazz Age in the United States, presents a socio-cultural narrative that invites reflection on how Polish translators dealt with the cultural elements and allusions pervasive in *The Great Gatsby*. This paper delves into selected cultural elements and allusions within the context of the five Polish translations of *The Great Gatsby*.

Keywords

The Great Gatsby, Francis Scott Fitzgerald, Polish translations of *The Great Gatsby*, translation of cultural elements, translation of allusions

Wybrane elementy kulturowe i aluzje w pięciu polskich przekładach powieści *Wielki Gatsby* F. Scotta Fitzgeralda

Abstrakt

Wielki Gatsby (1925) to największa powieść amerykańskiego prozaika Francisa Scotta Fitzgeralda. Powieść ta została wydana w pierwszym polskim przekładzie dopiero 37 lat po ukazaniu się oryginału. Obecnie polski czytelnik ma już do wyboru sześć tłumaczeń powieści. W 2021 r. powieść tę przestały obowiązywać prawa autorskie, co z pewnością miało swój udział w powstaniu w 2022 r. dwóch nowych polskich przekładów *Wielkiego Gatsby'ego*. Fitzgerald uważany jest za kronikarza burzliwego okresu w Stanach Zjednoczonych – epoki jazzu. Kronikalny charakter pisarstwa Fitzgeralda skłania do refleksji, w jaki sposób na przestrzeni lat polscy tłumacze radzili sobie z przekładem elementów kulturowych i aluzji, w które obfituje *Wielki Gatsby*. Niniejszy artykuł omawia wybrane elementy kulturowe i aluzje w kontekście pięciu polskich przekładów powieści *Wielki Gatsby*.

Słowa kluczowe

Wielki Gatsby, Francis Scott Fitzgerald, polskie przekłady *Wielkiego Gatsby'ego*, tłumaczenie elementów kulturowych, tłumaczenie aluzji

1. Introduction

The Great Gatsby (1925) is considered the most salient writing success of American novelist Francis Scott Fitzgerald. Published worldwide in both its original form and translated into over 40 languages, the novel has gained notable traction, particularly in Italy, with at least fifteen Italian translations to its credit (Wardle 2018: 213-233). Beyond its literary impact, *The Great Gatsby* serves as a wellspring of inspiration for artists, often being the foundation for theatrical plays and film adaptations. Additionally, the novel has been a focal point of extensive academic discussions, predominantly in the United States, Great Britain and various European and Asian countries. The year 2021 marked a pivotal moment for the novel as it entered the public domain, contributing to its heightened global popularity. The publication of three new Polish translations in 2021 and 2022 exemplifies the enduring recognition and continued growth in appreciation of this literary classic.[1]

2. Cultural elements in translation

Numerous intertextual references and cultural elements within *The Great Gatsby* are not expressed explicitly; rather, they engender allusions that demand a certain level of cultural, social and historical erudition from the reader. According to Krzysztof Hejwowski (2012: 71), cultural elements encompass those parts of the text closely tied to a specific culture. He further emphasizes (2012: 71-72) that

> We are concerned here with such elements of the text that have a distinct connection to the culture of a specific country. In translation, these elements share a common challenge: their cultural specificity (the fact that they are characteristic only of the source culture or better known in the source culture) poses translation problems.[2]

This cultural specificity is vividly present in elements such as proper names, terms referring to political systems, educational systems, legal matters, customs, holidays, religious practices or forms of address like greetings or farewells (Hejwowski 2012:

[1] There are six Polish translations of *The Great Gatsby*. First by Ariadna Demkowska-Bohdziewicz (1962), second by Jędrzej Polak (1994), third by Jacek Dehnel (2013), fourth by Kazimierz Cap (2021), fifth by Arkadiusz Belczyk (2022) and sixth by Adam Zabokrzycki (2022). The publisher refers to Kazimierz Cap's rendition as a literary reinterpretation (opracowanie literackie) rather than a strict translation. For this reason, the present paper will examine excerpts from the other five translations, excluding the translation by Kazimierz Cap from the analysis.

[2] All the quotations from Polish sources are translated by the author of this paper unless otherwise indicated.

71-72). Bożena Tokarz (2008: 8) observes that during the translation process, the meaning of the original text undergoes changes, as “background knowledge, literary and cultural tradition, social norms, typical associative trajectories, ideas, as well as the linguistic usages, and the world model embedded in it, differ for the recipients of the original and the translated text”. The translator’s choices, therefore, significantly shape the reader’s understanding of the cultural content. Consequently, it may become challenging for the reader of the translation to fully grasp the cultural nuances that remain culturally closer to and better understood by the recipient of the source text. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that the individual cognitive attitude of readers also determines the understanding of a culturally saturated content.

Roman Lewicki explored the role of the recipient of the translated text in the context of cultural elements and linked this aspect to the concept of foreignness in translation. Lewicki (2013: 320) believes that the level of foreignness of the translated text is not primarily determined by the nature of the original text but largely depends on the perspective of the translation’s recipient:

> […] foreignness in translation is not dictated by the original author, the original language, or an external authority, such as the translation scholar, rather, it is shaped by the recipient. It is the recipient who determines those features of the text that distinguish it from others and make it foreign […].

Lewicki (2013: 320) grounds this assertion in the environmental and psychological conditions of readers, which manifest not only in the context of the text reception but also extend to other facets of a person’s social performance. He distinguishes two groups of readers: the first seeks the security of communication, implying limited tolerance for unfamiliarity. The second group demonstrates a curiosity about the diversity of the world, displaying openness to foreignness, or even expects it in translations. It follows that the level of foreignness in a given text is not determined by the sender of that text (including the translator) but depends on the cognitive attitude of the recipient of the translation. In this perspective, the evaluation of the translator's decision within the translation of a given text would remain largely limited, i.e. without feedback from all the recipients, which is rather impossible to obtain.

Therefore, to discuss the differences in the translation of cultural elements, one should, to some extent, adopt a generalised approach, as Dorota Guttfeld (2012: 16) astutely proposes. She views a foreign element in a text as

> the one of which familiarity (or knowledge of its associations) could be more reliably demonstrated by a hypothetical ideal representative of the source culture (or rather its simplified model) than by a hypothetical ideal representative of the target culture (or its simplified model).

The hypothetical ideal representative of a culture, as Guttfeld mentions, is essentially a projection of the reader, likely envisioned by the original author and subsequently by the translator. In practice, identifying such an ideal reader is not a straightforward task. The comprehension of cultural elements, both in the source and the target texts, is shaped not only by cultural background but also by a whole range of other factors, such as upbringing, education, age and individual cognitive abilities of the reader. For this reason, Guttfeld's concept of a hypothetical ideal reader is applied also in this paper, facilitating the examination of cultural elements in the Polish translations of *The Great Gatsby*.

The cultural elements are also allusions and intertextual references, which are omnipresent in the prose of F. Scott Fitzgerald, in particular in *The Great Gatsby*. Olgierd Wojtasiewicz (2007: 81-82) refers to the issue of allusions in translation. He distinguishes between erudite allusions and linguistic allusions. Erudite allusions are characterised by the fact that their "balance point lies in their content, and at the same time they always refer to individual, unique facts (a historical event; an anecdote […], an artistic idea; a custom or belief derived from a worldview <<idea>>, etc.)". Linguistic allusions, on the other hand, no longer involve the content itself but the form of its expression. Linguistic allusions concern "recurrent phenomena, which are how different people use a given language". Within the framework of linguistic allusions, Wojtasiewicz (2007: 82) distinguishes e.g. those concerning the use of dialects, sociolects or the forms of addressing others. Ritva Leppihalme (1997: 7) points out that authors often use allusions "to call attention to one's learning or wide reading […], to enrich the work by bringing in the new meanings and associations, [or as] an attempt to characterise people, or suggest thoughts or unconscious impressions and attitudes in characters […]". Wojtasiewicz (2007: 71) believes that in translation, the possibility of misunderstanding the allusion increases due to the reader's lower degree of erudition related to the source culture. Therefore, Fitzgerald's prose, which is rich in references to the sociocultural life of America, does pose a challenge both to the translators and the readers.

3. Cultural elements in five Polish translations of *The Great Gatsby*

Researchers interested in Fitzgerald's prose often tend to highlight the historiographical aspects of his work. In 1942, Alfred Kazin (1995: 316) wrote that Fitzgerald had been the historian of his generation and its most recognizable symbol. Almost half a century later, Peter B. High (2000: 143) stated in a similar vein that "Fitzgerald's best books form a kind of spiritual history of the Lost Generation". The collection of short stories *The Tales of the Jazz Age* (1922) considerably contributed to the writer's status as the chronicler of the era.

Contemporary scholars also perceive Fitzgerald's work as firmly embedded in a historical and cultural context. Kirk

Curnutt (2007: 112) points out that "today, most Fitzgerald scholars read his work against the backdrop of the 1920s and 1930s, arguing that they have much to teach us about those eras". Alisson Morretta, in her book *F. Scott Fitzgerald and the Jazz Age*, describes how the period of the 1920s influenced Fitzgerald's writing. Morretta (2015: 84) finds the writer a historian of the American society and concludes that in *The Great Gatsby*, Fitzgerald captured the public mood during the economic boom and the cultural changes in the 1920s. Michał Sprusiński (1982: 5), a Polish editor and translator, aptly points out that "critics anointed Fitzgerald as a prophet of the *Jazz Age*. This was the assessment of Fitzgerald's extraordinary talent for words and observations of manners, which he revealed by registering the rapid transformations of American morality in the post-World War I era".

