

was the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five. Spiritual revelation  
the clock, which pointed to the hour of seven . He rubbed his hands; adjusted his capaci-  
ted one. He had known the last witness seven or eight years; ISSN 2299-5900 incident  
h bore more memorable wrecks with it. Seven faces of prisoners, suddenly released by the  
rain, nor perhaps sixty-six, nor yet sixty- seven . He has a twist of the gout now and then  
d the child off her lap, poor thing, these seven days and nights, except when I've been ab-  
s himself at the town mansion at about seven o'clock in the evening and requests to see

# TOKEN

## A Journal of English Linguistics

by you accepted, for the sum of ninety- seven pounds four shillings and ninepence, will I  
don't go about asking busy people what seven and sixpence is in Moorish-which I don't  
uld they keep me long enough to spend seven shillings? Should I sleep at night in one of  
n with a blow on the forehead from the seven -and-sixpenny ink-bottle that was always o-  
on this head, that it was six at first and seven afterwards. He paid me a week down (from  
mixed with rhubarb, and flavoured with seven drops of the essence of cloves, which was  
o and fro, of a certain Number Twenty Seven , who was the Favourite, and who really ap-  
hat the little hole was blocked up, six or seven heads deep. To remedy this inconvenience  
h would have been youthful for twenty- seven . Her attitude in the wheeled chair (which  
tten down the initial letters of the other seven lines, deserting him at that point. Beyond  
d up the dining-room door, shutting out seven mild men in the stony-hearted hall. When  
g for next day, with a copper-stick, from seven to eight by the Dutch clock. I tried it with  
ame the cost of two hundred and forty- seven muslin caps at fourteen-pence halfpenny;



Volume 7/2018

r arm through his, and to lead her away. Seven or eight gentlemen were standing round the  
state of the drama-three half-crowns is seven -and-six; we shall not differ about sixpence  
hen none else could. Pride is one of the seven deadly sins; but it cannot be the pride of a  
all rolls! - I lost one hundred and thirty- seven pound yesterday, gentlemen, at one roll of  
same a strange road, for he was only seven years old. I remember this one took it on

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Token: A Journal of English Linguistics

Volume 7

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JAN KOCHANOWSKI UNIVERSITY OF KIELCE

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Volume 7

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Edited by  
John G. Newman  
Marina Dossena  
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Special Editors for volume 7  
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#### **Editorial Correspondence**

Uniwersytet Jana Kochanowskiego w Kielcach  
Instytut Filologii Obcych  
ul. Świętokrzyska 21D  
25-406 Kielce  
Poland  
[www.ujk.edu.pl/token](http://www.ujk.edu.pl/token)  
[token@ujk.edu.pl](mailto:token@ujk.edu.pl)

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## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Marina Dossena\* and Polina Shvanyukova\*\*

\* *University of Bergamo*

\*\* *University of Florence*

### **1. Translation and the dissemination of knowledge: Overview of an interdisciplinary and international research project**

This volume of *Token: A Journal of English Linguistics* originates from an international research project funded by the University of Bergamo between 2015 and 2017 within its 'Excellence Initiatives' programme, and which also profited from the participation of students and staff from the Universities of Alcalá (Spain) and Giessen (Germany). The general topic of the project focused on the circulation of knowledge in the West, highlighting the important link existing between research and teaching, especially at the MA level. For this reason, it addressed the issue of knowledge dissemination from an interdisciplinary perspective; in particular, the project aimed to offer historical and methodological insights on the topic of translation, seen as an especially significant channel for the circulation of contents, both in the sense of representation of reality and in the sense of argumentation.

The diachronic perspective of the project deserves to be underlined because translation is addressed as one of the possible forms of cultural transmission from the past to the current world; it is therefore seen as a privileged tool for the cross-fertilization of cultures, not only for the linguistic and stylistic skills it implies, but also for the specificity of the cultures under comparison. It is on these grounds that this volume has chosen to address the topic of translation in a historical framework, taking into consideration how documents were translated, what tools the translators could rely on, and

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<sup>1</sup> Although the authors worked closely on the preparation of this Introduction, Marina Dossena is responsible for Section 1 and the Dedication to the late Prof. Matti Rissanen at the end of the text, while Polina Shvanyukova is responsible for Section 2.

what instances of linguistic contiguity can be found even in monolingual texts in which social and geographical variation is discussed. At the same time, further reflections are offered on contemporary translation both in literature and in different media, not least in a didactic perspective<sup>2</sup>.

The multidisciplinary nature of the studies conducted over the two years allowed valuable exchanges through contributions from different disciplines, which were nonetheless homogeneous in their methodological approach. In line with the specific areas of interest of the participants, the research areas mainly concerned the Italian, English, French, German, Russian, Spanish, Hispano-American, and Anglo-American languages, cultures, and literatures since the connections between them are as extensive as they are unavoidable, and therefore lend themselves to investigations also of a comparative nature. This multilingual approach has led to the preparation of different publications (in Italian, German, French, Spanish and English, all due to appear in 2018) in which the results achieved in the various branches of the project could be circulated. We are very privileged to offer this issue of *Token* as one of these publications, in the belief that it will prove of interest to our international readers.

## 2. The contents of this volume – an outline

The range of the topics discussed in the papers collected in this volume reflects the ubiquitous presence of translation practices, as well as the complexity and multifaceted nature of translation as a linguistic, cultural and social phenomenon. The first two papers in this issue (authored by Nicholas Brownlees and Massimo Sturiale) focus on newspaper discourse. Brownlees and Sturiale show how news publications can employ a varied repertoire of strategies to encode and disseminate powerful ideological stances. In seventeenth-century England, as **Nicholas Brownlees** explains, foreign news reached the English reading public mainly through translation, as news publications in English relied on sources in other European languages. At the same time, English-language newspapers could also be translated into other European languages in order to reach a wider reading public. Brownlees discusses the highly interesting case of *Gazette de Londres*, the

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<sup>2</sup> Most papers included in this volume were first presented at an international conference held in Bergamo in September 2017, in which representatives of all partner institutions participated.

French version of the government-sponsored *London Gazette* and the only periodical newspaper of the Restoration period to run uninterruptedly for more than two decades. *Gazette de Londres* was printed as the officially authorised translation of the original English version, and yet, as Brownlee is able to show, the versions in English and in French were not exactly the same. The comparison of 11 numbers (issues) of *London Gazette* and *Gazette de Londres*, published in the summer of 1669, reveals intriguing differences in the layout, arrangement, inclusion/exclusion of news content, as well as in the way English news dispatches were translated into French. Although close translation was the most frequent strategy adopted by the translator, occasionally content was manipulated, sometimes with an explicitly ideological intent. In the latter case, an ideological translation strategy aimed to control, in more than one way, the reception of English news by the French-reading audience. Ultimately, it was through translation manipulation that the translator could, for example, promote the English government policy or lead his audience to believe that the events relating to the French court in the original *London Gazette* were cast in the same positive light as they were in the translated *Gazette de Londres*.

Explicit ideological colouring of newspaper discourse is also discussed in **Massimo Sturiale's** paper. His study examines the role of news publications in disseminating prescriptive linguistic attitudes in Britain and the United States in a critical period of 'linguistic instability' in Late Modern times. The corpus under investigation is composed of more than three hundred nineteenth-century "letters to the editor" and newspaper articles, collected from British and American sources, all dealing with issues of pronunciation. Sturiale's analysis makes it clear that the ideological agendas were markedly different on the two sides of the Atlantic, with British orthoepists, journalists and readers targeting 'vulgar' accents, i.e. regional English accents, at a time when their American counterparts were preoccupied with becoming more linguistically independent from Britain. However, the two news discourses had something in common as well: both actively engaged in the ideologically charged debate on standard language by providing space for laymen's opinions, comments and efforts to 'safeguard' what they considered 'proper' language use. Letters to the British and American editors, written to express strong prescriptive attitudes, often criticised specific phonological features, which were singled out as disgraceful and unacceptable. Some of these phonological features gradually became associated with a particular group, which would be stigmatised on the grounds of 'incorrect' pronunciation (e.g., *yod*-dropping as a stereotypical 'Americanism' for the British).

The next two papers address the social and cultural dimensions of lexical borrowing (Marina Dossena) and the role played by ideologically-motivated translation practices in the transfer of encyclopedic knowledge from the source into the target language (Elisabetta Lonati) in Late Modern times. **Marina Dossena's** paper is concerned with the ways in which Gaelic vocabulary, borrowed into (Scottish) English between 1700 and 1900, helped construct an enduring image of Scotland as a unique and exotic culture. With ca. 65% of Gaelic vocabulary entering English in the Late Modern period, the acquisition of new borrowings was greatly facilitated by widespread circulation of contemporary literary and popular culture works that preserved, promoted and popularised Celtic items. The analysis of the most important lexicographic sources of the period shows how culture-bound, untranslatable items (e.g., *caddis*, *plaid*, *dirk*, *carval*, *quaaltagh*, *kilt*) represent the largest group of the borrowings, whose provenance can be traced back to contemporary literary works. Dossena then discusses the role played by other text types, such as popular culture and non-literary works, in the diffusion of Gaelic vocabulary, focusing specifically on the narrations of the dramatic events of the last Jacobite rebellion. She is able to show how, in the aftermath of Culloden, the vast popularity of Sir Walter Scott's novels and their representations of Scotland and the Jacobite cause endorsed the preservation and the diffusion of lexical items associated with Scottish culture. Scott's novels, alongside other nineteenth-century text types, contributed to a significant cultural re-assessment and reinterpretation of Highland life, language and culture. Marina Dossena's study demonstrates how a multi-dimensional, multi-level kind of investigation, combining quantitative and qualitative methods with an in-depth historical and cultural analysis, can further our understanding of the complex relationship existing between historical events, their literary and popular culture representations, and lexical change in the intertwined history of Scots, Scottish English and Gaelic.

This encompassing approach is adopted also in **Elisabetta Lonati's** paper, which examines the mechanisms of the preservation and dissemination of culture-bound topics in Late Modern Europe. In her case study, Lonati looks at three eighteenth-century Italian translations of the 5<sup>th</sup> edition of Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia, or An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Science* (1741-34) and its 1753 *Supplement*. Chamber's work, published in Britain in two in-folio volumes in 1727, was the first reference work of its kind to introduce a system of complex cross-references, an innovation that marked the beginning of a new era in the encyclopaedic genre. The editorial success of Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* is attested by the many editions,

reprints and translations into other European languages in the course of the eighteenth century, which boosted the dissemination of British history and culture across Europe. The analysis of the Italian translations of the work, issued in Venice (1748-49 [1748-1753]), Naples (1747-54), and Genoa (1770-75), focuses on the translation/adaptation of the entries on religious dissent, a topic of particular interest from a historical and cultural perspective. Lonati conducts a qualitative, comparative analysis of the entries of the thirty major headwords pertaining to the notion of dissent (e.g., *dissenters/dissentisti/dissenzianti*, *nonconformists/noncoformisti/nonconformisti*) in the English and the three Italian versions. On a general level, the major finding is that all English headwords and entries relating to the notion of religious dissent have been included in the translated works. Moreover, the three Italian texts, in most cases, represent a word-for-word version of the English original. However, instances of more or less significant manipulation of the source text are also present, and Lonati details the varied inventory of the translation strategies that are employed to modify the contents of the original entries. Lonati complements her linguistic analysis with a close reading of the accompanying prefaces, shedding light on the social, cultural and ideological background in which the Italian translations were produced.

The papers by Polina Shvanyukova and John Douthwaite offer two complementary perspectives on translation used as a didactic tool in English-language teaching. In **Polina Shvanyukova's** paper, the use of Italian glosses and explanatory notes is scrutinised in two nineteenth-century business letter-writing manuals, J. Millhouse – W. Anderson's *Practical Mercantile Correspondence, Collection of Modern Letters of Business, etc.* (1873 [1856]), and T. Cann's *Comprehensive Letter-Writer: A Complete Guide to English Correspondence* (1878). These two guides were addressed to Italian learners of English who had an interest in learning how to read and write business letters and documents in English. As such, the goal of these didactic works was to teach the specialised commercial style of letter-writing and in both cases the authors relied on a repertoire of translation practices to realise their objective. Shvanyukova provides a quantitative overview of the number and types of glosses included in 110 model business letters from the two manuals. The preferred translational strategy for both authors is the use of single or two-item glosses as a way of introducing specialised commercial terminology. The selection of the items to be glossed reflects the authors' awareness of the importance of acquiring specialised vocabulary. The analysis of glossed adjectives also reveals how culturally specific norms of conduct were transmitted as an integral part of language teaching.