3.1. "The man who fixed the World's Series"

In *The Great Gatsby*, a reference to the culture and history of the USA in the early 20th century occurs when the narrator, Nick Carraway, meets one of the novel's antagonists Meyer Wolfshiem. This man is closely connected to the criminal world and is involved in the illegal alcohol trade and gambling. Fitzgerald partially based this character on the Jewish mafia leader in the USA, Arnold Rothstein, who was suspected of bribing the players of the Chicago White Socks baseball team. This bribery led the team to lose the final games during the league championship in 1919 (Tate 2007: 101).

When Nick inquires about what Meyer does for a living, Gatsby replies that he is a gambler, and to confirm this information he adds:

> He's the man who fixed the World's Series back in 1919. (F 71)[3]

[3] In the extracts quoted for the analysis, I use the following abbreviations for the original text of *The Great Gatsby* and its Polish translations: F for F. Scott Fitzgerald (Fitzgerald 2000), DB for Ariadna Demkowska-Bohdziewicz

> To on w tysiąc dziewięćset dziewiętnastym zrobił tę machlojkę na Jesiennych Rozgrywkach baseballowych. (DB 96)
>
> To facet, który w 1919 załatwił Światową Ligę baseballa. (P 104)
>
> To jest facet, który w 1919 roku ustawił finały Ligi Baseballu. (D 90) – a footnote
>
> To on ustawił finały bejsbolowe w 1919 roku. (B 66)
>
> To jest ten facet, który ustawił World Series w 1919 roku. (Z 91) – a footnote

Gatsby informs Nick that Wolfshiem is responsible for the abuse of The World's Series final games. Fitzgerald thus makes an allusion to actual events in 1919, specifically a corruption scandal called the Black Sox Scandal. The crime involved the bribery of eight players of the Chicago White Sox, a team favoured in the games. The Chicago White Sox players were alleged to have deliberately played poorly to cause their team to lose in five out of eight matches. The loses were in turn associated with large profits for the gambling world (Johnson 2002: 30-44). Wolfshiem's involvement in the manipulation of the 1919 baseball league finals is for many authors the basis for linking this figure with the real-life gambler Alfred Rothstein. In the Polish translations of *The Great Gatsby*, Jacek Dehnel and Adam Zabokrzycki added footnotes at this point, where they explain the genesis and consequences of the *Black Sox Scandal*. According to Daniel A. Nathan (2005: 1), the Black Sox Scandal was an event that was widely known to Americans in the 1920s and remains recognizable till today. The Polish reader may have some difficulties with cultural or historical associations here; therefore, footnotes certainly help to comprehend the allusion intended by Fitzgerald. Demkowska-Bohdziewicz also noted the need to clarify the

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(Fitzgerald 1962), P for Jędrzej Polak (Fitzgerald 1994), D for Jacek Dehnel (Fitzgerald 2013), B for Arkadiusz Belczyk (Fitzgerald 2022a), Z for Adam Zabokrzycki (Fitzgerald 2022b).

cultural element here, translating the World's Series as *Jesienne Rozgrywki baseballowe* (Autumn Baseball Games). The verb *załatwił* (dealt with) in Polak's translation does not fully indicate that the text is about the illegal activities of gamblers, but in the following statement of the narrator, the translator already makes it clear that it is about an illegal affair.

> I remembered, of course, that the World's Series had been fixed in 1919. (F 71)

> Rzecz jasna pamiętam aferę w Światowej Lidze w 1919. (P 104)

The Polish translators decided to either use a footnote or to explicate the cultural element that is the final baseball games of *the World's Series*. It should be noted that *the World Series* is also called *the Fall Classic*, since they are usually played in October or other autumn months (Nathan 2005: 124). For this reason, Demkowska-Bohdziewicz's decision to use the descriptive equivalent *Jesienne Rozgrywki baseballowe* (Autumn Baseball Games) is the most appropriate given the translator's general strategy of trying not to overuse footnotes. Dehnel's decision for a detailed footnote is a consequence of the strategy that the translator adopted throughout the translation, which he informed about in the afterword: "In my translation, I tried to include all the allusions of the original, which are not necessarily clear to today's reader; so I decided to introduce footnotes" (Dehnel 2013: 219). In the discussed footnote Dehnel (2013: 90) wrote:

> This is the "Black Sox Scandal": the 1919 championship, the MLB league finals, was fixed by a gangster and gambler Arnold Rothstein, the model character for *The Great Gatsby's* Wolfsheim. Eight Chicago White Sox players, bribed by the New York Mafia, led to a loss to the Cincinnati Reds; they were all banned from the league for life.

There is one substantive issue regarding Dehnel's footnote which is worth noting. The translator has synthesised the circumstances concerning the 1919 finals, but the statement that those games "were fixed by the gangster and gambler Arnold Rothstein" appears to be an overgeneralisation. In fact, Rothstein was not directly responsible for bribing the players of the Chicago White Sox team, although he did know of it and used it in betting, thus earning at least $350,000 (Nathan 2005: 33-34). The author of Rothstein's biography, Leo Katcher (1994: 139), believes that the gangster did not orchestrate the Chicago team's loss, but his reputation and wealth were used to bribe the players. According to Katcher (1994: 139-140), Rothstein's involvement in the whole scandal was that he did not bother to organise it. However, the information included by Dehnel should not be regarded as particularly unreliable, as some authors often attribute Rothstein with direct involvement in bribing the players of the Chicago White Sox, in consequence encouraging a factual discrepancy.[4]

3.2. "A cousin of Kaiser Wilhelm's"

In the novel, there is plenty of conjecture about Jay Gatsby. Some characters claim that he was a German spy during World War I or that he killed a man. All these rumours make Gatsby mysterious and his past vague. During the narrator's visit to the flat Tom Buchanan rents for his lover Myrtle Wilson, her sister Catherine suggests that Jay is closely related to the last German emperor, Wilhelm II Hohenzollern, which is why Gatsby has such a large fortune:

[4] Hensley (2007: 22) comments that Rothstein is credited with rigging the 1919 finals. Nathan (2005: 33) notes that shortly after the scandal came to light, the press at the time blamed Rothstein for bribing the Chicago White Sox players. Tate (2007: 370), in turn, claims that no crime has ever been proven against Rothstein.

> Well, they say he's a nephew or a cousin of Kaiser Wilhelm's. That's where all his money comes from. (F 35)

> Wie pan, mówią o nim, że to kuzyn czy siostrzeniec cesarza Wilhelma. Stąd ma tyle forsy. (DB 45)

> Wie pan, mówią, że jest siostrzeńcem albo kuzynem cesarza Wilhelma. Stąd ma tyle forsy. (P 51)

> Podobno jest bratankiem czy tam kuzynem kajzera Wilhelma. Stąd ta cała jego forsa. (D 43)

> Mówią, że jest bratankiem albo kuzynem cesarza Wilhelma. I stąd ma tyle pieniędzy. (B 33)

> Wie pan, mówią, że jest bratankiem czy tam kuzynem cesarza Wilhelma. No i stamtąd ta cała jego forsa. (Z 44)

In the Polish translations, Catherine's language seems more colloquial than in the original text, because the noun *money* is translated as the informal *forsa* (Eng. *kale*). Surprisingly four out of five translators agree on such a colloquial stylisation of her idiolect, especially since it was not indispensable here to compensate for another informal expression. The most likely justification here is that Catherine's behaviour towards Nick is noticeably direct from the beginning. The woman quickly sits close to the narrator and whispers various stories in his ear, which can be regarded as uncommon behaviour during a first meeting. The differences in the translations appear also in the case of the word *nephew*. These discrepancies result from the well-known issue that in English nephew may be both a sister's son and a brother's son (Stanisławski 1997: I, 559).

The translation of the monarchical title Kaiser is particularly notable in this passage, as in English, it refers to any German emperor, particularly Wilhelm II (Collins Dictionary online). It should be noted, however, that in English-speaking countries, the term Kaiser acquired a pejorative character and evoked negative associations (Definitions.net online). Demkowska-Bohdziewicz, Polak, Belczyk and Zabokrzycki ignored this linguistic allusion and translated the title Kaiser as *Cesarz* (Emperor). Such a solution is not incorrect, as Wilhelm II is, of course, the German emperor, but in Polish, the term used by Fitzgerald has its direct equivalent. It is the word *Kajzer*, and, just as in English, it carries an unkind overtone. According to *Słownik języka polskiego*, Kajzer means "A German emperor (with an ironically dislikeable tinge) (Doroszewski 1964: Vol. III, 469)". The term Kajzer evokes similar associations both for English and Polish readers. Who we have in mind here is the contemporary reader of *The Great Gatsby*. For the reader from the 1920s, the allusions to World War I certainly evoked different emotions and associations. When I write of similar associations for the American and Polish reader, I mean a negative emotional colouring, but one triggered by different historical events. The history of the USA lacks, for instance, the notion of "zaborca" (invader, annexationist), which is well known to many generations of Poles and has political and historical associations.