With multi-item glosses, the authors choose to focus on different types of formulaic structures typical of nineteenth-century business English. In Cann's manual, for example, the learner's efforts are directed at the acquisition of longer routinised sequences, of the type 'I beg to do X', which are glossed consistently in different model letters. As Shvanyukova's paper shows, historical didactic materials of this type represent a treasure trove of information on the contemporary language teaching methods, as well as the business practices of the time.

The contribution by **John Douthwaite**, instead, discusses literary translation. How difficult would it be to translate into Italian (or any other language for that matter) an English sentence as short and simple as "Mrs. Mooney was a butcher's daughter"? Extrapolated from its original context, the sentence appears to be transparent and straightforward. However, in its original context of James Joyce's short story "The Boarding House", Douthwaite argues, this sentence represents a challenge even for an experienced translator. In order to render the translation as accurately as possible, training in interpreting the source text becomes an essential part of the translation process. In guiding the reader through the practice of the preparatory stylistic analysis, Douthwaite shows how every single word in the source text has to be carefully evaluated before a translation of a literary text can be attempted, to make sure that the translator can transfer the effects (i.e., the meanings conveyed and the reactions expected from the reader) of the source text into the target language. Douthwaite's stimulating discussion addresses the many challenges that the teaching of literary translation poses, at the same time it highlights the multitude of opportunities this complex task can offer.

The last two papers in this volume are concerned with the role of translation as a vehicle of cultural dissemination in two different genres: those of museum website pages (Judith Turnbull) and cinematic script (Larissa D'Angelo). **Judith Turnbull** discusses the linguistic, pragmatic and cultural complications associated with museum communication in translation on the example of the English versions of Italian museum websites. Significant differences in the communication style that characterises the English and the Italian museum discourses undoubtedly represent one of the major challenges facing translators: the latter appear to adopt a more formal, impersonal style, with more obscure and dense Italian texts containing a lot of specialised terminology, while the former sound more informal, resulting in clear and friendly English texts. Moreover, in the contemporary globalised world, an English translation of an Italian museum website can be deemed

successful only if it is accessible to native and non-native English-speaking audiences alike. Turnbull's analysis of pages from the official websites of eighteen Italian museums shows that their translations into English tend to be literal and, at times, they manifest a degree of linguistic 'foreignness', possibly as a result of the use of English as a lingua franca to appeal to a more international audience. However, according to Turnbull, the main issue is not the 'foreignised' version of the English text, but the failure, on the part of Italian museum professionals, to limit the use of highly technical, professional jargon which resurfaces in translation; another problem is that more background knowledge ought to be provided on culture-specific references, such as events in Italian history or specific aspects of Italian culture and artistic heritage, with which international visitors are unlikely to be familiar.

Culture-specific references (CSRs) feature prominently also in **Larissa D'Angelo's** paper, which investigates the differences found in the Italian dubbing and redubbing of Steven Spielberg's motion picture *E.T. The Extraterrestrial*. The study analyses three different versions of the movie script: the original 1982 version in English, the 1982 dubbed version in Italian, and the redubbed version in Italian produced in 2002 to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the movie. D'Angelo applies Vinay – Darbelnet's (1958/2002) taxonomy to identify the preferred translation techniques employed in the two Italian versions. This investigation shows that the more recent, redubbed Italian version relies more on techniques such as Adaptation, Borrowing and Literal Translation when it comes to culture-specific references, and thus shifts the orientation of the first dubbed version from the target culture to the source text.

\* \* \*

## Dedication

While this issue was in preparation, we were reached by the sad news of Prof. Matti Rissanen's untimely passing. Prof. Rissanen was a pioneer in diachronic corpus linguistics, and many of us were among the first users of the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*, a project coordinated by Prof. Rissanen at the University of Helsinki, which would become a milestone among historical analyses of language variation across genres. Many of us were also privileged to know Prof. Rissanen in person and to appreciate his

unfailing support and generosity with younger scholars, his modesty, and his kindness. He has been a constant source of inspiration, and his legacy will continue in the work of all those who have benefited from his expertise. It is therefore with much gratitude that this issue of *Token* is dedicated to Prof. Matti Rissanen's memory.

Address: MARINA DOSSENA, Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Culture Straniere, Università degli Studi di Bergamo, Piazza Rosate 2, 24129 Bergamo (Italy).

ORCID code: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8025-6086>.

Address: POLINA SHVANYUKOVA, Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Studi Interculturali, University of Florence, Via S. Reparata, 93 - 50129 Firenze (Italy).

ORCID code: [orcid.org/0000-0002-1684-4414](http://orcid.org/0000-0002-1684-4414).

## **The *Gazette de Londres*: Disseminating news and exercising news management through translation**

Nicholas Brownlees

*University of Florence*

### ABSTRACT

This article compares the contents and language of the preeminent English Restoration newspaper, the *London Gazette*, with those of its French edition the *Gazette de Londres*. Founded in 1665, and coming out twice a week, the *London Gazette* was the sole periodical newspaper in England from August 1666 to February 1688. Unquestionably successful, the *London Gazette* formed an integral part of Restoration life in the capital and beyond. The analysis of eleven issues of both the English and French versions of the newspaper in the summer of 1669 shows that far from being a straightforward verbatim translation of its English counterpart, as has been previously thought, the *Gazette de Londres* presents significant differences from the *London Gazette* both regarding layout and contents which shed light on news translation generally in the early modern period as well as news management in Restoration England<sup>1</sup>.

Keywords: newspapers; Early Modern English; translation; *London Gazette*; news management.

### **1. Introduction**

From the second half of the sixteenth century English print news played an ever-increasing role in forming the English reader's knowledge and

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<sup>1</sup> The research for this article was funded in part by a PRIN grant (Prot. 2015TJ8ZAS) from the Italian government.

understanding of people, places, events and cultures<sup>2</sup>. With domestic news the information was generally supplied by native English speakers whilst with foreign news the information was not just based on the speech or written texts of English speakers living or travelling abroad, but also on the translation of manuscript or print news that had originally been written, for example, in French, Dutch, German, Spanish, Italian or Latin. Translation had a fundamental role in the dissemination of foreign, mostly European, news among the English reading public. In some cases, as with the one-sheet corantos of 1620 and 1621, the English texts were very close translations of foreign news publications.

However, the role of translation in English news was not one-way. English print news was itself translated into other languages. In the case of serialised news published in London, *Le Mercure Anglois* (1644-1648) and *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres* (1650-1660) both contained not just news items written directly in French but also translations of news previously published in English (Frank 1961: 70-71; Peacey 2017: 243). These mid-century London-based foreign news publications were successful, and in November 1666 yet another French-written news publication was published in London. Its name was *Gazette de Londres* and it continued publication until 1705 (Fabre 1991: 516). The *Gazette de Londres* was the officially authorised translation of the *London Gazette*, the sole periodical newspaper in England to run uninterruptedly from August 1666 to February 1688<sup>3</sup>. The government-sponsored two-page publication contained not only domestic and foreign news but also government announcements and, from 1671 onwards, regular commercial advertisements. Unquestionably successful, the *London Gazette* formed an integral part of Restoration life in the capital and beyond.

In this essay I shall examine the *Gazette de Londres* with regard to its status as an authorised translation of the *London Gazette*<sup>4</sup>. By means of

<sup>2</sup> For studies on print news in Early Modern Britain, see Sommerville (1996), Raymond (1996, 2003), Boys (2011), Brownlees (2014), and Facchinetti et al. (2015). For broad-ranging volumes on news in a European context, see Pettegree (2014) and Raymond – Moxham (2016).

<sup>3</sup> Initially called the *Oxford Gazette* when it was founded in 1665, it became the *London Gazette* in 1666 and is published up to the present day. For studies on *The London Gazette*, and more generally on news management in Restoration England, see Muddiman (1923), Walker (1950), Fraser (1956), Sutherland (1986), Raymond (2003: 323-391), Fries (2015), and Peacey (2016).

<sup>4</sup> The fact that the *Gazette de Londres* had primarily a political purpose is emphasised by the fact that according to Lord Arlington, Williamson's fellow Secretary of State, the French translation of the *London Gazette* "always turned to loss" (Handover 1965: 20).

examining eleven issues of both the English and French versions of the paper in the summer of 1669, I shall consider the extent to which it can be considered a “verbatim translation” (Fraser 1956: 51) or a “straightforward translation” (Peacey 2017: 250). Where a close translation does not occur, I shall not only identify what it is substituted by but suggest why the alternative mode of translation should have been adopted. The study aims to contribute to the recent growing interest in the translation of early modern news while recognizing, as regards English news, the pertinence of Slauter’s comment: “although specialists know that the gazettes and journals of the early modern period contained mainly foreign news, the movement of this news across linguistic and political boundaries remains very little studied” (2012: 256). Despite work by Barker (2013, 2016), Brownlees (2014: 36-42; and forthcoming), McLaughlin (2015), Peacey (2017), Raymond (2013: 406-412) and Valdeón (2012), our understanding of how and why news translators have translated as they did is still sketchy<sup>5</sup>. One major methodological issue impeding wide-ranging understanding of the question is the relative scarcity of clearly matching source and target texts. Occasionally the foreign source text is found in the same publication as the translated text, and sometimes it is possible to trace it through metatextual referencing, but in the vast number of cases where the news is either a translation into or out of English our understanding of the processes of translation is based on rare metatextual comment and other contemporary sources regarding professional practice<sup>6</sup>. In this respect the *Gazette de Londres* is of the highest importance in the history of English news since it was the longest-running news publication whose content was primarily and explicitly based on the translation of another extant news publication. As such, it merits study not only for what it tells us about the global and local translation strategies adopted by the official translator but how the process of translation reconfigured the original news publication. In using the terms ‘global strategy’ and ‘local strategy’, I follow Gambier (2010), who defines the former as the translator’s “planned, explicit, goal-oriented procedure or programme, adopted to achieve a certain objective” (2010: 412) and the latter, the local, as the procedures or

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<sup>5</sup> Dooley (2010, 2016), Raymond (2012), and Boerio (2016) also examine news flows across Early Modern Europe though their studies are more concerned with the concept of textual borrowings than with translation.

<sup>6</sup> For an example of a news pamphlet containing both source and target texts, see *A Relation of the Late Horrible Treason, intended against the Prince of Orange* (19 February 1623).

techniques adopted in achieving the global strategy<sup>7</sup>. Through this analysis, I aim to further our understanding of not just news translation but also news management in the first years of the Restoration.

## 2. *Gazette de Londres*

The *Gazette de Londres* was printed and published in London and even if mid-seventeenth-century news scholarship was hindered by “extremely perplexing issues relating to the intended and actual audiences for [...] gazettes and mercuries” (Peacey 2017: 247), we can assume that the newspaper was not only addressed to the French equivalent of the English readership – merchants, gentlemen and all those interested in court affairs – but also English readers living in Europe who did not have access to the *London Gazette* as well as to all foreigners who read and communicated in French. As Dugard, the probable editor of *Nouvelles ordinaires de Londres*, wrote in the first issue of the publication, French was “la langue qui s’étend et s’entend dans toute l’Europe” (Fabre 1991: 516). Thus, for example, it is not surprising that a Tuscan envoy living in London occasionally enclosed the newspaper in his weekly diplomatic correspondence to the Grand Duke of Tuscany at the end of the seventeenth century<sup>8</sup>.

For the first five years of its publication, the *London Gazette* was formally edited by Charles Perrott (Fraser 1956: 49; Fabre 1991: 516) although the person principally responsible for the running of the English newspaper and its French translation was Joseph Williamson, Under Secretary of State in the Restoration government (Handover 1965: 14). He maintained overall control of the two newspapers until his replacement as Secretary of State in 1679 (Fabre 1991: 516). The translation of the *London Gazette* into French was carried out from 1666-1678 by M. Moranville (Grey 1769: 149-173; Fraser 1956: 51; Fabre 1991: 516). We have details of this as a result of a very interesting parliamentary exchange in 1678 relating to a piece of news translated in the *Gazette de Londres*. The exchange took place at the height of the Popish Plot when anti-Catholic sentiment was running very high in London and the country as a whole. As Coward writes, “Letters of the time are full of rumours

<sup>7</sup> See also Chesterman (2016: 85-114) for characteristics and terminological issues relating to the concept of translation strategies.

<sup>8</sup> Francesco Terriesi, envoy to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in London, enclosed twenty copies of the *Gazette de Londres* with his diplomatic post back to Florence between 1689-1690 (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, *filza* 4246).

that the French and Spanish had landed, that ‘night riders’ had been seen, that Catholics were arming themselves secretly, that bombs had been placed under churches” (1994: 327). In this febrile atmosphere Moranville was questioned by parliament regarding his translation of a news item regarding the Plot into French in the *London Gazette*.

[The Speaker.] There has been a great, and supposed wilful mistake, in the translation of the *Gazette* into *French*, viz. “that the Papists, *refusans de se conformer a la Religion Anglicane*”, “refusing to conform themselves to the Religion of *England*”, &c. “are commanded to go out of town”, without mentioning the present Plot, &c. to be the occasion, as is in the King’s Proclamation recited, &c. You are sent for, to know how this has been foisted in different from the Proclamation.

In the questioning Moranville admitted his mistake – an “omission by inadvertency” (Grey 1769: 7 November) – but his confession was not enough to prevent accusations of conspiring on behalf of the French against the Crown. The parliamentary cross-examination finished with an order “to search the Translator’s house for Papers” (Grey 1769: 7 November).

How the story eventually ended is not known, but what is clear is how seriously members of the British parliament took this errant translation of Moranville’s. In their view this was not merely some translator’s slip leading to partial loss in the transmission of knowledge but rather an example of how through translation the contents of the source text could be reconstrued and manipulated. The manipulation, however, did not lie in the translation of the English text into French but rather in what was not translated. By not translating the part of the *London Gazette* that reported the ongoing Popish Plot and King’s Proclamation expelling the Catholics, Moranville’s translation appeared in the view of the Parliament’s Speaker to make “a presumption amongst strangers, that persons may be under persecution here for Religion only” (Grey 1769: 7 November).

In light of Moranville’s questioning in 1678, I aim in the following analysis to see if elsewhere we also find cases of translation strategies that give new, different meanings to the source text. There are no extant copies of the *Gazette de Londres* of 1678, but a run of eleven issues of the French newspaper in the summer and early autumn of 1669 has survived. In examining these translations, I shall assess the degree to which Moranville translates the *London Gazette* so that what is found in the *Gazette de Londres* can be considered manipulation. As Fabre (1991: 516) writes, “Le problème

central pour la *Gazette de Londres*, que l'épisode Moranville mit en lumière, est celui de la fidélité de la traduction, et de la relation entre le texte anglais et français. Une étude comparative s'impose".

### 3. *Gazette de Londres: Reconfiguration of the London Gazette*

The eleven issues examined run from 16 August to 20 September. The newspaper came out twice a week and each of the issues consists of two small folio pages where the news in both the English and French versions is laid out in two columns on both recto and verso. The news is introduced by a dateline providing the barest information relating to the source and date of news (e.g. "Plymouth, August 27", "De Plymouth, le 27 Aoust 1669"; "Rome, August 10", "De Rome, le 10 Aoust 1669. N.S.")<sup>9</sup>. The four columns of news range from 65-78 lines each, amounting in all to approximately 2,600-2,800 words. In each of the issues news originated from 8-13 different places though from each location it was possible to find news relating to towns and countries elsewhere in Europe. This was especially true of news arriving from some of the larger cities in Europe. Thus, a news dispatch headed by the dateline 'Rome', 'Venice' or 'Paris', could include news which had reached that particular news hub from much further afield.

The English news typically regards either shipping, court and government affairs or the king's hunting trip to the New Forest. The shipping news has the name of ports in the dateline (e.g. Plymouth, Falmouth, Weymouth), the court news is headed by "Whitehall" or "London" while the hunting trip includes "Southampton" in the dateline. The *London Gazette* almost always begins with at least one dispatch from a port and usually concludes the dispatches on the second page with news from London or Whitehall. The intervening dispatches do not appear to be arranged in any particular order either in relation to the date or location of the dispatch. Below the concluding dispatch on the second page, the English newspaper has a section entitled "Advertisements", which contains government announcements and the occasional commercial advertisement giving details of the printer's other publications<sup>10</sup>. The following table gives the datelines

<sup>9</sup> *London Gazette* and *Gazette de Londres*, 2 September and 23 August 1669. In news publications of the period, the old Julian calendar and the new Gregorian calendar were respectively referred to as "*veteri Stylo*" (V.S.) and "*novo Stylo*" (N.S.).

<sup>10</sup> Only after 1671 did commercial announcements advertising products and services come to be regularly included in this "Advertisements" section.

and position of the ‘Advertisements’ (called here ‘adverts’) of three issues of the *London Gazette* (LG) and the *Gazette de Londres* (GDL).

Table 1. Contents of *London Gazette* (datelines and Advertisements section) and *Gazette de Londres* (datelines) 30 August-6 September 1669

<i>LG</i> (30 Aug.)	<i>GDL</i> (30 Aug.)	<i>LG</i> (2 Sept.)	<i>GDL</i> (2 Sept.)	<i>LG</i> (6 Sept.)	<i>GDL</i> (6 Sept.)
Falmouth	Falmouth	Plymouth	Plymouth	Falmouth	Falmouth
Plymouth	Plymouth	Deal	Deal	Rome	Rome
Moscow	Moscow	Genoa	Rome*	Leghorn	Leghorn
Warsaw	Lisbon	Madrid	Genoa	Venice	Venice
Lisbon	Cadiz	Vienna	Madrid	Hague	Hague
Cadiz	Warsaw	Hamburg	Vienna	Paris	Paris
Rome*	Leghorn	Hague	Hamburg	Southampton	Southampton
Leghorn	Madrid	Brussels	Hague	London	London
Madrid	Venice	Paris	Brussels	Adverts	
Venice	Hague	Whitehall	Paris		
Hague	Paris	Adverts	London		
Paris	London				
London	Whitehall				
Adverts**					

\* The Rome news in the *GDL* of 2 September is a translation of the *LG* dispatch of 30 August

\*\* ‘Adverts’ is an abbreviation of ‘Advertisements’

The most obvious difference between the *London Gazette* and *Gazette de Londres* lies in the non-translation of the Advertisements section since not only are the government notices in the section not translated but neither are the English printer’s occasional advertisements of other published works of his<sup>11</sup>. We can presume that Williamson had decided that such news was of little interest to the French-reading readership.

However, apart from this difference, Table 1 also shows that while the datelines, and hence the news, generally concur in the two versions of the newspaper there is not always an exact correspondence. First of all, even if the news is the same, and with the same datelines, it is not necessarily placed in the same order. Of the three separate issues in Table 1, only the publication of 6 September maintains exactly the same order of news in the two versions. Secondly, some datelines and their respective news in the *London Gazette* are

<sup>11</sup> For example, on 16 September the *London Gazette* finishes with the advertisement of the printer’s “newly Publish’d, An exact Designe of the City of Candia, with all its fortifications, Rentrenchments, Galleries, Countermines, etc.”.

not always present in the *Gazette de Londres* and vice versa. For example, the news datelined “Rome” in the *London Gazette* of 30 August is instead placed in the *Gazette de Londres* of 2 September while the news datelined ‘Whitehall’ in the French version of 30 August is not present at all in the English version of the same date nor in any of the other eleven issues examined.

Furthermore, the respective layouts of the *London Gazette* and the *Gazette del Londres* differ slightly. The London publication begins its news lower down on the first page, contains slightly more characters per line and has run-on datelines on the same line as the dispatch. This latter feature is different from that of the *Gazette de Londres*, where the dateline is placed above the following dispatch and spatially separated from the previous news item. In general the amount of news is the same or only slightly less in the *London Gazette* to what it is in the *Gazette de Londres*. The most significant exception to this general practice is in the issue of 26 August where at the bottom of page 2 the *Gazette de Londres* carries an extra 18 lines of news originating from Paris. This extra information corresponds more or less to the amount of space set aside for the “Advertisements” in the *London Gazette* of the same day.

A helpful methodological framework for understanding the modes in which the above aspects of the *London Gazette* news are reconfigured in the *Gazette de Londres* is found in recent studies on contemporary news translation (Conway – Bassnett 2006, Bielsa – Bassnett 2009, Schäffner 2012). The key concept to emerge in this research is that in modern day news translation the news editor and translator give absolute priority to domestication: “In news translation, the dominant strategy is absolute domestication, as material is shaped in order to be consumed by the target audience, so [it] has to be tailored to suit their needs and expectations” (Bielsa – Bassnett 2009: 10). As a result of this process of domestication the source text can be subjected to different modifications including “elimination of unnecessary information” and “change in the order of paragraphs” (Bielsa – Bassnett 2009: 64). In this respect the non-translation in the *Gazette de Londres* of the “Advertisements”, since the information was considered of little interest to the target audience, and the reorganization of the news dispatches in the French version, conform to present-day news translation procedures.

However, if we place this mode of reconfiguration of source text news within the context of seventeenth-century practice, we see that it differs from what usually occurs in those publications where extant source and target texts have been identified. Thus, the first English corantos of 1620-1621, which were translations of Dutch and German corantos, kept the same order of dispatches (Dahl 1952: 33-41). It was in the English publisher’s interests to maintain the same order of news so as to impress upon English readers and

English authorities that what was being sold was indeed the news already published in Dutch and German corantos. Likewise, no parts of the source text were left untranslated on grounds of probable lack of interest to English readers. Some news was left untranslated but not because it lacked appeal, rather, on the contrary, because it was considered too pertinent to English affairs. This was the news which in the Dutch and German corantos touched upon English matters and which as a result of various English censorship regulations was deemed unpublishable (Brownlees 2014: 33).

In contrast, the reorganization of news content in the *Gazette de Londres* probably reflects the newspaper's position as a government-sponsored publication. As such, its news could be organised as wished. The *Gazette de Londres* was recognised as the official translation of the government-approved newspaper and its status would not have been affected by any internal reconfiguration of news previously published in its English counterpart.

#### **4. *Gazette de Londres*: Translation of the *London Gazette***

In this section I examine the news content in the *Gazette de Londres* and what it can tell us about the translator's specific translation strategies. I make a broad distinction between 'close translation', which, if not literal, contains all the essential information of the source text, and 'manipulation' that incorporates what apparently are intentional changes altering the message of the text. However, in referring to 'manipulation' I agree with Denton who asserts that "manipulation does not necessarily imply censorial, ideologically motivated intervention in the target text [...] but could also be an attempt on the translator's part to fill in gaps in his/her readers' knowledge by incorporation of explanatory glosses or direct domesticating substitution" (Denton 2016: 10). In accordance with this definition, I distinguish below between cases of non-ideological and ideological manipulation.

##### **4.1 Close translation**

Much of the translation of the *London Gazette* is close. For example, this always occurs in the translation of shipping news originating in English ports.

(1) *Deal, Aug. 23.*

Here lately arrived in the *Downs* four ships from the *East-Indies*, and the 21 instant the *Maderas* from *Bantam*, whose appearance was the

more welcome by reason of the hazard she was supposed to have run on her way home.

This day a Fleet of about 20 sail of Merchant ships outwards bound went out of the *Downs* in Order to their respective voyages. (*London Gazette*, 26 August 1669)

(2) *De Dele, le 23 Aoust 1669.*

Quatre Navires sont, depuis peu, arrivez des Indes Orientales aus Dunes: & un autre Vaisseau du nom de Madère, y arrive, aussi, de Bantam, le 21 de ce mois, dont l'Arrivée a été d'autant mieus reçue que l'on suppose qu'il a couru grand hazard à son retour. Une Flote d'environ 20 Navires Marchands, frette a pour les Pais ètrangers est partie, aujourd'hui, des Dunes, pour prandre la route des Ports où ils doivent aller. (*Gazette de Londres*, 26 August 1669)

(3) Plymouth, August 13.

Yesterday arrived here a *new England* ship bound hither from *Barbados*, and this day a ship of *Yarmouth* from the *Caribby Islands*, where they left all things in a peaceable and thriving posture. (*London Gazette*, 19 August 1669)

(4) De Plymouth, le 13 Aoust 1669.