Moreover, in Dehnel's translation, the term Kaiser acquires some intertextuality. In 2012, the book by David Olusoga and Casper W. Erich entitled *The Kaiser's Holocaust* (2011) was translated into Polish as *Zbrodnia Kajzera*. The book depicts the genocide perpetrated in 1904-1907 by the German Empire troops against the African Herero and Nama tribes. In both the English and Polish titles, Kaizer refers to Wilhelm II, who was the German emperor during the genocide described. The statement that Dehnel was familiar with this book and wanted to refer to it in his translation might seem precipitate, were it not for the fact that the translation of *Zbrodnia Kajzera* was done by Piotr Tarczyński, who is Jacek Dehnel's life partner. Furthermore, prior to the publication of the third translation of *The Great Gatsby*, Dehnel and Tarczyński collaboratively translated Edmund White's novel *Hotel de Dream* (2007). It confirms their close professional cooperation at the time, which may have resulted in the translation decision discussed here.

3.3. "A man like James J. Hill"

The day before Gatsby's funeral his father, Mr. Gatz, arrives to New York. He is deeply affected by his son's death but looks at his house with a sense of astonishment and admiration. During a conversation with Nick Carraway, he expounds upon Gatsby's intellectual brilliance and the promising future that lay before him. Then, Mr. Gatz compares his son to the railway magnate James J. Hill (1838-1916). Hill considerably contributed to building railways in the United States and thus became known as The Empire Builder. He was an example of how one can make a fortune while working for the good of the country (Malone 1996: xiii). James J. Hill lived in St. Paul on Summit Avenue, the street where Fitzgerald grew up. Fitzgerald's family successively rented several flats and houses in St. Paul's representative Summit Avenue neighbourhood (Curnutt 2007: 14). According to Matthew Bruccoli (1991: 26), Fitzgerald felt embarrassed that his parents did not own a house but were forced to rent. Fitzgerald knew that he lived in the best neighbourhood in the city but felt that his family did not belong to the financial elite of St. Paul, whose representative was James J. Hill. As stated by Kyra Stromberg (1998: 16), Fitzgerald "always felt poor among the rich […], his developing skills and the uncertainty of social position empowered him in the ambition to achieve what the rich did, or even more".

It is noteworthy that James J. Hill knew Fitzgerald's grandfather, adding a layer of personal significance to the historical figure. For Fitzgerald then, Hill did not remain a mere historical figure and the reference to him in *The Great Gatsby* had an autobiographical dimension. The reference to James J. Hill as a prominent figure in US history is an important cultural element and an allusion to Fitzgerald himself (Tredell 2011: 2, 7). The name James J. Hill appears in the novel once, when Gatsby's father, Mr. Gatz's, talks to the narrator:

> If he'd of lived, he'd of been a great man. A man like James J. Hill. He'd of helped build up the country. (F 160)

> Gdyby żył, zostałby wielkim człowiekiem. Takim jak ten finansista James J. Hill, któremu zawdzięczamy nasze koleje. Przyczyniłby się do rozwoju kraju. (DB 216-217)

> Gdyby jeszcze pożył, byłby wielkim człowiekiem. Takim jak James J. Hill. Przyczyniłby się do rozbudowy kraju. (P 229) – a footnote

> Gdyby żył, zostałby wielkim człowiekiem. Takim jak James J. Hill. Pomógłby budować kraj. (D 201) – a footnote

> Gdyby żył, zostałby wielkim człowiekiem. Takim jak James J. Hill. Pomógłby budować ten kraj. (B 146)

> Gdyby dalej żył, toby został się wielkim człowiekiem. Jak ten James J. Hill. Pomógłby budować ten kraj. (Z 200) – a footnote

Three Polish translators decided to use a footnote here to provide the reader with a basic understanding of who James J. Hill was. Moreover, in the 2000 English edition of *The Great Gatsby*, there is also a note at this point:

> James J. Hill: A railroad tycoon who lived in Fitzgerald's home town, St. Paul, Minnesota. He built the Great Northern Railroad, which linked the Great Lakes with the Pacific Coast. Fitzgerald alludes to him several times in his work (Tanner 2000: 177).

Dehnel's and Zabokrzycki's commentaries[5] are more extensive than the one by Polak. Their notes contain more information

[5] Polak's note: "Amerykański potentat finansowy, budowniczy kolei – uwaga tłumacz" (Polak 1997: 229). Dehnel's note: "James Jerome Hill (1838–1916) – urodzony w Kanadzie amerykański finansista. Po kryzysie 1873 roku, kiedy zbankrutowały liczne linie kolejowe, Hill zainwestował w koleje i wybudował mierzącą 2,7 tysięcy kilometrów transkontynentalną Great Northern Railway z St. Paul w Minnesocie do Seattle w stanie Washington. Zyskał sobie tym przydomek „budowniczego imperium". Przyjaźnił się z dziadkiem autora" (Dehnel 2013: 201). Zabokrzycki's note: "James Jerome Hill (1838-1916),

about the achievements of Hill and reveal his acquaintance with Fitzgerald's grandfather. Dehnel thus confirms his statement, acknowledged in the afterword, that his translation would not omit any allusions made by the original author. The relatively extensive, as for a footnote, discussion of James J. Hill by Dehnel may also result from the fact that in the afterword to his translation, Dehnel uses this character as an example to highlight the differences between his translation and the one by Demkowska-Bohdziewicz's. Dehnel (2013: 2018) states, for example, that it was more difficult for Demkowska-Bohdziewicz "to reach various details, concerning famous financiers or stars of the 1920s. Demkowska-Bohdziewicz tried to bring these figures closer by encrusting the text with an annotation". Dehnel adds that Demkowska-Bohdziewicz worked without access to many studies and the Internet, which may have influenced the omission of certain references in her translation. In light of the sources available to me, Dehnel's suggestion appears illegitimate, because Demkowska-Bohdziewicz had access to many materials, among others, in the library of the American embassy. In private correspondence with me, Demkowska-Bohdziewicz's daughter, Anna Bohdziewicz (2017), wrote about her mother the following:

> Mum visited the Library at the American Embassy and the reading room at the British Council. There, she read the press and was able to borrow books […]. After 1956, the Iron Curtain in Poland was very perforated and we really had access to various information. For example, at the Iluzjon cinema, you could watch a lot of classic American films from the 1920s and 1930s, which was a great help. The Iluzjon cinema was then located just off Plac Trzech Krzyży where we lived. As a child, I watched all the classics of world cinema there. Without a few "indecent films", of course.

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kanadyjsko-amerykański biznesmen. Miał przydomek "Budowniczy imperium". Dyrektor generalny rodziny linii kolejowych kierowanych przez Great Northern Railway, obsługujący znaczny obszar Górnego Środkowego Zachodu, północnych Wielkich Równin i północno zachodniego Pacyfiku. Przyjaciel dziadka F.S. Fitzgeralda" (Zabokrzycki 2022: 200).

Naturally, one must agree with Dehnel that Demkowska-Bohdziewicz did not have access to studies that appeared after 1962. On the other hand, the fact that she "encrusted" the text with notes, as mentioned by Dehnel, proves her understanding of the original allusions. In Demkowska-Bohdziewicz's translation, James J. Hill is "ten finansista James J. Hill, któremu zawdzięczamy nasze koleje" (Eng. that financier James J. Hill, to whom we owe our railways) (DB 216-217). The technique used by Demkowska-Bohdziewicz can be described as non-translation plus additional explanation. According to Jan van Coillie (2016: 126), the additional explanation to proper names in translation may deprive the text of its function, e.g. humour, but it does not happen in Demkowska-Bohdziewicz's translation. The information which was implicit in the original text of *The Great Gatsby* is indeed presented explicitly in her translation, but thanks to this solution, the Polish text retains its informative function without the need to use a footnote.

3.4. The "underground pipe-line to Canada"

In F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*, the theme of honesty is underscored through allusions to corruption in sport and references to figures in the criminal world. This exploration of honesty is intricately linked to the historical backdrop of the National Prohibition Act, which came into effect on January 16, 1920. The Act, aimed at prohibiting the sale, manufacture and transportation of alcohol, was a catalyst for increased lawlessness in the United States (Michałek 2004: 107-108). Despite its intentions, the Prohibition Act was widely disregarded, leading people to resort to various means, including homemade production and smuggling, to obtain alcohol. Notably, bootleggers emerged as key players in this illicit trade, constructing illegal breweries or importing alcohol, primarily from Canada, by ships and trucks (Gross 1998: 35-36).

The Prohibition period significantly increased the scale of illegal bootlegging, leading to rapid enrichment among criminals.