Un Navire de la Nouvelle Angleterre arriva hier, de Barbade, où il avoit été frette pour ce Port; & un Vaisseau d'Yarmouth, qui vient des Isles Caribes, où il a laisse toutes choses en bonne & florissante posture. (*Gazette de Londres*, 19 August 1669)

At the level of content, the above source and target texts contain the same information though the translation cannot be considered literal, at least not according to Chesterman's definition by which source texts are not "maximally close to the SL form, but nevertheless grammatical" (2016: 91). In the above examples the sentence units in both the source and target texts are the same in that they both respectively consist of 2 and 1 sentences but within the sentences there are alterations at the syntactic level. These changes involve some of the categories set out by Chesterman (2016: 91) in his analysis of syntactic procedures in translation<sup>12</sup>. Thus, we find clause

<sup>12</sup> The categories are: "Literal translation; Loan, calque; Transposition; Unit shift; Phrase structure; Clause structure change; Sentence structure change; Cohesion change; Level shift; Scheme change". Chesterman, however, refers to these alterations as

structure change in both (2) and (4), where the French begins with Subject while the English begins with Adverbial.

## 4.2 Non-ideological manipulation

Close translation is also adopted in the case of those European news items where the focus of the information is on matters unrelated to Great Britain and France. Manipulation occasionally occurs in these texts, but its instances do not allude to any specific overarching ideological translation strategy. Thus, in comparison with the source texts in (5) and (7) the translator in (6) and (8) provides extra detail about one matter while excluding detail about another which must have been considered less newsworthy.

(5) *Lisbonne, July 22.*

This Court is much satisfy'd with the safe return of the Fleet which was employ'd under the Command of the Count *de Prado* to the Castle of *Angra* in the *Terceras* their passage thither was long and tedious, being kept at sea above 27 days, coming to Anchor in the Bay of *Angra* [...] (*London Gazette*, 19 August 1669)

(6) *De Lisbonne, le 22 Juillet 1669. N.S.*

Cete Cour est, grandement, satisfaite de l'heureus retour de la Flote, qui étoit emplotée sous le Commandement du Comte de Prado, pour conduire le Roi Don Alphone au Château d'Angra en l'Isle de Tercere, pour où aller il a emploie jusq'à 27 jours. En moüillant à la Baie d'Angra [...] (*Gazette de Londres*, 19 August 1669)

(7) *Madrid, Aug. 25.*

The New Guards continue their Duty at the Palace, but the People of the Town complain of great Disorders, several Persons having been lately kill'd in the Streets, and many Robberies committed. The *Portuguese* Ambassador having taken his leave is returned home [...] (*London Gazette*, 9 September 1669)

(8) *De Madrid, le 25 Aoust 1669. N.S.*

Le nouveau Regiment des Gardes continue de faire sa fonction au Palais: mais les Habitans murmurent fort, a cause des exces des

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"strategies" since his use of the term 'strategy' corresponds to Gambier's 'local' strategy.

Soldats, plusieurs Personnes ayant été depuis peu, tüées dans les rues, & diverse vols s’erano commis de nüit. L’Ambassadeur de Portugal aiant pris son Audience de congé s’en est retourné [...] (*Gazette de Londres*, 9 September 1669)

We also find instances of added material presumably inserted for the benefit of French readers. In one instance the additional text specifically regards the names of French soldiers who had taken part in, and in some cases been killed in, the French attack of Turkish-held Candia<sup>13</sup>. The long list of French names clearly resonated with the French reading public but not with the English readers of the London version of the newspaper. In another case the translator inserts the name of a French envoy (“Chevalier de Mariva, Premier Gentilhomme Ordinaire de Monseigneur le Duc d’Orleans, en qualitté d’Envoie [...]”) who had been received at a function at the English court<sup>14</sup>. Here too the additional information conveyed is of interest only, or primarily, to French readers.

In contrast, in the *London Gazette* of 6 September the last paragraph of a ship-news dispatch from Leghorn is not translated in the *Gazette de Londres*. Either it was not considered important or, perhaps, there was insufficient space in the French version.

### 4.3 Ideologically motivated manipulation

Occurrences of ideologically motivated manipulation occur in news dispatches datelined “London”, “Whitehall” and “Paris”. In these cases, the translator adds words to the translation to underline a particular ideological point in the text. The additional material principally lets us see: a) how the English wish English matters to be perceived; b) how the English wish their reactions to French news to be perceived.

#### 4.3.1 How the English wish English matters to be perceived

English court news is sometimes embellished and rendered grander or more magnificent in the *Gazette de Londres*. For example, the Danish ambassador’s procession from Greenwich to Westminster via the Tower of London is described in greater, more grandiose detail in the French version.

<sup>13</sup> 19 August. Candia, the early-modern name for Heraklion (Crete), was captured by the Turks in 1669.

<sup>14</sup> 16 September.

The celebratory, eulogistic description in the following French text has no parallel in the English newspaper.

- (9) C'est en ce magnifique Apareil que son Excellence fut conduit depuis la Tour par les rues de Londres, & de Westminster, remplies de fort beau monde aus fenêtrés, & d'une foule de people innombrable, jusqu'en l'Hotel. (*Gazette de Londres*, 19 August 1669)

The text has been added, as is also the case in the successive issue of 23 August, when once more the Danish ambassador's visit is described. As with the issue of 19 August, in the French version of 23 August additional details enhance the grandeur of the Danish ambassador's visit. It is likely that the intent behind the added text is political. The additional news regarding the ambassadorial visit underlines for the French-reading audience not just the importance of Anglo-Danish relations but the splendour of the English court. Through this additional text, the *Gazette de Londres* is being exploited to promote government policy for a foreign audience.

This political motivation may also explain the addition of "tristes" in (11). The *London Gazette* (10) merely states that Charles II's mother, Henrietta Maria, youngest daughter of King Henry IV of France, had died whereas the French version inserts "tristes" in reference to her death which serves two purposes. First, the insertion suggests an empathy for the French queen consort of England (as wife of Charles I) amongst the English people which in fact was not common; second, it reflects French expectations of how the death of one of their own royal family should be received in the neighbouring country<sup>15</sup>.

- (10) *London September 5*. Yesterday in the morning His Majesty by an Express from *France* received the news of the Death of the Queen Mother at *Colombe*. (*London Gazette*, 6 September 1669)

- (11) *De Londres, le 5 Septembre 1669*. Hier au matin, le Roi reçut par un Exprès, qui avoit été dépêché de France, les tristes Nouvelles de la

<sup>15</sup> However, while not excluding the political explanation, it is also possible that the insertion of "tristes" exemplifies what Chesterman (2016: 110) refers to as the "significance threshold", that is, "the point at which a given message or meaning is felt to be worth uttering". Thus, "tristes" has also been added because it was deemed culturally necessary since unlike in English, where it is implicit that a death is 'sad', in French such a fact has to be rendered explicit.

mort de la Reine Mere, décédée en sa Mason de Colombe. (*Gazette de Londres*, 6 September 1669)

The same desire to emphasise the impact of the French Queen Mother's death on the English court explains why later in the same dispatch the translator deviates from a close translation of the English newspaper to add further description of the consternation the death had caused at the English court.

- (12) [She died] to the great Regret of the French Court and infinite affliction of his Majesty and Royal Highness, who have thereupon put an end to their Diversions in New Forrest. (*London Gazette*, 6 September 1669)
- (13) [Elle est décédée] au grand regret de la Cour de France, et une extrême Affliction de Leurs Majestez de la Grande Bretagne, ainsi que de Leurs Altesses Roiales, & de toute la Cour d'Angleterre: ce qui en a fait cesser les Divertissemans à Newforest. (*Gazette de Londres*, 6 September 1669)

However, there is also an instance in which the translator adds material related not only to the English court, and its connection to certain political questions, but also to a celebrated English institution. In (15) the translation of the installation of the new Chancellor of Oxford University includes evaluative terms ("fameuse", "l'une des plus célèbres du Monde") that are not found in the source text (14) and are clearly inserted to increase the prestige of the institution.

- (14) *London, August 28.*  
On Thursday last in the afternoon, Dr. *Fell*, Vice-Chancellor of the University of *Oxford* with a considerable body of the Doctors [...] and a great body of the Masters of Arts and other Members of their Convocation met at *Exeter house*, from whence they went in their formalities to *Worcester house*, where they held a Convocation for the enstallment of his Grace the Duke of *Ormond* in the Chancellorship of the University. (*London Gazette*, 30 August 1669)
- (15) *De Londres, le 28 Aoust 1669.*  
Jeudi l'aprèsdîner, le Docteur *Fell*, Vicechancelier de l'Université d'*Oxford*, accompagnè de quantité de Docteurs [...] et de grand nombre de Maîtres des Arts, et autres Membres de cete fameuse Académie se rendirent en l'Hôtel d'*Exeter*, d'où ils passèrent en celui de *Worcester*, revêtus de leurs Habits de Cérémonie, où étant tous

assemblez pour l'installation de Monseigneur le Duc d'Ormond en la Dignité de Chancelier de cete Université, l'une des plus célèbres du Monde. (*Gazette de Londres*, 30 August 1669)

Finally, in the case of English news, and how it was to be perceived by the French reading public, we have an interesting case of personal self-aggrandisement. Whereas in the English version a news dispatch may mention the presence of the Master of Ceremonies at an event without even specifying the official's name, we see in the French editions of the newspaper that greater importance is given to the person of Sir Charles Cotterel, Master of Ceremonies. In those editions increased prominence is shown in some instances simply by the insertion of the Master of Ceremonies's name, but in others Sir Charles Cotterel's role in English court matters is actually enhanced. For example, in the "Whitehall" dispatch in the *Gazette de Londres* of 23 August his presence and role are mentioned twice in the celebrations of the Danish ambassador's visit, whereas in the English version he has just one mention. Furthermore, in the French version of 20 September his name appears twice in a court dispatch from London while in the English publication there is a reference to the presence of the "Master of the Ceremonies" but no mention of the Master's name. On the basis of these alterations we may presume that Cotterel himself had exerted pressure on Moranville or Williamson to tweak the translation so that in the eyes of French readers, especially those at the French court, his standing at the English court would be evident.

#### 4.3.2 How the English wish their reactions to French news to be perceived

The additional material in the above cases regards English matters, but in the *Gazette de Londres* we also have examples of supplementary material relating specifically to French concerns.

(16) *Paris, August 31.*

The 27<sup>th</sup> instant Madam was happily brought to bed of a Daughter at the Pallace of *St. Clou*, and was the same day visited and complimented by their Majesties and several of the Great Ladys and personages of the Court. (*London Gazette*, 26 August 1669)<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> As datelines in news dispatches from France and other parts of continental Europe reflected the Gregorian calendar, they could sometimes refer to events which in England, that still followed the Julian calendar, appeared in the future.

(17) *De Paris, le 31 Aoust 1669. N.S.*

Il 27 de ce mois, Madame fut, heureusement, delivrée d'une belle Princesse, en la délicieuse Maison de Saint Clou: & ce jour-là, recut visite de Leurs Majestez, & de plusieurs des principales Personnes de la Cour. (*Gazette de Londres*, 26 August 1669)

By adding the positive evaluative terms “belle” and “délicieuse” in (17) in reference to the newly-born French princess and palace at which the birth took place, the translator is ingratiating the French monarchy. The political motivation is clear. The French court is led to believe that this explicitly positive report on the birth of the French princess had been published in the London version of the newspaper.

## 5. The *Gazette de Londres* and seventeenth-century news translation

The analysis of eleven issues of the *Gazette de Londres* in 1669 brings to light several points about not only the newspaper in question but also about news translation in general in the seventeenth century. As regards the *Gazette de Londres* itself, what is clear is that the translation is neither “verbatim” (Fraser 1956: 51) nor “straightforward” (Peacey 2017: 250). The French version of the *London Gazette* never includes material in the “Advertisements” section of the London newspaper, frequently rearranges the order of news dispatches, and not infrequently makes changes in the translation at word or phrase level. The non-ideological instances of manipulation in the *Gazette de Londres* can be seen as examples of domestication where Moranville (perhaps under the guidance of the Under Secretary) manipulates the text through deletion or addition, or both, to render it more pertinent to concerns of the French-reading audience. Those responsible for the *Gazette de Londres* wished the publication to be read and sold, thus, as with modern-day news translation, domestication procedures were adopted. The ideological manipulation in the texts, instead, reflects the extent to which Moranville (alone, or again under the guidance of Williamson) attempted to exercise news management even at a micro level. On the basis of these latter examples of manipulation we can see that the translator – perhaps under his superior’s command – was using the resources of translation to promote English policy. This form of news management appears intended to promote England’s status

and put a more positive spin on events relating to the French court. In this respect Moranville cannot be accused of conspiring through translation to promote a Catholic, anti-English agenda as he was accused of doing in 1678.

Comparing the above-mentioned translation strategies in Section 4 to what we already know of early modern news translation, we can see that the prevailing strategy of close translation in the *Gazette de Londres* conforms to what occurred in the translation of the Dutch and German corantos of the 1620s. On the basis of present evidence, this would appear to be the default strategy in those cases where the target text is explicitly stated as being the translation of an identifiable source text<sup>17</sup>. The same close translation was adopted with corantos and the *London Gazette* even if the publishers' overriding aims were fundamentally different. Unlike the publishers of corantos, who were private individuals hoping to make a profit through their publications, the government officials in charge of the *Gazette de Londres* were above all motivated by political considerations. These differences in objectives did not lead to an overall difference in translation strategy but can help to explain those exceptions to the strategy. As Dahl points out (1952: 33, 45) many of the cases in which English corantos differ from their Dutch and German source texts regard the omission of news content. The English corantos omitted news published in foreign news publications regarding English politics. Such news ran up against motley censorship restrictions. These exceptions to close translation in the corantos can be contrasted with those in the *Gazette de Londres*, which far from involving the omission of text instead regard the inclusion of additional news content. As stated above, in these circumstances the additional material can be interpreted as having an ideological purpose.

Finally, it is important to note how different seventeenth century print news translation is from that of today. Modern-day news translation privileges absolute domestication and it is within this concept that we can also examine news translation of the past. By examining the level of domestication of early modern newspapers, and understanding why very often little domestication is found, we can gain insight into the respective significance of commercial and political considerations underlying the role and objectives of the publication in question.

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<sup>17</sup> Conversely, where the news writer does not mention translation as the source of their information, but nevertheless makes use of it, it is very possible that the translation is anything but a close translation.

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## Forthcoming

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Address: NICHOLAS BROWNLEES, Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Studi Interculturali, University of Florence, Via S. Reparata, 93, 50129 Firenze (Italy).

ORCID code: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-3182-9132>.

## **Late Modern newspapers as a mirror of linguistic (in)stability and change**

Massimo Sturiale

*Università degli Studi di Catania*

### ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to highlight the role of nineteenth-century British and American newspapers in promoting and reinforcing a standard pronunciation ideology, one already established in England in the eighteenth century with the need for, in Swift's words, "correcting, improving and ascertaining the English tongue" (Swift 1712) and, as a consequence, reducing linguistic variation and instability. In Britain, the fear of 'linguistic instability' had led to the social stigmatisation and marginalisation of certain, mainly 'provincial', accents, and the consolidation of a linguistic, yet stereotypical, North-South divide (cf. Beal 2009, 2010, 2012 and 2014). In the United States, as a result of the much-acclaimed linguistic independence from Britain, the prescriptivist debate was supported by linguistic patriotism (Sturiale 2012). The focus of my investigation is on external factors in linguistic (in)stability and language change. The data adduced here were drawn from a corpus of more than three hundred nineteenth-century "letters to the editor" and newspaper articles dealing with issues of pronunciation, published both in Britain and the US.

Keywords: newspapers, pronunciation, attitudes, changes, Americanisms, Briticisms.

### **1. Introduction**

The discussion presented in this paper is part of a larger research project on the role and influence of nineteenth-century British and American newspapers on accent attitudes which foregrounded the standard language ideology and its subsequent metalanguage (see, among others, Agha 2003, Lippi-Green 1997, Milroy – Milroy 2012, Milroy 2000, Milroy 2001 and Mugglestone 2003).

As I have argued elsewhere (Sturiale 2014, 2016a and 2016b), in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain the press did help to promote and reinforce the standard language ideology which characterised the onset of the Late Modern period and, in the Milroys' words (2012: 24ff.), gave rise to "the complaint tradition". In fact, as Beal has maintained:

The second half of the eighteenth century was, indeed, the period when the standardisation of English pronunciation reached the codification stage, as variants became prescribed or proscribed and clear guidelines for the attainment of 'correct' pronunciation appeared in the form of pronouncing dictionaries. (Beal 2010: 36)

So, if on the one hand eighteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries codified the standard form of English pronunciation, on the other hand nineteenth-century newspapers contributed to the "acceptance" stage (cf. Haugen 1966).

Furthermore, this investigation also aims to fill the gap identified by Görlach in 1999 when he commented on attitudes towards regional and social variations. He claimed that:

There is an insufficiency of reliable data on what people thought about linguistic correctness and prestige (and how such opinions related to the same person's actual usage); anecdotal evidence comes from private letters and similar documents and from the prescriptive statements in grammar books and advice in books on etiquette. Attitudes can also be reconstructed from novels and plays, although these data need to be interpreted with particular caution. The authors' main objective, then as now, is unlikely to be the provision of a realistic account; rather, they tend to employ selected sociolinguistic features to characterize their protagonists in conversation or to make them comment on others' speech forms. (Görlach 1999: 26)

In the following sections it will be shown that throughout the nineteenth century, newspapers – whose readers felt they were permitted or even entitled to have their say – made an outstanding contribution to the reinforcement of 'false myths' which in the long run were to characterise prescriptive attitudes more on a social scale rather than on a linguistic scale (see, among others, Curzan 2014 and Percy 2012). Moreover, whereas in Britain the fear of 'linguistic instability' led to the social stigmatisation and marginalisation of certain, mainly 'provincial', accents, and the consolidation of a linguistic, yet stereotypical, North-South divide (cf. Beal 2009, 2010, 2012

and 2014. See also Crystal 2017), in the United States, as a result of much-acclaimed linguistic independence from Britain, the prescriptivist debate was supported by linguistic patriotism (Sturiale 2012). Therefore, if in Britain orthoepists, journalists and readers were busy condemning “vulgar English pronunciation” (*Cornwall Royal Gazette*, 3 November 1837), in the United States it was important to prove that “the Americans speak better English than [...] Britishers” (*The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 6 January 1884).

The data for the present investigation, 335 nineteenth-century “letters to the editor” and newspaper articles dealing with issues of pronunciation, were gathered from *The British Newspaper Archive*, *The Guardian and Observer Digital Archives (1800-2000)*, *The Times Archive: 1785-1899* and *Newspapers.com*.

My previous research has shown that, during the eighteenth century, the keywords related to the standard language debate (i.e. “provincial pronunciation”, “vulgar accent”, etc.) did not only acquire new connotations, but they also contributed to the reinforcement of a ‘social divide’ which mirrored the desire of the middle class who – it should not be forgotten – represented the primary clientele and readership of pronouncing dictionaries and manuals (see Sturiale 2014, 2016a and 2016b). Accordingly, the qualitative analysis for the present study involved searching, in the aforementioned databases, for the keywords ACCENT and PRONUNCIATION and collocates such as VULGAR, PROVINCIAL, VICIOUS, which had characterised the eighteenth-century standard language debate. However, other collocates, like AMERICAN, BRITISH and so on were included in the search since they added a somewhat patriotic flavour to the nineteenth-century prescriptive discourse. The resulting items were then filtered manually in order to collect all those letters and articles which referred specifically to the English language.

This study examines a selection of those letters and articles in order to shed light on the laypeople’s perception of and attitude toward ‘proper English’ as mirrored by newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic. Special attention will be paid to those phonological features which, to use Sheridan’s wordings (1761: 30), had “some degree of disgrace annexed to them”, such as *h*-dropping, non-rhoticity, *yod*-coalescence and *yod*-dropping, which were clear signs of language change and indicators of language variation.

## 2. English is English

As stated above, the fear of ‘linguistic instability’ in Britain had led to the social stigmatisation and marginalisation of certain ‘provincial’ accents as early as the eighteenth century, thus consolidating a linguistic, yet

stereotypical, North-South divide. Moreover, from the outset the issue of 'provincialism' supported the claim that 'English is English', this first on the part of the orthoepists, as is demonstrated by Kenrick's words (among those of others) already in 1784:

There seems indeed a most ridiculous absurdity in the pretensions of a native of Aberdeen or Tipperary, to teach the natives of London to speak and to read. Various have been nevertheless the modest attempts of the Scots and Irish, to establish a standard of English pronunciation. That they should not have succeeded is no wonder. Men cannot teach others what they do not themselves know. (Kenrick 1784: ii)

In later years the press sustained assertions like the one we can read in the following 1786 newspaper article, which clearly echoes Kenrick's defence of 'English English':

- (1) [...] in an age like this, when attempts of a much more arduous nature are every day presented to our notice: when pigs are brought to exercise all the functions of rationality; and Hibernians profess to teach the true pronunciation of the English tongue. (*Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, London 14 December 1786)

The 'English is English' propaganda, carried out by orthoepists in their pronouncing dictionaries, was further reinforced in the nineteenth century, and traces of Kenrick's 'complaint', and wording, were still to be found in newspapers, as shown in the example below:

- (2) English Pronouncing Dictionary. It is a curious fact that there is no English Pronouncing Dictionary compiled by an English-man. Stephen Jones was a Welshman, Sheridan was an Irishman, and Walker was a Scotchman [sic]. (*The Age*, London 22 August 1841)

So, if on the one hand orthoepists and lexicographers were responsible for the marginalisation of regional varieties (especially of 'provincial varieties'), on the other hand, in the nineteenth century, the media reinforced accent stereotypes and contributed to the language debate involving the public opinion. Northern speakers and their accents started to be stigmatised and the standard accent became a prerogative of southern speakers and of, to quote Sheridan's words, "the beau monde" (Sheridan 1762: 30). Such a belief,

however, was still alive and kicking in the early twentieth century as proved by a certain “Plain English” in his/her letter to the editor of *The Observer*:

- (3) Is it not time, Sir, that a committee of thoroughbred Englishmen got together to protect our spoken language and to fix one or more purely English standards? I understand that there is not one Englishman on the B.B.C. Committee on pronunciation of English. For too long we have been content to submit to the egotistical self-sufficiency of Welshmen, Irishmen, Ulstermen, Jews, Caledonians, and Glaswegians in this matter. The Lowthian Scot has, of course, had no say, as English has been his native tongue since the time of Ida the Flame-bearer. – Yours faithfully PLAIN ENGLISH. (*The Observer*, 4 February 1934)

### 3. English English vs. American English

In the United States, as a result of their much-vaunted linguistic independence from Britain, the prescriptivist debate was supported by linguistic patriotism (cf. Sturiale 2012. See also Bronstein 1954 and Twomey 1963) as it had been declared by Webster in the 1780s:

Great Britain whose children we are, and whose language we speak, should no longer be our standard; for the taste of her writers is already corrupted, and her language on the decline. (Webster 1789: 20)

The nineteenth century witnessed a clear change in the way Americans related to the speech of their “English cousins”<sup>1</sup>. The eighteenth-century dependence on Sheridan (1780) and Walker (1791) soon turned into a clear dissatisfaction, especially with the model of pronunciation offered by the Irish scholar:

- (4) The best authorities we can adopt are, undoubtedly, the best lexicographers of England. Of these Walker is deservedly esteemed the first of the first rank. The partial credit which Sheridan has detained in this country has done much injury, by inducing not a few to adopt the aspirated sound of *d* and *t* in such words as *due*, *produce*,

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<sup>1</sup> Gilbert M. Tucker, in his article on “American English”, wrote: “our English cousins have a good deal yet to learn about our common language as used in the two countries” (Tucker 1883: 56).