The secrecy and glamour surrounding Gatsby, coupled with the extravagance of his parties, fuelled widespread gossip about him. In Chapter VI of *The Great Gatsby*, the narrator recounts a visit by a New York journalist to Gatsby's home. The journalist, seeking Gatsby's comment on an unspecified matter, reflects the prevailing mystery surrounding the enigmatic host. One rumour circulating about Gatsby suggested his involvement in smuggling alcohol from Canada through an underground pipeline, as the narrator cryptically notes:

> Contemporary legends such as the "underground pipe-line to Canada" attached themselves to him, (F 94)

> Współczesne legendy, jak na przykład legenda o „podziemnych kontaktach z Kanadą" (DB 126)

> Współczesne legendy, takie jak ta o „podziemnym rurociągu do Kanady", przylgnęły do niego na dobre (P 136)

> Łączono z nim rozmaite współczesne legendy, jak tę o „podziemnym wódkociągu do Kanady" (D 119)

> Łączono go ze współczesnymi legendami, jak ta o „podziemnym rurociągu z Kanady" (B 87)

> Przyklejały się do niego bieżące sensacje, takie jak „podziemny whiskociąg do Kanady" (Z 119)

In addition to the speculation that Gatsby may be Kaiser Wilhelm II's nephew, he was linked with an alleged underground pipeline transporting alcohol between the United States and Canada. In reality, alcohol was illegally transported to the USA from Canada, Mexico and Cuba by trucks or on ships, and the existence of the pipeline was just a popular legend in the Prohibition era (Stoltman 2019: 65). In the Polish translations, Dehnel and Zabokrzycki chose to clarify the allusion present in the original, but without using a footnote. Demkowska-Bohdziewicz omits the noun *pipe-line* in her translation, but the collocation *podziemne kontakty* (underground contacts) directly points to Gatsby's possible dishonest dealings. In the original text, the attribution of dishonesty to Gatsby is contingent upon the reader correctly understanding the allusion to an underground pipeline transporting alcohol. Demkowska-Bohdziewicz's translation, however, takes a somewhat explicative approach. In her rendition, the association with Jay's dishonest dealings is partially externalised and explained to the Polish reader.

Dehnel and Zabokrzycki also hint at why the narrator is talking about an underground pipeline, but by using the terms *wódkociąg* (vodka pipeline) and *whiskociąg* (whisky pipeline), the translators make it clear that Gatsby's relationship with the criminal world has to do with alcohol smuggling.

3.5. Sixteen Lewis guns and the insignia of three German divisions

As already noticed, Fitzgerald used references to the World War I in *The Great Gatsby*. In 1917, the United States joined the War, which was the country's first significant involvement in a military conflict in Europe after years of isolationism (Tredell 2011: 9). American troops, including many young soldiers, were deployed to the front lines in Europe. Participating alongside French forces, they engaged in the offensive in the Argonne, aiming to sever German forces from communication lines and shift the front line eastwards (Lengel 2014: 15-17). In the novel, both Nick and Jay are depicted as participants in these battles. According to James H. Meredith (2004: 181), the characters' experiences and memories from Europe contribute to the building of mutual credibility and the establishment of a closer bond. Prior to Gatsby introducing himself to Nick at the party, their conversation and relationship were already rooted in soldierly memories.

> "Your face is familiar," he said, politely. "Weren't you in the Third Division during the war?"
> "Why, yes. I was in the Ninth Machine-gun Battalion."
> "I was in the Seventh Infantry until June nineteen-eighteen. I knew I'd seen you somewhere before."
> We talked for a moment about some wet, gray little villages in France. (F 48)

Gatsby ultimately reveals a lack of full honesty, and his ostentatious accounts of European travels cause embarrassment to the narrator. However, Kirk Curnutt observes that Nick never entirely doubted Jay's tales of battlefield achievements, as such narratives were commonplace among veterans of the time. Notably, Fitzgerald's allusive writing in *The Great Gatsby* draws parallels between Gatsby's experiences and those of Sergeant Alvin York, an American war hero. David D. Lee (1985) detailed York's story in the article "Sergeant York: An American Hero",[6] wherein York, like Gatsby, fought in the Argonne Forest and performed remarkable feats for the American army. York's accomplishments included killing 25 German soldiers, capturing 132 others and disarming 35 enemy machine guns with only a handgun and a rifle (Owens 2004: 98). Fitzgerald was acquainted with Sergeant York's achievements, having referenced his name in the short story "Dalyrimple Goes Wrong" (1920). In this narrative about Dalyrimple's achievements, Fitzgerald (2000: 399) juxtaposed this character with the names of the prominent American general John Pershing and Sergeant Alvin York. According to James Meredith (2004: 182), the story of Sergeant York served as an inspiration for Fitzgerald in crafting Gatsby's heroic past.

Now, let us delve into the Polish translations of the scene occurring during the car ride to Downtown New York. Jay endeavours to impress Nick as they drive, recounting his heroic battlefield achievements in the Argonne Forest.

[6] The article was originally published on the 26th of April, 1919 in *Saturday Evening Post*.

> We stayed there two days and two nights, a hundred and thirty men with sixteen **Lewis guns**, and when the infantry came up at last they found **the insignia** of three German divisions among the piles of dead. (F 65)

> Staliśmy tak trzy dni i trzy noce, stu trzydziestu ludzi i **szesnaście cekaemów**, i kiedy wreszcie piechota nadeszła, znalazła **sztandary** trzech niemieckich dywizji wśród stosu trupów. (DB 86-87)

> Siedzieliśmy tam przez dwa dni i dwie noce, stu trzydziestu ludzi z szesnastoma **karabinami Lewisa**, i gdy w końcu nadeszła piechota, pośród stosu trupów znaleźli **insygnia** trzech niemieckich dywizji. (P 94)

> Tkwiliśmy tam przez dwa dni i dwie noce, stu trzydziestu ludzi z szesnastoma **karabinami Lewisa**, a kiedy wreszcie nadciągnęła piechota, w stosach trupów znaleziono **naszywki** trzech niemieckich dywizji. (D 81)

> Utrzymywaliśmy się tam przez dwa dni i dwie noce, stu trzydziestu ludzi z szesnastoma **karabinami Lewisa**, a kiedy piechota w końcu dotarła, wśród stosu trupów znalazła **sztandary** trzech niemieckich dywizji. (B 60)

> Tkwiliśmy tam przez dwa dni i dwie noce, stu trzydziestu chłopa i szesnaście **karabinów Lewisa**, a kiedy wreszcie nadciągnęła piechota, to w stosach trupów odnaleźli **dystynkcje** trzech niemieckich dywizji. (Z 82)

At least two elements in the aforementioned translations warrant a more extensive discussion. The first pertains to the translation of Lewis guns, a weapon designed in 1911 by American Colonel Isaac Newton Lewis, characterised as a light machine gun. The Lewis rifle gained prominence during World War I due to its effectiveness and relatively lightweight design. Initially, Belgian soldiers, and later British and American forces, successfully employed this weapon against the German army (Schultz 2011: 241). The historical trajectory of the Lewis rifle is intriguing, particularly within the context of the United States. Originally, Colonel Isaac Newton Lewis faced resistance from authorities when attempting to have the gun produced and utilised for the American army. In response, Lewis relocated to Belgium, where he commenced the production of this weapon for the Belgian army. The lightweight nature of the Lewis gun set it apart from other contemporary machine guns, which typically required a minimum of two soldiers to operate them. The rifle's popularity during World War I was further amplified by its cost-effectiveness in production and user-friendly design (Tucker 2014: 955).

Polak, Dehnel, Belczyk and Zabokrzycki translated Lewis guns as "Karabiny Lewisa" (Lewis rifles) without providing any explanation or footnote. This choice is justifiable since these weapons, due to their characteristic construction, can be easily identified by many readers. The Lewis gun, famously used by Charlie Chaplin in the film *The Great Dictator* (1940) and appearing as a close replica used by stormtroopers on the fictional planet Tatooine in *Star Wars* (1977), was also utilised by the Polish army during and after World War I, referred to in the Polish military literature as "Karabin Lewisa wz. 1915"[7] (Konstankiewicz 2003: 90). Demkowska-Bohdziewicz, on the other hand, translated the Lewis gun using the generic term 'cekaem', considered a functional equivalent, that is "the replacement of a little-known element of the original culture with an element of the target culture (Hejwowski 2015: 95)". The "cekaem" is culturally closer to Poles than "karabin Lewisa", if only because it has been used in war poetry (Balcerzan 1976: 116). It should be recalled, however, that Lewis wz. 1915 belongs to the group of light machine guns, Polish lkms,[8] capable of being operated by one person. In contrast, Polish "ckms" are a group of heavy machine guns, requiring a more complex operation, often involving

[7] In 1915, Lewis entered British Army equipment and its mass production began.

[8] In English terminology, light machine gun (LMG) is in Polish both a light (lkm) and hand (rkm) machine gun.

at least two soldiers (Cepliński 2005: 51, 444). From a technical standpoint, the 'cekaem' is then neither a precise equivalent nor a hyperonym of the Lewis gun.