*tutor, tumult, &c.*; a practice directly at issue with the express rules of Walker, analogy and every correct ear. According to Sheridan a turn becomes a *churn*, and a *duel* a jewel – Walker’s rule, in such cases, is no less agreeable to the ear, than to the analogy of the language. [...] But the practice of Sheridan, I am happy to observe, is rapidly declining, and will, probably, soon be abolished. Let Walker be adopted in his stead –let his system be the standard of pronunciation in every school, and the few remaining anomalies will soon be extirpated. (*The Evening Post*, 8 October, 1816)

Later, Thomas Sheridan would be criticised for the same reason by Webster, and blamed for “contribut[ing] very much to propagate the change of *tu* into *chu*, or *tshu*; as in *natshur*” (Webster 1828: Introduction). Indeed, *yod*-coalescence in words like DUKE had been marked as ‘improper’ also by Walker in 1791<sup>2</sup>. That phonological change, perceived as a clear signal of linguistic instability, had already been the topic of an article published in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, 4 September 1769, and reproduced by Dunlap (1940):

- (5) The bar, till of late years, has been usually reckoned the school for purity of expression and propriety of pronunciation; but at present nine tenths of the gentlemen at the bar affect a vicious pronunciation, and vicious in the extreme. Whether they run into this mode merely out of compliment to a particular gentleman on the Bench, or whether they think it an improvement upon the English language, it is left to themselves to determine. A gentleman of letters who about four years and foretold that this vicious pronunciation would be imitated and adopted by many of the young students in law, wrote [...] a letter, in which he particularly pointed out the bad effect it would have upon the English language, unless he attempted to correct himself of so horrid and cacophonous a pronunciation. This gentleman then very roundly told the great lawyer that he pronounced the words *nature*, *nacher*; *odious*, *ojus*; *creature*, *creacher*; *immediate*, *immegiante*; *either*, *æther*; *neither*, *neether*; *were*, *wor*; *squadron*, *squaydron*; *induce*, *injuice*; *due*, *jew*; *virtue*, *virchew*; *pleasure*, *plusher*; *measure*, *mesher*; *endeavor*,

<sup>2</sup> “There is a slight deviation often heard in the pronunciation of this word, as if written *Dook*; but this borders on vulgarity; the true sound of the *u* must be carefully preserved, as if written *Dewk*. There is another impropriety in pronouncing this word, as if written *Jook*; this is not so vulgar as the former, and arises from an ignorance of the influence accent” (Walker 1791: *ad vocem*).

*engever; inveterate, invecherate; righteous, rycheous; fortune, forchune.*  
(Dunlap 1940: 364)

Interestingly, the accent of the bar together with that of other “men of letters, eminent orators, and polite speakers in London” had been selected, and promoted, as the model accent (“true pronunciation”) and example of the much admired “best practice”, as reported by the Scottish orthoepist William Perry in the title page of his pronouncing dictionary (Perry 1775). However, the spectrum of variation even within the speech of “people in polite life” (Sheridan 1762: 30), which might have resulted in “vicious” pronunciation, did not remain unnoticed on both sides of the Atlantic.

Moreover, the patriotic feeling which animated American scholars, commentators and laypeople was recurrently projected into language debates. Claims such as (6) “we speak the English language a little better, than they do in England” (*Indiana State Sentinel* 6 March 1849), or (7) “the Americans speak better English than you Britishers” (*The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 6 January 1884) were not only common but often accompanied by sarcastic comments which gave rise to stereotypical descriptions of “British English”, such as:

- (6) You drive the syllables of your words together like a shut telescope; but then, after all, you can’t be blamed so much, for England’s such a little country, you know, that you have to compress things all you can, even your words – *Boston Transcript*. (*The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 6 January 1884)

or:

- (7) English pronunciation itself seems invented to save time, they eat their letters and whistle the words. Thus Voltaire had some reason to say “the English gain two hours a day more than we do, by eating their syllables. (*The Examiner*, 24 July 1847)

and were often sarcastic and anecdotal in form:

- (8) A girl at Long Branch speaks with an acquired London accent. “Me cawt, me cawt, at 5 o’clock”, she said to the family coachman, in a voice loud enough for a veranda full of people to hear “Caught what, miss?” the man inquired. A repetition of the order did not make him understand it, and she had to say, in plain American pronunciation, though she lowered her voice and stepped closer in doing so: “My

cart, stupid; my village cart, at 5 o'clock". (*Reading Times*, Reading, Pennsylvania, 3 August 1883)

This last example will introduce my next topic: the pronunciation of the grapheme <r> which marked a change in British English and soon become stigmatized by Americans. Moreover, it also made clear the fact that 'acquiring' a London/British accent was no longer something to aspire to in late nineteenth-century America.

#### 4. Phonological changes and stigmatization

In December 1890 *The Times* published a very long letter (more than 500 words) with the title "Modern English pronunciation" and signed by "A Country Rector"<sup>3</sup>. In the two opening sentences one reads:

- (9) [I]n modern English the letter R has become, or is becoming, a silent sign, or at best a kind of half-vowel, in a large class of words in which we of an older generation were taught carefully to sound it. As a fact, the change is observable enough, its cause I am disposed to attribute not to the growth of scientific philology, but to that of pure laziness. (*The Times*, 27 December 1890)

There "fashion" or "pure laziness" were denounced as the cause of an "observable" change. The change in question regarded the loss of rhoticity in Southern English and as the "Country Rector" put it:

- (10) between "law" and "lore", "laud" and "lord", and the like respectively, there is no difference in sound, and that so say the great doctors and professors at Oxford and elsewhere. (*The Times*, 27 December 1890)

For some, that change signaled a "process of decay" already denounced in a letter to the editor of the *St James's Gazette*, dated 6 April 1883. The author of the letter, the Irish phonetician James Lecky, wrote:

- (11) To what extent the consonant *r* has been lost in actual speech is an important question of English philology. It has been investigated by

<sup>3</sup> The letter is dated "December 22".

several: amongst whom Mr. Ellis, of the Philological Society, holds a distinguished place. Their researches [sic.] have exploded the common notion that this sin of omission besets none but Londoners. It prevails throughout the whole east coast of England, and most of all among the cultivated classes of society. [...] Those who, like myself, always pronounce an *r* even in *iron*, can only utter an unavailing protest against this process of decay, which has confounded *father* with *farther*, *stalk* with *stork*, *Leah* with *Lear*, etc. The rising generation are satisfied, no doubt, with their own dialect, and treat our disapproval with indifference. – I am, Sir, your obedient servant, James Leckey. (*St James's Gazette*, dated 6 April 1883)<sup>4</sup>

Similarly, various American newspaper articles and reviews took advantage of this in order to stigmatise the “process of decay” which was taking place in England, as in the following example:

- (12) Some aspersion has been cast on the Americans' pronunciation of the English language. I think the English actors are not above reproach in this respect, for I have never heard a rule that teaches us to pronounce here “heah” or there “theah”. (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 20 January 1889)

Among the issues which often came to the fore in newspapers, it is possible to identify the general attitude towards variation and certain language changes. In the following section, I will focus on another phonological change likewise regarded as a sign of linguistic instability.

#### 4.1 *The Poor Letter H*

In the period under investigation, in England the pronunciation of <h> had already become a symbol of social divide, a reason for linguistic insecurity in some speakers and, as rightly claimed by Mugglestone,

one of the foremost signals of social identity, its presence in initial positions associated almost inevitably with the ‘educated’ and ‘polite’ while its loss commonly triggers popular connotations of the ‘vulgar’, the ‘ignorant’, and the ‘lower class’. (Mugglestone 2003: 95)

<sup>4</sup> The same letter appeared in the American newspaper *Brown County World* (3 May 1883).

In that context, the publishing market responded with a series of instructing manuals and pamphlets whose aim was to assist the lower-middle-class in acquiring proper pronunciation. *The Poor Letter H*<sup>5</sup>, to which I am indebted for the title of this section, was one of them (see Mugglestone 2003: 95ff.).

Newspapers also instructed their readers and, at the same time, contributed to the maintenance of the standard. Let us consider the following example, where the word *HUMBLE* comes to the fore:

- (13) I have been taught and teach that the “h” in humble is not aspirated and on reference to Walker’s Pronouncing Dictionary (and I do not know any other or better authority on such matters) I find the word “humble” classed among the words in which the ‘h’ is not to be aspirated. Yet, Sir, I confess that at church I do frequently hear clergymen pronounce the word “humble” with an aspirate, particularly in the phrase “humble and hearty thanks”. (*The Times*, 27 December 1856)

Here the reader of the *Times*, a certain MARIAN, makes the point clear by referring to Walker’s *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791), still the unquestioned authority on matters of elocution. However, what should be noted here is that even men of the cloth, together with practitioners of the law, did not remain unaffected by ‘vicious pronunciations’<sup>6</sup>. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Sturiale 2016a: 43), many letters of complaint were addressed to the editors about the sometimes ‘vulgar’ or ‘provincial’ pronunciations heard on London stages, once another ‘unquestioned’ authority in matters of pronunciation.

Variation, and change, in the pronunciation of *wh*-words, where /h/ was once again at stake, was another topic debated in Britain:

- (14) Sir, – “W.A.M.” is wrong in the instances he adduces of Irishmen misplacing the “h”. Let him and others who consider the pronunciation referred to incorrect consult the Dictionaries and amend their own pronunciation.

Webster’s note on the subject is as follows: –

<sup>5</sup> Hon. Henry H., 1854-1866, *Poor Letter H: Its Use and Abuse*. London.

<sup>6</sup> In defining “vulgar pronunciation”, a reader of *The Blackburn Standard* made a list of phonological habits to be avoided, such as the use “of the letter *r* at the end of words ending with a vowel” and the pronunciation of “the termination of words ending in *ing* with a *k*”. To this he or she also added: “Equally glaring is the taking away of *h* from places where it is required, and giving it where its absence is desirable” (*The Blackburn Standard*, 18 October 1837).

“In words beginning with *wh* the letter *h* or aspirate, when both letters are pronounced precedes the sound of *w*. Thus, *what*, *when* are pronounced *hwat*, *hwen*. So they were written by our ancestors, and so they ought to be written still, as they are by the Danes and Swedes”.

Walker’s note (397) is to the same effect; it concludes thus: –

“In the pronunciation of allwords beginning with *wh* we ought to breathe forcibly before we pronounce the *w*, as if the words were written *hoo-at*, *hoo-ile*, &c., and then we shall avoid that feeble cockney pronunciation which is so disagreeable to a correct ear”. Yours, &c., ALEX. COMYNS. (*The Times*, 7 June 1878)

This change was recurrently used as the subject matter of news articles as well as letters to editors, like the following one:

- (15) At any rate, if the Americans murder the Queen’s English in their own way [...] I am sure we do equally in ours; and certainly the letter ‘h’ has a ‘better time of it’ with them than with us: indeed on the whole, I think that, man for man and woman for woman, the Americans speak better English than ourselves; though I believe our highest standard to be above theirs. – *Maurice O’Connor Morris*. (*Preston Chronicle*, 15 October 1864)

It also started to be used as a feature distinctive of “British English” by the American press as in (16), a passage taken from a letter entitled, interestingly, “Trans and Cisatlantic English”:

- (16) We have had English actors and actresses enough during the present dramatic season to be able to make comparison of English vs. American pronunciation of our common language [...]. Enrevanche we have incessantly caught the Englishman uttering “wich”, “ware”, “wy” and “wen”, for the American’s “which”, “where” and “when”. (*The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 8 May 1887)

And (17), a letter to the editor of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* about “the English misuse of the letter *h*”<sup>7</sup>:

<sup>7</sup> Tucker’s scholarly comment was very similar: “As for pronunciation, we [Americans] have our faults of course, in abundance, and ought to amend them with all diligence; but where, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, will you discover any such utter disability of hearing or discernment as can permit men to drop or multiply their *h*’s or transpose their *w*’s and *v*’s?” (Tucker 1883: 57).