The second noteworthy issue concerns the translation of German insignia discovered by the infantry. The insignia of three German divisions (F 65) are rendered in the Polish translations as: sztandary (the banners) (DB 86, B 60), the insygnia (insignia) (P 94), naszywki (the patches) (D 81) and dystynkcje (badges) (Z 82). Insignia here can be understood, among other things, as a sewn-on supplement to the uniform indicating the soldier's affiliation to a given division (Homsher 2006: 293) or epaulettes, on which military ranks are marked. Demkowska-Bohdziewicz and Belczyk translated insignia as banners, which is an unusual decision. This choice raises intriguing questions from the perspective of the historical and cultural significance of banners. As Kazimerz Madej (1980: 36, 38) remarks, for centuries the military banner has symbolized valour, bravery, honour, unity and victory. In the Roman legions, the banner was treated with particular respect, as receiving it signified the establishment of a unit, while the loss of a banner meant the disbanding of the unit. In the history of the Polish Armed Forces, the banner also held a unique and significant place.

> The capture of an enemy banner was considered one of the greatest conquests, while the loss of a flag in battle brought disgrace to the entire unit. Therefore, 51 Teutonic banners captured at the Battle of Grunwald were prominently displayed in Wawel Cathedral. […]
> The banner was always unfurled during battles and surrounded by knights dedicated to its protection. Guards were posted in front of it when it was stationary. The fundamental duty of every knight was to safeguard the flag. It was held in the highest reverence and treated as the greatest relic. Honours were paid to the flag and soldiers took oaths on it (Madej 1980: 36, 38).

The banner continues to perform a significant ideological role even today, remaining an inseparable attribute of the military.

The possession of a banner taken from the enemy on the battlefield is still a symbol of victory, including for Poles. After the end of World War II, on the 24th of June, 1945, a Victory Parade took place in the Red Square, Moscow. An integral part of this parade was the laying of 200 captured banners of the Wehrmacht army and old banners of the Imperial Army at Lenin's mausoleum. The capture of some of the banners was attributed to the soldiers of the 1st and 2nd Polish Army. Following the parade, all the banners were stored in the Museum of the Soviet Army in Moscow. In the early 1960s, the General Political Board of the Polish Army requested Moscow authorities to donate several Wehrmacht banners to be displayed as trophies in The Polish Army Museum in Warsaw. In 1962, the date of the publication of Demkowska-Bohdziewicz's translation, the Russians handed over several of the German banners to the Poles (Muzeum Wojska Polskiego, online). The assumption, that the translator's decisions were inspired by the handing over of the aforementioned banners to the Poles would be unjustified in the light of the archival materials available. Although Demkowska-Bohdziewicz and Belczyk's translation choices differ from those of other translators, they intensify Gatsby's glorious achievements on the battlefield, making his story even more sublime for the Polish reader.

It is noteworthy that in Gatsby's story from the frontline in Europe, Philip D. Beidler recognises an allusion to the famous American Lost Battalion. The Battalion valiantly fought against German troops in the Argonne Forest in October 1918 (Beidler 2016: 108). Gatsby's experiences, when set in the context of actual historical events, evoke associations with bravery, heroism and victory. By employing the term *sztandary*, Demkowska-Bohdziewicz and Belczyk emphasised Gatsby's merits, which become evident to the Polish reader, even without explicit associations with the story of the Lost Battalion.

4. Conclusions

The Polish translations of *The Great Gatsby* used diverse techniques, often beneficial, for preserving the original references and allusions. A distinct difference is evident when comparing Ariadna Demkowska-Bohdziewicz's version with those by Jacek Dehnel and Adam Zabokrzycki. Demkowska-Bohdziewicz primarily signalled references to characters or events within the text, without footnotes. In contrast, Dehnel and Zabokrzycki opted to introduce footnotes, providing detailed explanations of cultural elements and some allusions. Additionally, they elucidated the meaning of allusions, as seen in the case of "the underground pipe-line to Canada". While Polak's translation also incorporates explanations within the text, footnotes are not entirely abandoned, as exemplified in the case of James J. Hill. On the other hand, Belczyk's translation stands out for the absence of footnotes throughout. This strategy may have resulted from the fact that Belczyk (2007: 127) considers footnotes as a potential impediment to reading. He suggests that "it is better to avoid this method as much as possible, since footnotes always detract to some extent from the main text and often do not fit in at all [...]" (Belczyk 2007: 127). The extensive use of footnotes by Dehnel and Zabokrzycki may be seen as symbolic "coming out" of the translators from the author's shadow, as noted by Jerzy Jarniewicz (2012: 7). Jarniewicz observes that some publishers choose to reveal the presence of the translators by placing their names on the covers of translations. He points out that "such a *coming out* breaks with the hitherto prevailing understanding of literature in translation, which most often concealed its translational status". The noticeable footnotes in the translations not only serve to elucidate cultural nuances but also highlight the translational character of the literature, thereby acknowledging the significant presence and role of the translator within the text.

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LITERARY STUDIES

Beyond Philology No. 20/2, 2023
ISSN 1732-1220, eISSN 2451-1498

https://doi.org/10.26881/bp.2023.2.06

The defence of Medea: The subversion of the femme fatale trope in William Morris's *The Life and Death of Jason*[1]

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Received 9.05.2022,
received in revised form 1.12.2023,
accepted 4.12.2023.

Abstract

William Morris (1834-1896) was one of the Victorian artists whose work extended beyond the totality of art that was cherished by nineteenth-century critics. Particularly in his early oeuvre, Morris engages with the political and cultural discussion on women's emancipation and utopian society through the use of Arthurian and Hellenic traditions. The following article provides a detailed reading of William Morris's portrayal of Medea in *The Life and Death of Jason* (1867). Contrary to the established association of Medea as a femme fatale, Morris's depiction of the Colchian princess escapes the vision of femininity characterised by devouring sexuality, manipulation, and the urge to destroy men. Similarly to *The Defence of Guinevere* (published in 1858), *The Life and Death of Jason* refrains from a direct condemnation of Medea, who attempts to navigate her experience of betrayal and dishonour. Thus, the article attempts to examine how Morris reused Hellenic tropes to discuss the complexity of the female experience that transgresses the boundaries of time and place.

[1] The paper is part of the author's PhD thesis titled *Hellenism in a Rear-view Mirror: Reinterpretations of Mythological Heroines in Nineteenth-Century British Poetry and Art.*

Keywords

William Morris, femme fatale, Victorian Hellenism, C19, Medea, literary revisionism

Obrona Medei: Obalenie motywu femme fatale w *The Life and Death of Jason* Williama Morrisa

Abstrakt

William Morris (1834-1896) był jednym z wiktoriańskich pisarzy i artystów, których twórczość wykraczała poza dziewiętnastowieczny trend syntezy sztuk. W swojej wczesnej poezji Morris angażuje się w kulturową dyskusję na temat emancypacji kobiet i społeczeństwa utopijnego, wykorzystując do tego tradycje arturiańskie i hellenistyczne. Poniższy artykuł zawiera szczegółową analizę tekstu Williama Morrisa *The Life and Death of Jason* (1867), w którym poeta przewrotnie reinterpretuje postać Medei w kontekście motywu fatalnej kobiecości. Co ważne, Morris nie przestawia jej jako stereotypową femme fatale z pożerającą seksualnością, skłonnością do manipulacji i nieodpartą chęcią do niszczenia mężczyzn, ale ukazuje ją jako postać wewnętrznie skonfliktowaną, posiadającą szeroką wiedzę oraz szukającą aprobaty innych. Podobnie jak we wcześniejszym tekście Morrisa *The Defence of Guinevere* (opublikowane w 1858 roku), *The Life and Death of Jason* powstrzymuje się od bezpośredniego potępienia kobiety, która próbuje zmierzyć się z doświadczeniem zdrady i hańby. Tym samym, w artykule podjęto próbę zbadania, w jaki sposób Morris wykorzystał motywy hellenistyczne do omówienia złożoności kobiecego doświadczenia, które przekracza granice czasu i miejsca.

Słowa kluczowe

William Morris, femme fatale, hellenizm wiktoriański, XIX wiek, Medea, rewizjonizm w literaturze

1. Introduction

In July 1867, Algernon C. Swinburne published his review of William Morris's long narrative poem *The Life and Death of Jason* (1867), underlining that Morris's take on the Greek myth is filtered through the English sensibility that, perhaps above all, values restraint rather than a magnified expression of passion and tragedy. As Swinburne argues,

> Mr. Morris has an English respect for *temperance and reserve*;[2] good things as drags, but not as clogs. He is not afraid to tackle a passion, but he will not move an inch from his way to tackle it. Tragedy can never be more than the episode of a romance, and romance is rather to his taste than naked tragedy. He reminds us of the knight in Chaucer cutting sharply short the monk's tragic histories as too piteous for recital, or the very monk himself breaking off the detail of Ugolino's agony with a reference to Dante for those who can endure it (1867: 23).

While Swinburne appreciates Morris's medievalist writing style[3] that involves a rich use of colour and lavish descriptions of places and rituals, what draws his attention is Medea that constitutes the pivotal character in the poem, or Swinburne writes, she is "the root of romance". As Swinburne notices, it is Medea who propels the narrative of *The Life and Death of Jason* since that her portrayal remains ambiguously multifaceted and idiosyncratic:

> the very flower and crest of this noble poem is the final tragedy at Corinth. Queen, sorceress, saviour, she has shrunk or risen to mere woman; and not in vain before entering the tragic lists has

[2] Emphasis mine.