- (17) The point, however, with which the misunderstanding seems to originate in the use of the letter “h” preceded by a “w”, as in the words “what”, “which”, “wheat”. The aspiration of the “h” in this case is a peculiarity of the American pronunciation, which is observed in England neither by the educated nor the uneducated classes. The American method is without doubt the correct one, as words of this class originally began with the aspiration as is shown by their etymological history. Thus “what” is derived from the Anglo-Saxon “hwaet”. [...] It is not my desire to go any further into the subject than to point out the error and to show the injustice Americans unwittingly commit in laying this charge at the doors of the educated classes of English people. John Bull. (*Chicago Daily Tribune*, 29 February 1876)

## 4.2 Americanisms vs Britishisms

On 30 July 1870 the *Glasgow Evening Post* published some excerpts taken from volume II of *The Americans at Home*, which was published in the same year by the British traveller David Macrae. Chapter XXVII was dedicated to “Americanisms”:

- (18) Let me enumerate now a few of the peculiarities of American pronunciation and expression that attracted my attention. Mrs. Stowe’s way of pronouncing “Duke”, common enough in some parts of England, is universal in America. In almost all the words which with us have the sound of “u” the Americans give the sound of “oo”. They speak about “noospapers”, about “Noo York”, “Noo Orleans” [...]. Several times in New England, even amongst educated people, I heard “does” pronounced “dooz”. The Americans are amused just as much at our provincialisms – at the Cockney “hasking for heggs”, at the Scotchman’s broad accent, and at the pronunciation given here to some of their proper names. (*Glasgow Evening Post*, 30 July 1870)

So, if on the one hand *yod*-coalescence was becoming acceptable in Britain, as shown in (5), and was a clear indicator of ‘Britishness’ for the Americans, on the other hand *yod*-dropping was experiencing something different. Indeed, it was soon doomed to become a stereotypical ‘Americanism’. Another interesting testimony is offered by an article which appeared in the *Durham County Advertiser* in 1854:

- (19) It is not the fashion with us [...] to call “beauty” *booty*, nor duty *dooty*, nor “due” *doo*: neither would the adoption of *tew* for “too” nor *noos* for “news” [...] and countless similar expressions, slip very glibly off our tongues; but if you only ask an American why he so pronounces them, he will tell you that he believes it to be the right way; and if you remind him that there are no such words, as he occasionally uses, in the English language, his answer will be, “The mayn’t be in *yours*, but there are in *ours*!” –*Alfred Bunn’s Old and New England (Durham County Advertiser, 27 January 1854)*

The “fashion” consisted in the so called “Later Yod Dropping” (Glain 2012: 6), in which /j/ is dropped when it is preceded by /t, d, n, s, z, r, l/ and when it is followed by /u/. This became a peculiarity of nineteenth-century American pronunciation and later resulted in the innovative “Generalised Yod Dropping”.

## 5. Concluding remarks

Letters to the editor and articles show that newspapers and their readers made a concerted effort to indicate and safeguard a model accent as the linguistic ideal to be attained. In so doing, along the same lines as orthoepists and elocutionists, newspapers played an important role in the prescription of (British or American) English Pronunciation which, in the nineteenth century, imposed itself as “a status emblem” (Agha 2003: 231). Readers were fully aware of the ‘instructing role’ of newspapers, as stated by a reader of *The New York Times* in 1871:

Now, Mr. Editor, the Press is becoming more and more the educator of the people. They look to it not only for information but also trust to a great extent its judgement in matters which are beyond their knowledge, and the *TIMES* has for the most part been found reliable and true to its mission as an instructor [...]. (*New York Times, 23 October 1871*)

Then, as now, in Lesley Milroy’s words:

Although debates about standard English are [and were] a staple of the British press (in the United States the most contentious ideological debates are usually slightly differently oriented [...]), experts and

laypersons alike have [and had] just about as much success in locating a specific agreed spoken standard variety in either the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. (Milroy 1999: 173)

However, what should be noted here is that the debate which at its outset had foregrounded the standard language ideology of eighteenth-century Britain was now characterised by “a class-based system of absolutes” (Mugglestone 1988: 176; see also Sturiale 2014). By the late nineteenth century the focus had shifted to the maintenance of the standard – or better, of ‘the two standards of English’, which seemed to be under siege by “slovenliness”, even among educated speakers<sup>8</sup>.

To sum up, readers expressed their own opinions and attitudes to social (and geographical) variation in language, attempting to structure their arguments logically and factually in order to support and justify their argumentation and points of view. However, their letters mirrored the essence of linguistic instability, of the changes under way, and also of the normative tradition which had dominated up to then. To language historians they prove to be “reliable data”, to recall once again Görlach’s words (1999: 26), for the study of “what people thought about linguistic correctness and prestige (and how such opinions related to the same person’s actual usage)”.

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<sup>8</sup> In a letter to the editor of *The Times*, a reader replied to “A Country Rector” – see (9): “Sir, The letter of “A Country Rector”, drawing attention to the neglect of English as a living and spoken language in our schools and home circles, deals with a subject of great interest and importance. [...] For a clear and good pronunciation in reading and speaking, without slovenliness or affectation, is an acquisition as valuable as it is now, unhappily, rare” (*The Times*, 2 January 1891, p. 8).

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Address: MASSIMO STURIALE, Università degli Studi di Catania, Struttura Didattica Speciale di Lingue e Letterature Straniere, Via Orfanotrofio 49, 97100 Ragusa Ibla (Italy).

ORCID code: <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6886-8568>.

## **‘Sassenach’, eh? Late Modern Scottish English on the borders of time and space<sup>1</sup>**

Marina Dossena

*Università degli Studi di Bergamo*

### ABSTRACT

The complex relationship that has always existed between Scots and Gaelic, and indeed between Gaelic and English, has often been the object of studies in language contact (e.g. Ó Baoill 1991 and 1997, Dorian 1993, McClure 1986, Millar 2010 and 2016). Moreover, the historical events that have underpinned the external history of these languages in Scotland are intertwined with important literary developments at all stages. This is particularly true of Late Modern times, when Highland life and culture became the object of both idealization and stigmatization (see Dossena 2005: 83-133); within this framework, literary accounts of the Jacobite rebellions contributed significantly to the spread of Gaelic vocabulary outside Scotland.

In this contribution I will focus on Celtic borrowings into (Scottish) English at a time when language codification was pervasive, but in which popular culture and indeed literature played a very important role in the creation of persistent cultural images. To this end, my analysis will rely both on dictionaries and on literary and manuscript sources.

Keywords: Scotland, Late Modern English, language contact, lexicology, lexicography.

### **1. Introduction**

This paper aims to discuss the role played by literary sources in the preservation, and indeed in the promotion, of Gaelic vocabulary in Late Modern times, to the point that numerous lexical items were actually borrowed

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<sup>1</sup> While this paper was being finalized, I was informed that Iseabail Macleod MBE had died in Edinburgh on 15<sup>th</sup> February 2018. Dr Macleod was a leading figure in Scottish lexicography, and I was very privileged to have had the opportunity to discuss much

into English, despite continuing attempts to restrict geographical variation and long-standing policies aiming to contrast the usage of Celtic languages. After an historical overview of when and how Gaelic was promoted or, much more frequently, discouraged, I will focus on what Gaelic items feature in the most important dictionaries dating from Late Modern times. I will then discuss what sources are quoted in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), in order to assess the impact of literature on the popularization of (exotic) lexical items.

According to the 2011 Census data<sup>2</sup>, less than 2% of the Scottish people aged 3 and over declared they had some Gaelic language skills; more specifically, "On Census Day, 27 March 2011, a total of 87,100 people aged 3 and over in Scotland (1.7 per cent of the population) had some Gaelic language skills. This included 57,600 people who could speak Gaelic". In particular, the highest proportion was in Eilan Siar (Outer Hebrides, 61%), but other measurable percentages were found in Highland (7%) and Argyll & Bute (6%). Since 2001 percentages appear to have decreased in all age groups above 18 (for instance, "for people aged 65 and over the proportion fell from 1.8 per cent in 2001 to 1.5 per cent in 2011. In contrast, the proportion of people who can speak Gaelic increased slightly in younger age groups: from 0.53 per cent to 0.70 per cent for 3-4 year-olds; from 0.91 per cent to 1.13 per cent for 5-11 year-olds; and from 1.04 per cent to 1.10 per cent for 12-17 year-olds").

These results account for demographic trends on the one hand, and education policies on the other, given the greater attention paid to Gaelic since 2001, when the UK ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which had been signed the year before, and since the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 effectively began to promote Gaelic education<sup>3</sup>. This, however, is in sharp contrast with standardizing policies that had been implemented in the past, when attempts to restrict the use of Gaelic had often been very powerful.

Indeed, Highland English is often supposed to have arisen in Late Modern times, when the aftermath of the Forty-Five first and the Clearances later brought about significant change in the lifestyle of the Highlands and Islands, not least on account of the new patterns in the education

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of my work with her over the years: her friendly encouragement and advice were a constant source of inspiration. This essay is dedicated to her memory, with much gratitude.

<sup>2</sup> See *Gaelic Analytical Report* (Part 1 at [www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/news/gaelic-analytical-report-part-1](http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/news/gaelic-analytical-report-part-1) and Part 2 at [www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/documents/analytical\\_reports/Report\\_part\\_2.pdf](http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/documents/analytical_reports/Report_part_2.pdf)), accessed 03.03.18.

<sup>3</sup> See <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/asp/2005/7>, accessed 03.03.18.

system that began in the second half of the eighteenth century and developed throughout the nineteenth century. The Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, formed by royal charter in 1709, certainly contributed to the decline in Gaelic usage, although its policies were often contradictory. By 1872, when the Education Act centralized Scottish education excluding Gaelic, English was pervasive, although with varying levels of competence. This emerges from comments found in Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1791: passim) and, long before then, in the observations of seventeenth-century visitors who observed instances of Highland bilingualism: for instance, Thomas Tucker, in 1655, claimed: "The inhabitants beyond Murray land (except in the Orkneys) speake generally Ober garlickh, or Highlands, and the mixture of both in the town of Invernesse is such that one halfe of the people understand not one another" (Hume Brown 1891: 174). Thomas Kirke, whose account was published in 1679, reported that "Erst"<sup>4</sup> was unknown to most Lowlanders, "except only in those places that border on [the Highlands], where they can speak both" (Hume Brown 1891: 262).

As a matter of fact, attempts to restrict the usage of Gaelic date back to the early seventeenth century; soon after the Union of the Crowns in 1603, the policy towards Gaelic was influenced by widespread unrest among the clans, and in 1609 the Statutes of Iona imposed schooling in the Lowlands for at least the eldest child, whether male or female, so as to eradicate "ignorance and incivility":

- (1) it being undirstand that the ignorance and incivilitie of the saidis Iles hes daylie incressit be the negligence of guid educatioun and instructioun of the youth in the knowledge of God and good letters [...] it is inactit that every gentilman or yeaman within the said Ilandis, or any of thame, haveing childerine maill or femell, and being in goodis worth thriescore ky, sall put at the leist their eldest sone, or haveing no children maill thair eldest dochter, to the scullis in the Lowland, and interneny and bring thame up thair quhill that may be found able sufficientlie to speik, reid and wryte Ingliche. (Register of

<sup>4</sup> The general label identifying the Celtic language was *Irische* or *Ersche*, while a more modern spelling was *Erse*. The identification of Scots Gaelic with Irish Gaelic was due to the fact that the former is a relatively recent offshoot of the latter. Introduced into Scotland about AD 500, it developed into a distinct dialect in the thirteenth century. Although a common Gaelic literary language was used in Ireland and Scotland until the fifteenth century, by that time the divergence between Scottish and Irish Gaelic had made mutual intelligibility quite difficult.

the Privy Council 1609: IX, 28-29, at [www.scottishhistory.com/articles/highlands/gaelic/gaelic\\_page1.html](http://www.scottishhistory.com/articles/highlands/gaelic/gaelic_page1.html))

In fact, the association of Gaelic with “incivilitie” reflects a traditional Lowland attitude which is perhaps most famously and even hyperbolically represented in the *Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy* (1508 – see Barisone 1989: 132; Jack 1997: 220). However, this attitude was rooted in political considerations: an Act of the Privy Council of 10th December 1616 established parish schools with the following premises:

- (2) Forsameikle as the Kingis Majestie having a speciall care and regard that the trew religioun be advancit and establisheit in all the pairtis of this kingdome and that all his Majesties subjectis especiallie the youth, be exercised and trayned up in civilitie, godliness, knowlege, and learning, that the vulgar Inglishe toung be universallie plantit, and the Irische language, whilk is one of the cheif and principall causes of the continewance of barbarite and incivilitie amongis the inhabitantis of the Ilis and Heylandis, may be abolishit and removeit; and quhair as thair is no measure more powerfull to further his Majesties princieple regard and purposis that the establisheing of Scooles in the particular parroches of this Kingdom whair the youthe may be taught at least to write and reid, and be catechised and instructed in the groundis of religioun. (Innes 1993: n.p.)