[3] In "Morris, Modernism, and Romance" David G. Riede argues that the early writings of Morris have adopted John Keats's immature narrative style, present for instance in *Endymion*. As Riede writes, "Even Swinburne, who admired Morris's "river of romance" that "flows on at full, but keeping well to its channel," noted that the untroubled fluency of such poetic technique might profit by setting itself some difficulties […] to overcome" (1984: 103).

> the poet called on that great poet's memory who has dealt with the terrible and pitiful passion of women like none but Shakespeare since (1867: 23).

Swinburne contends that what contributes to the poem's overall sense of tragedy is the dwindling status of the Colchian sorceress, from the queen and the witch to an average woman. In *The Life and Death of Jason*, Morris reworks the vision of Medea, depicting her not as a purely malevolent figure as she is traditionally viewed; instead, he traces the story of humiliation that triggered her reaction. Therefore, Morris does not directly judge Medea's responses, but he subtly empathises with his heroine, or at least, as Florence Boos notes, "suspends his judgement" (2021: 78).

While most previous studies focus on Morris's rendition of femme fatale in *The Defence of Guinevere* (for example Elizabeth Helsinger's excellent article "Lyric Colour: Pre-Raphaelite Art and Morris's The Defence of Guenevere" and incredibly compelling analyses by Florence Boos in "The Defence of Guenevere: A Morrisean Critique of Medieval Violence" and "Sexual Polarities in 'The Defence of Guenevere'"), this study offers a detailed examination of the image of not-deliberately-fatal Medea in *The Life and Death of Jason* which, surprisingly, has been overlooked in the research on Morris's poetry.

As I wish to show in the article, what Morris does with the image of Medea is a profound subversion of the heroine's status. Although the title of the poem implies that it describes the life of Jason, it is Medea's story that Morris makes central to the plot. Such a shift of focus – from hero-Jason to heroine-Medea – becomes symptomatic of the artist's vision of the alternative society where women can be as skilled and as brutal as men. What is more, Medea conventionally embodies the femme fatale trope – an alluring but dangerous woman who destroys men for the sake of annihilation. However, Morris's rewriting does not illustrate her as fully malignant. My close reading of the text reveals how Morris cleverly subverts the depiction of Medea pertaining to the cultural images of the femme fatale and consciously goes against the established notions of fatal femininity, characterised by a devouring sexuality, manipulation, and an irresistible urge to ruin men. Similarly to *The Defence of Guinevere* (published in 1858), in *The Life and Death of Jason,* Morris refrains from pointing directly at the villain of the story. Still, he presents the story from a different vantage point, portraying the circumstances that lead Medea to the murder of her children.

2. Femme fatale trope: Changes, features, and contexts

The femme fatale trope, although ubiquitous in the cultural representations of women, seems to encompass everything and, at the same time, nothing. For decades, cultural and literary critics have been struggling with the clear-cut definition of a fatal woman, primarily noting that there would be no fatal woman without the ideal one. Therefore, the basic premise is that of the dichotomy between idealisation and demonization of women. In *The Romantic Agony* Mario Praz assumes that the emergence of the Fatal Woman trope was particularly visible in the mid-nineteenth century:

> During the first stage of Romanticism, up till about the middle of the nineteenth century, we meet with several Fatal Women in literature, but there is no established type of Fatal Woman in the way that there is an established type of Byronic Hero (1951: 191).

Likewise, Silke Binias claims that there is no common denominator for dangerous women (2007:34). However, the cultural criticism of fatal womanhood usually emphasises a threatening sensuality, destructive behaviour, and a dangerous allure for men (Bade 1979: 3-9). In a similar vein, Virginia Allen notes that the image of femme fatale is not only centred on the “remoteness from human being” and the “intent to destroy” (1983: 2-4) but also serves as the expression of the struggle between sexes that is accelerated by “lust, tainted with corruption and perversion”

(1983: 4). Furthermore, John Raymond Miller provides an interesting yet not exhaustive typology of femme fatales in fin de siècle culture, dividing them into "conscious and unconscious" (1974: 80). Miller argues that conscious fatal women are "actively seeking destruction, downfall and vengeance" (1974: 89) whereas the unconscious ones do not want to willingly cause harm. However, as Binias convincingly posits, Miller still operates on the straightforward categorisation of fatal women, "ending up with two neatly labelled and mutually exclusive drawers for convenient storage of all samples" (2007: 35).

The femme fatale motif has gained momentum since the emergence of feminist criticism, particularly in terms of the power struggle between men and women. As Miller and Bork suggest, a fatal woman is not only driven by physical dominance but also aspires to gain psychological and spiritual control over her male victim (Miller 1974: 67, Bork 1992: 61). Correspondingly, Maria Moog-Grünewald maintains that the images of femme fatale personify male anxiety about the connection between the woman and her feral and uncontrollable nature (1983: 244-250). Furthermore, a fatal woman is both repelling and alluring for a man. As Wolfson argues, the encounter with a fatal woman serves as an escapist mechanism from the social and rational life of a man (1991: 47-85). That is to say, the wild and untamed qualities of a fatal woman entice the rational and domesticated man, offering a temporary alternative to middle-class reality (Binias 2007: 38). As Binias informs, the femme fatale could be characterised by both excess (in terms of beauty, sexual allure, power) and lack (heart, compassion, emotions) (2007: 38). She seems irresistible to men, but she also preys on the inexperience of her lovers. She indulges in her sexuality, but she is also barren and indifferent to human feelings. She derives pleasure from inflicting pain, revealing her predatory instincts. However, looking at the literary revisions of femme fatales, it must be stressed that the Victorian renditions are not only dominated by the erotic man-eaters but also by the images of independence, unattainability, ambiguity, and ambivalence. As

Julie Gossman points out, "[f]emale characters branded as femme fatales perform roles in order to survive, to seduce, or to manipulate others, to get what they want, yet any 'pretence' to better their position is received as immoral and invites male scorn" (2020: Introduction).

Gossman's argument echoes William Morris's approach to femme fatales in that their destructive attitude enables them to deal with the imbalance of power between men and women. As Florence Boos explains, between 1867-1876, there was a shift in Morris's way of representing femme fatales. In the initial period of his literary career (the 1850s), he tended to see women more as victims of oppression and discriminatory structures of society. With time, he started to concentrate on stories that involved women who were either indifferent to men and male desire or who were driven by revenge, passion, and violence that could "destroy the objects of their former attachments" (Boos 2021: 78). In his later writings, Morris focused primarily on the femme fatale, who is capable of irreparable harm to make a statement about individuality and independence. Thus, reworking the image of Medea in the mid-1860s allowed Morris to explore the trope of fatal womanhood that is not defined by the association with men but by the recognition of one's identity.

3. Medea in William Morris's *The Life and Death of Jason*

According to the myth, Medea was a barbarian princess, a sorceress, and supposedly a niece of Circe from the ancient land of Colchis. She fell in love with Jason, a leader of the Argonauts who embarked on a quest for the Golden Fleece. Having fallen in love with Jason, Medea set off on a journey with the Argonauts and, thanks to her magic skills, helped them retrieve the Fleece. However, due to Jason's political ambitions, Medea is deserted and humiliated by her husband and, thus, she "has murdered her way into a privileged place in the history of the imagination of the West" (Hall 1999: 42). Especially in Euripides's drama, Medea becomes the wronged woman who seeks revenge on her estranged husband and his new bride Glauke, the daughter of King Creon. The sorceress grows enraged and poisons the golden robes and the coronet that she sends to Jason's new wife. As a consequence, Glauke and her father die. The tragedy ends with Medea killing her sons and escaping Corinth on a golden chariot. Surprisingly, Euripides's version tries to shed a sympathetic light on Medea's predicament and, as Fritz Graf stresses, Medea "is in no way the witch that Ovid and Seneca later make her out to be" (1997: 30).

Morris was no stranger to classical mythology and he extensively consulted numerous sources such as Apollonius Rhodius's *Agronautica*, Pindar's *Odes*, Euripides's *Medea*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, or Seneca's version of Medea (Whitla 2021: 314-316) which proves his in-depth and fastidious research into the myth. Florence Boos maintains that Morris plays with several conventions known among the classical scholars, tailoring these inspirations to present Medea equally humanly and heroically (2016: 45-46). Initially, the name of Morris's rewriting was *The Deeds of Jason,* which would presumably blame Jason for what happened in the myth. In contrast, the second title – *The Life and Death of Jason* – incorporates more ambiguity into the narrative, implying that the tragedy of marital breakdown and its consequences may constitute an integral part of life, without a straightforward indictment of either Jason or Medea.

Morris chooses to represent Medea as a figure that constantly shifts and changes. She is not pigeonholed into specific roles; instead, the particular scenes in the poem disclose different aspects of Medea's personality. He puts emphasis on three dimensions of her character: a regal ancestry, magical abilities, and her struggles as a wife and a lover, therefore demonstrating her being torn between different roles and concerns. Contrary to nineteenth-century pictorial representations and similarly to the revisions done by women writers, Morris offers the vision of a passionate, fearless yet deeply troubled Medea.

The Colchian princess is introduced in Book VII, where Jason arrives at Æa, her original home and the leading city of ancient Colchis. From the very beginning, Morris describes Medea in terms of her regal position as a princess and he does that in an almost courtly manner. Morris rejects framing her as the barbarian; instead, she is perceived as “a lovely queen”[4] (Book VII, l. 34); “a royal maid” (Book VII, l. 94), and the king’s daughter (Book VII, ll. 35-38). Even Medea’s appearance differs from her conventional interpretation in the nineteenth century as the exotic Other[5]. Morris portrays Medea as having a “golden head” (Book VII, l. 48) and “a fair face” (Book VII, l. 92) which, despite being more faithful to Euripides’s tragedy, was rather an unusual manoeuvre for the Victorian period. Such characterisation would imply her being a model Victorian Angel in the House who possesses a delicate appearance that was ideologically ascribed to virtuous women and, traditionally, Medea remained in opposition to that ideal.

Yet, contrary to the seemingly subtle imagery, Book VII discusses a growing desire between Medea and Jason. As Morris writes:

> but while she spoke
> Came Love unseen, and cast his golden yoke
> About them, both, and sweeter her voice grew,
> And softer ever, as betwixt them flew,
> With fluttering wings, the new-born strong desire;
> And when her eyes met his grey eyes, on fire
> With that which burned her, then with sweet new shame
> Her fair face reddened, and there went and came
> Delicious tremors through her
> (Book VII, ll. 85-93)

Medea’s image of the Angel in the House is instantaneously refuted. In fact, passages like “new-born strong desire” (Book VII, l. 89) her being “on fire with that which burned her” (Book VII,

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[4] All passages of *The Life and Death of Jason* are taken from the 1895 edition, available online on *William Morris Archive*.

[5] Compare with Amy Levy’s “Medea: A Fragment in Dramatic Form”, published in *A Minor Poet and Other Verse* (1884).

ll. 90-91) “sweet new shame” (Book VII, l. 91) or “delicious tremors” (Book VII, l. 93) reveal that Medea recognises her passion for Jason and the images related to consuming infatuation dominates Book VII. Such a portrayal of Medea hints at her being a determined woman, not scared of her desires since she is the one who enters Jason’s chamber to give him the magic potion that would protect him. As Medea explains:

> O Prince, she said, I came
> To save your life. I cast off fear and shame
> A little while, but fear and shame are here.
> The hand thou holdest trembles with my fear,
> With shame, my cheeks are burning, and the sound
> Of mine own voice: but ere this hour comes round,
> We twain will be betwixt the dashing oars,
> The ship still making for the Grecian shores.
> Farewell till then, though in the lists to-day
> (Book VII, ll. 413-421)

She is committed to supporting Jason and willing to sacrifice everything – her homeland and her comfortable life on the island – only to help him obtain the Golden Fleece. As Book VIII suggests, Medea, without much thinking and driven by her sudden and intense emotions, leaves her home and goes on the quest to tame the brazen bulls:

> And so, being come to Jason, him she found
> All armed, and ready; therefore, with no sound,
> She beckoned him to follow, and the twain
> Passed through the brazen doors, locked all in vain,
> Such virtue had the herb Medea bore,
> And passing, did they leave ajar each door,
> To give more ease unto the Minyæ.
> So out into the fresh night silently
> The lovers passed, the loveliest of the land;
> But as they went, neither did hand touch hand,
> Or face seek face; for, gladsome as they were,
> Trembling with joy to be at last so near

The wished-for day, some God yet seemed to be
'Twixt the hard past and their felicity
(Book VIII, ll. 464-476)

As the text implies, Medea embarks on a journey with Jason, despite the initial awkwardness and shame. Interestingly, this appears to be a vision of a woman who is, on the one hand, extremely devoted to her lover but, on the other hand, there are already hints of Medea's more authoritative side as "[s]he beckoned him to follow" (Book VIII, l. 465). Morris, by portraying their relationship as idyllically happy and strangely transfixing, makes the reader sympathetic towards Medea. Primarily, she wants to be Jason's companion, not the enemy – thus, to help him, she resorts to her knowledge of magic.

A strong association of Medea with herbal witchcraft – "herb Medea bore" (Book VIII, l. 467) – is a recurrent and predominant theme in the narrative. Contrary to Augusta Webster's interpretation of Medea in "Medea in Athens" (1870), Morris does not avoid representing the Colchian princess as a powerful and knowledgeable sorceress; conversely, he warns the readers that magic can function not only as a tool for creation but also as a means of destruction. Book VII contains a lengthy and detailed passage where Medea brews a magical potion that Jason uses to obtain the Golden Fleece. Morris draws a rather conventional picture of a magic ritual where Medea transforms into the commander of natural forces, devoid of fear and apprehension ("As though she made for some place known full well" (l. 149) and "With eager steps, not heeding fear or pain" (l. 153). Firstly, she goes alone at night, in the dark ("The yew-wood's darkness, gross and palpable" (l. 148)) which reveals a strong belief in her own skills as a witch as well as her lack of fear of the unknown. Secondly, she creates an ointment in the magic circle in the middle of the forest ("Showed in the midst a circle of smooth grass,/Through which, from dark to dark, a stream did pass" (ll. 156-157)), which is an ancient setting for occult ceremonials.

Thirdly, she brews the potion from plants, proving her expertise in herbal magic; it is also hinted at the crown that Medea wears:

> but when again she came
> Into its light, within her caught-up gown
> Much herbs she had, and on her head a crown
> Of dank night-flowering grasses, known to few.
> But, casting down the mystic herbs, she drew
> From out her wallet a bowl polished bright,
> Brazen, and wrought with figures black and white,
> Which from the stream she filled with water thin,
> And, kneeling by the fire, she cast therein
> Shreddings of many herbs, and setting it
> Amidst the flames, she watched them curl and flit
> About the edges of the blackening brass
> (Book VII, ll. 174-185)

Furthermore, while Medea prepares the magic concoction, she waits patiently and carefully for the magic to happen ("Set it alight, and with her head bent low/Sat patiently, and watched the red flames grow" (ll. 163-164)). Truly, such a scene reminds us that she is not an impulsive and reckless woman, but she is capable of acting methodically and consistently. Additionally, Medea's meticulous ritual relies heavily on her own body since she uses it as a kind of vessel – as Morris describes, Medea "[t]ook up some scarce-seen thing from off the ground/And thrust it in her bosom, and at last/Into the darkness of the trees she passed" (Book VII, ll. 170-173). Hence, Medea's involvement not only encompasses mental support to retrieve the Golden Fleece, but she utilises her witchcraft and her own physicality to protect her beloved.

Nonetheless, the final invocation to the goddess Hecate, who becomes the patron of Medea, appears symptomatic for the rest of the narrative as it betrays the slight doubt that starts to creep into her heart. Kneeling after the ritual, Medea asks Hecate (goddess associated with witchcraft and sorcery) for counsel; yet the goddess is silent. Medea, desperate for any response, starts to realise that perhaps Hecate does not answer because she already knows that Medea has made the mistake of going with Jason. As Medea pleads, “dost thou, dread one, see/About me somewhat that misliketh thee?” (Book VII, ll. 205-206).

Another example that shows Medea’s magical power is the bewitching influence of music. The Colchian sorceress, who oversees the quest, tames the bulls by playing:

> the golden strings [of the harp],
> Preluding nameless and delicious things […]
> Peace, for he cometh! O thou Goddess bright,
> What help wilt thou be unto me this night?
> So murmured she, while ceaselessly she drew
> Her fingers through the strings, and fuller grew
> The tinkling music, but the beast drawn nigh
> Went slower still, and turning presently
> Began to move around them in a ring.
> And as he went, there fell a strange rattling
> Of his dry scales; but as he turned, she turned,
> Nor failed to meet the eyes that on her burned
> With steadfast eyes, and, lastly, clear and strong
> (Book IX, ll. 65-87)

Medea functions here as an enabler and thus a true hero of the story. Without her magical abilities and great courage, Jason would not be able to steal the Golden Fleece. Moreover, without Medea’s encouragement and company, Jason would not be able to snatch the Fleece. Truly, Morris continuously demonstrates Medea’s competence through a series of detailed descriptions of her dabbling with black and white magic. Contrary to black magic, white magic is usually performed for selfless purposes, to heal or to protect somebody. Given that distinction, Medea resorts to the occult but, at this point in the narrative, it is not to hurt anybody. In his rendition of witchcraft, Morris develops almost a romantic image of Medea as an artist, whose creativity might save others. Like the Romantic tradition that saw art as a redemptive force, her music saved Jason from being killed, indicating that her magic might be a force for good. In general, Medea does not use her magic to harm anyone, thus her label of being a femme fatale seems entirely displaced. Only provoked by unfaithfulness and humiliation, she brings chaos and destruction with the use of sorcery.

Notably, Medea's position as a witch makes her a leader of the quest, an active heroine and not a passive maiden who goes on a journey only to adore her lover. She displays a more decisive side of the character, showing her knowledge of how the world operates. The beginning of Book IX informs that Medea is fully aware of the consequences of her actions:

> O love, turn round, and note the goodlihead
> My father's palace shows beneath the stars.
> Bethink thee of the men grown old in wars,
> Who do my bidding; what delights I have,
> How many ladies lie in wait to save
> My life from toil and carefulness, and think
> How sweet a cup I have been used to drink,
> And how I cast it to the ground for thee.
> Upon the day thou weariest of me,
> I wish that thou mayst somewhat think of this,
> And 'twixt thy new-found kisses, and the bliss
> Of something sweeter than thine old delight,
> Remember thee a little of this night
> Of marvels, and this starlit, silent place,
> And these two lovers standing face to face
> (Book IX, ll. 4-18)

She becomes aware that she might have stayed at home and her life would be more comfortable back there. Instead, she decided to give up that comfort. Such passages indicate that Medea is not driven by any hidden motifs but by affection, which is amplified by Jason's enthusiastic declaration of love. However, she ambiguously responds to her husband's words:

Wert thou more fickle than the restless sea,
Still should I love thee, knowing thee for such;
Whom I know not, indeed, but fear the touch
Of Fortune's hand when she beholds our bliss
(Book IX, ll. 22-25)

Echoing Hecate's silence during the magical ritual and her plea for assistance, the Colchian princess subconsciously knows that despite a strong attachment to Jason, there is a Fortune that might change everything, even the love between them. This response, ambivalent at first, confirms Medea's wisdom; in fact, she might resemble a humble and a meek woman, who recognises that her bliss might be immediately ruined by the workings of gods beyond her control.

More importantly for the vindication (or defence) of Medea, she only witnesses the atrocities of the quest and is not an active participant in it. To shed a positive light on Medea, Morris drastically alters the original storyline where it is the Colchian princess who murders her brother Absyrtius; in his retelling, it is done by Jason. By manipulating the plot, Morris takes the blame from Medea, turning her into a passive observer of the crime, not its perpetrator. She tries to persuade herself that Fortune and gods are on her side, believing that love conquers all. Nevertheless, she starts to have doubts, being torn between her family and her husband:

The foundress of their triumph and renown,
And to her lover's side still drew anear,
With heart now swelled with joy, now sick with fear,
And cheeks now flushed with love, now pale and wan,
As now she thought upon that goodly man,
And now on the uncertain, dreadful Gods,
And now upon her father, and the odds
He well might raise against the reckless crew,
For all his mighty power full well she knew;
No wonder therefore if her heart grew cold,
And if her wretched self she did behold,

Led helpless through some old familiar place,
With none to turn on her a pitying face,
Unto the death in life, she still might win;
And yet, if she should ‘scapethe meed of sin
This once, the world was fair and bright enough
(Book IX, ll. 332-347)

The final passages of Book IX act as a foreshadowing of the tragedy that unfolds in the subsequent books. In the earlier parts of *The Life and Death of Jason,* Medea absconds a femme fatale status. She devotes her talents, intelligence, and wisdom to assisting Jason in his quest. Her talents are versatile – she is a gifted herbal witch, a royal princess, a woman-musician whose music allows her to reclaim the Golden Fleece. Nevertheless, closer to the end of Book IX, Morris's verses hint at Medea's dissatisfaction, growing identity crises, and the uncertainty about her position as a wife and mother.

Being decidedly humanitarian towards Medea, Morris portrays her as one of the wise women, among Hecate and Circe (Boos 2016: 57), thus ignoring the male protagonists of his narrative. In the traditional myth, Circe was the one who cleansed Medea and Jason from the burden of killing Medea's brother; in the poet's reinterpretation, only Medea receives counsel from Circe (a goddess and herbal sorceress). What is more, Circe plays a dubious role since she is brutally honest with Medea and, thus, incredibly helpful for the grounding of Medea's identity (Boos 2016: 47). While the silent Hecate planted the seed of doubt, Circe's warning is openly articulated. As Circe tells Medea, she will be remembered mainly for her tragic encounters:

Weep not, nor pity thine own life too much:
Not painless shall it be, indeed, nor such
As the Gods live in their unchanged abode,
And yet not joyless; no unmeasured load
Of sorrows shall thy dull soul learn to bear,
With nought to keep thee back from death but fear,

Of what thou know'st not, knowing nought but pain
(Book XIII, ll. 315-321)

Apart from the premonition that Medea will suffer and advising her to run like Daphne ("Gird up thy raiment, nor run slower now/Than from the amorous bearer of the bow/Once Daphne ran (Book XIII, ll. 349-351)), Circe assures her that "Thy name shall be a solace and a song" (Book XIII, l. 334), thus comparing her to a heroic figure whose deeds will bring strength for others. Again, the reference to the commemorating and redeeming power of music confirms that Medea's fearlessness will consolidate her superior position. Even though these words do not bring any consolation to Medea, such an episode signals that her predicament will be widely recognised and sung about forever. Consequently, Circe becomes Medea's tutor who informs her – with "[a] fair face shuddering and afraid" (Book XIII, l. 354) – that she should leave the island. Medea does not feel more empowered by the knowledge she received; instead, as Boos argues, "Circe's predictions effectively enhance Medea's character and stature within the poem, but her absolution brings chilling foreknowledge of ineluctable guilt" (2016: 49).

Book XVII witnesses Jason's transformation into the antihero of the narrative, simultaneously uncovering Medea's desire for revenge. The account involves three main episodes – Jason marrying Glauke (King Creon's daughter), Medea's filicide, and Jason's death. As Morris's retelling goes, Medea, Jason, and their two sons have been living in Corinth for ten years until Creon takes over the throne. The city's ruler tries to manipulate Jason to marry Glauke and, after initial hesitation, Jason falls under the spell of Glauke's youthful beauty. Despite the brief moment of clarity of mind, he calls himself

O wavering traitor, still unsatisfied!
O false betrayer of the love so tried!
Fool! to cast off the beauty that thou knowst,
Clear-seeing wisdom, better than a host

Against thy foes, and truth and constancy
Thou wilt not know again
(Book XVII, ll. 399-404)

Jason decides to abandon Medea nonetheless. Accusing himself, he candidly praises Medea's powerful traits, like wisdom, truth, constancy, beauty, and faithfulness.

In the latter part of Book XVII, the narration transforms into the forthright accusation of Jason because he sacrificed his family bliss in exchange for a temporary political prestige. The moment Medea is given the divorce bill, her initial despair is replaced with wrath and the resolution to kill her sons, declaring that "thou shalt die--his eyes shall see thine end./Ah! if thy death alone could end it all!" (Book XVII, ll. 918-919). However, Morris omits the episode where Medea murders the children in the presence of Jason. This kind of alteration proves his rather biased attitude toward Medea, making the whole plot more tailored to the vision of her being a desperate woman, but never a brutal one.

4. Conclusions

Morris constructs his defence of Medea on the basis of a subverted image of a femme fatale that pictures not a spitefully malevolent woman but rather a woman blinded by love and passion. In his version, Medea remains a disheartened sorceress, misled by the promise of affection and companionship. Throughout the poem, Morris's poem convinces the readers that Medea is not a consciously fatal woman who deliberately seeks to destroy Jason just because she wants to do so. Only after the betrayal of her beloved does she reveal a threatening and dangerous facet of her personality. Therefore, the cultural status of Medea as a femme fatale is dismantled in Morris's narrative.

Morris redeems Medea in various ways. Firstly, he makes her one of the pivotal characters in the story without mentioning her in the title, therefore, subverting the expectations of readers

– they encounter the wise Medea and not the ruthless one, defined by her culturally established vision as a child-killer. Secondly, taking advantage of the genre of his text (a long narrative poem), Morris adopts conventions of the mythological storytelling, but he strongly draws attention to the past of the Colchian princess that would explain her subsequent actions. He mentions her magical talents, the royal heritage, and divine guidance, which are ultimately taken advantage of by Jason. Although Morris remarks on Medea's witchcraft, he portrays her as a skilled sorceress who can use her magic to achieve something good, not to cause devastation.

Morris crafts a narrative that tells the reader what may happen when the abused woman is capable of retaliation, punishing those who exploited her. Consequently, *The Life and Death of Jason* might be Morris's nineteenth-century attempt to create a literary commentary on the potentially dreadful aftermath of the inequality between sexes.[6] Despite his interest in the issues of gender equality, Morris's empathy and "the suspension of judgement" (Boos 2021: 78) is only towards the Colchian sorceress, without focusing on Jason's perspective. Despite that, Morris's text testifies to his deep fascination with proto-feminist criticism, the destruction of the family, and the experience of women who might be labelled as fatal. As the poet shows, these women, rather dubiously, attempt to navigate their way through betrayal and dishonour.

[6] Morris's interest in socialism, utopia, and materialism has been widely discussed in multiple scholarly works. For the further discussion see: Anna Vaninskaya's "Janus-Faced Fictions: Socialism as Utopia and Dystopia in William Morris and George Orwell," Elizabeth Carolyn Miller's "William Morris, Extraction Capitalism, and the Aesthetics of Surface," Michael Holzman's "Anarchism and Utopia: William Morris's *News from Nowhere,*" or Jerome McGann's "'A Thing to Mind': The Materialist Aesthetic of William Morris".

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Beyond Philology No. 20/2, 2023
ISSN 1732-1220, eISSN 2451-1498

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