The fact that in such schools English was taught as a foreign language on the basis of supposedly Standard (i.e. Southern) English has led to the myth of Highland English being ‘better’ than Scottish English on account of the lesser influence that Scots is supposed to have had on the language. However, this is an aspect worth investigating in greater depth, paying attention to both teaching materials and to teachers’ provenance – something beyond the scope of this discussion, but an early investigation of which is provided by Williamson (1982, 1983).

While Highland English was slowly replacing Gaelic<sup>5</sup>, in those same Late Modern times Highland culture acquired an exotic quality

<sup>5</sup> In the preface to his *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (1808 [1840]: 4), John Jamieson commented:

We know how little progress has been made, for more than half a century past, in diffusing the English tongue through the Highlands; although not only the arm of power has been employed to dissolve the feudal attachments, but the aid of learning and religion has been called in. The young are indeed taught to read English, but often, they read without understanding, and still prefer speaking Gaelic.

that favoured its association with ideas of the beautiful and the sublime, heroism and uniqueness – a perception that began with the success of James Macpherson’s *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (1760), which were claimed to have been “collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse language”, and would persist through Victorian times. James Adams, the only defender of Scotticisms at a time of remarkable prescriptivism, wrote:

- (3) I enter the lists in Tartan dress and armour, and throw down the gauntlet to the most prejudiced antagonist. How weak is prejudice! The sight of the Highland kelt, the flowing plaid, the buskin’d leg, provokes my antagonist to laugh! Is this dress ridiculous in the eyes of reason and common sense? No: nor is the dialect of speech: both are characteristic and national distinctions. National character and distinction are respectable. Then is the adopted mode of oral language sanctioned by peculiar reasons, and is not the result of chance, contemptible vulgarity, mere ignorance and rustic habit.

The arguments of general vindication rise powerful before my sight, like Highland Bands in full array. A louder strain of apologetic speech swells my words. What if it should rise high as the unconquered summits of Scotia’s hills, and call back, with voice sweet as Caledonian song, the days of antient Scottish heroes. (1799: 157)

In fact, Adams’s own defence was not unbiased; besides, the martial quality of the Highland imagery he employed in his Ossianic rhetoric to defend Lowland speech was permissible because he was writing after the 1747 Act of Proscription had been repealed in 1782 and therefore kilts could again be seen as symbols of national identity, whereas after the second Jacobite rising the law permitted their use only in the Hanoverian army:

- (4) from and after the first day of August, one thousand seven hundred and forty seven, no man or boy, within that part of Great Briton called Scotland, other than shall be employed as officers and soldiers in his Majesty’s forces, shall on any pretence whatsoever, wear or put on the clothes commonly called Highland Clothes (that is to say) the plaid, philibeg, or little kilt, trowse, shoulder belts, or any part whatsoever of what peculiarly belongs to the highland garb; and that no tartan, or partly-coloured plaid or stuff shall be used for great coats, or for upper coats; and if any such person shall presume, after the said first day of August, to wear or put on the aforesaid garments or any part of them,

every such person so offending, being convicted thereof [...], shall suffer imprisonment, without bail, during the space of six months, and no longer; and being convicted for a second offence before a court of judicary or at the circuits, shall be liable to be transported to any of his Majesty's plantations beyond the seas, there to remain for a space of seven years. (Act of Proscription, at [www.electricscotland.com/history/other/proscription\\_1747.htm](http://www.electricscotland.com/history/other/proscription_1747.htm))

In the text of the Act of Proscription we come across lexical items that would be recorded in Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755, see Dossena 2004); the presence of Gaelic vocabulary in English lexicography and more general usage will therefore be the object of the next sections.

## 2. Gaelic Scotland in (Late Modern) lexicography

Although Celtic Englishes have been the object of much very valuable investigation over the last two decades (see, first and foremost, Filppula – Klemola – Pitkänen 2002; Filppula – Klemola – Paulasto 2008; Tristram 1997, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2007; Filppula – Klemola 2014), most studies have focused on syntax, morphology, phonology and placenames. General vocabulary is only discussed when culturally-marked items appear as authenticating devices (such as in Dossena 2001) or, in Jill Lepore's definition, as 'wigwam words' (Lepore 2001). In addition, Ireland appears to have attracted much greater interest than Scotland as far as the relationship between Celtic languages and English is concerned – see the constantly updated list of references maintained by Raymond Hickey in the *Irish English Resource Centre* ([www.uni-due.de/IERC/](http://www.uni-due.de/IERC/)) – whereas even the very recent and extensive *Oxford Handbook of World Englishes* (Filppula – Klemola – Sharma 2017) pays specific attention to Scotland, Scottish Gaelic and Scots corpora in a very small number of its ca. 800 pages<sup>6</sup>.

However, Gaelic vocabulary can be shown to have contributed significantly to the construal of a persistent image of Scottish culture and even history, in spite of an apparently constant decrease in Gaelic usage (see Dossena in preparation a and b). In what follows, this impact will be discussed starting from possibly the two most important works in English lexicography: Johnson's *Dictionary* and the OED.

<sup>6</sup> Subject Index entries only point to 11 pages in which such topics are addressed.

## 2.1. Johnson's *Dictionary*<sup>7</sup>

Johnson's *Dictionary* includes about 200 'Scottish' items, although geographical variation was not contemplated in the *Plan of a Dictionary* (1747) or in the *Preface*. Importantly, these entries do not only represent obsolete or supposedly 'incorrect' expressions, but also refer to specific aspects of Scottish culture. Indeed, in contrast with Basker's claim (1993: 82-86) that Johnson "seems to have included a Scottish word or usage [...] simply to single it out and stigmatise it as a Scotticism", the entries relating to Scottish life and culture do not seem to point to a strictly prescriptive approach.

In the first edition of the *Dictionary* (1755) several etymologies or cognate forms are marked *Erse* or *Earse*<sup>8</sup>. As regards lexical items relating to the Highlands, several of them refer to weaponry and warfare, but also to the Highland garb mentioned in the Act of Proscription, though the Act itself is mentioned only indirectly in the entry for *plaid*, and anyway only in the first edition; on the other hand, in the 4<sup>th</sup> edition the entry for *caddis* is made more accurate in definition and in geographical specificity – see the examples below:

- (5) I CADDIS. n.s. 1. A kind of tape or ribbon.  
 2. A kind of worm or grub found in a case of straw. IV CADDIS. n.s.  
 [This word is used in Erse for the variegated cloaths of the Highlanders.]

I PLAID. n.s. A striped or variegated cloth; an outer loose weed worn much by the highlanders in Scotland: there is a particular kind worn too by the women; but both these modes seem now nearly extirpated among them; the one by act of parliament, and the other by adopting the English dresses of the sex.

IV PLAID. n.s. A striped or variegated cloth; an outer loose weed worn much by the highlanders in Scotland: there is a particular kind worn too by the women.

<sup>7</sup> In the following paragraphs are quotations from the electronic edition of Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755 [1996]). Each entry is preceded by *I* or *IV*, depending on whether it appears in the first or fourth edition; when there are no differences between the two editions, only the first one is quoted. If an entry has more than one meaning, we report the one referring to the Scottish context, leaving the number it has in the original sequence of meanings. The quotations are included only when explicit reference is made to them in the definitions, since these are the actual focus of our analysis.

<sup>8</sup> Almost immediately, however, critics perceived that many of these etymologies were rather inaccurate, especially the Celtic ones: see Nagashima (1988: 149). Others were the object of more or less explicit correction at various scholarly levels: see Iamartino (1995).

DIRK<sup>9</sup>. n.s. [an Erse word]. A kind of dagger used in the Highlands of Scotland.

FI'RECROSS. n.s. [fire and cross]. A token in Scotland for the nation to take arms: the ends thereof burnt black, and in some parts smeared with blood. It is carried like lightning from one place to another. Upon refusal to send it forward, or to rise, the last person who has it shoots the other dead.

SKEAN. n.s. [Irish and Erse; sagene, Saxon]. A short sword; a knife.

MORGLAY. n.s. A deadly weapon. Ains. Glaive and morte, French, and glay môhr, Erse, a two-handed broad-sword, which some centuries ago was the highlander's weapon.

PORTGLAVE. n.s. [porter and glaive, Fr. and Erse]. A sword bearer. Ainsworth.

Johnson's interest in Gaelic would continue also in relation to the controversy over the authenticity of Macpherson's Ossian poems, which Johnson perceived as a forgery; besides, Johnson subscribed to William Shaw's *Galic and English and English and Galic Dictionary* (1780), and, even before then, he wrote the Proposals for the same author's *An Analysis of the Scotch Celtick Language* (see Nagashima 1988: 22 and Curley 1987). Shaw himself acknowledged: "To the advice and encouragement of Dr. Johnson, the friend of letters and humanity, the Public is indebted for these sheets" (Shaw 1778: xxiii). Cultural interest also emerges from the inclusion of *loch*, *usquebaugh*, and *second sight* in the 1755 edition of the *Dictionary*:

(6) LOCH. n.s. A lake. Scottish.

USQUEBAUGH. n.s. [An Irish and Erse word, which signifies the water of life]. It is a compounded distilled spirit, being drawn on aromatics; and the Irish sort is particularly distinguished for its pleasant and mild flavour. The Highland sort is somewhat hotter; and, by corruption, in Scottish they call it whisky.

<sup>9</sup> According to the *OED*, the spelling *dirk*, instead of *durk*, was introduced by Johnson without authority, probably reflecting the merging of the two separate sounds represented by <-ir-> and <-ur-> into one.

SE'COND Sight. n.s. The power of seeing things future, or things distant: supposed inherent in some of the Scottish islanders.

This last item would also be the object of a fairly long paragraph in Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, of 1775, in which the Gaelic word *Taisch* is discussed in the following terms:

- (7) In the *Earse* [the Second Sight] is called *Taisch*; which signifies likewise a spectre, or a vision. I know not, nor is it likely that the Highlanders ever examined, whether by *Taisch*, used for *Second Sight*, they mean the power of seeing, or the thing seen. (Johnson 1775 [1996]: 95)

As a matter of fact, folkloric interests intertwined with lexicographic ones in many Late Modern works: see for instance the glossaries included in the *Salamanca Corpus*. In Jamieson's own dictionary (1808), the title page stated that the work would illustrate

- (8) The words in their different significations [...] shewing their affinity to those of other languages, [...] and elucidating national rites, customs, and institutions, in their analogy to those of other nations.

A more modern approach would be taken by James Murray's *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, i.e. the future OED; however, as shown in its timelines and sources, specific cultural attitudes did play a role in the presentation of items with a Celtic origin.

## 2.2 OED Timelines<sup>10</sup>

Thier (2007) provides an overview of the main issues concerning the identification of etymologies in the OED and stresses the importance of looking at the periods in which different lexical items are attested, so as to trace their path into the English language. What is also very important, however, is to set these attestations against the cultural, social and historical background in which they occurred, so as to understand how their semantic value may have changed also on account of external factors.

<sup>10</sup> As the OED is now updated both regularly and frequently, in future, quantitative data may be found to have varied as entries are antedated or revised; what is presented here is valid at the time of writing (March 2018).

In order to understand how loanwords have been added to the English language, some quantitative data are required, and will be obtained from the timelines made available in the website of the OED. Relying on such timelines, Table 1 below presents the items borrowed from the different branches of Celtic, while Table 2 focuses on Goidelic and indicates the number of borrowings from each language between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Table 1. Borrowings from Celtic languages in the OED timelines<sup>11</sup>

Celtic			598	
	Brittonic			139
		Breton		6
		Cornish		41
		Welsh		97
	Goidelic			452
		Scottish Gaelic		58
		Gaelic		112
		Irish		293
		Manx		13

Table 2. Goidelic borrowings between Early and Late Modern times (as listed in the OED timelines)

Language	16C	17C	18C	19C	Total
Scottish Gaelic	12	5	6	13	36
Gaelic	28	11	36	26	101
Irish	45	35	49	113	242
Manx	0	1	1	10	12
Total	85	52	92	162	391
%	21.7	13.3	23.5	41.4	100

Table 2 shows that the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a particularly significant time for the acquisition of Manx and Irish vocabulary, while (Scottish) Gaelic items were acquired in similar numbers in the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries; in general, ca. 65% of borrowings date from Late Modern times.

<sup>11</sup> Figures may not add up to the totals given, as the derivations of other items may still be questionable.

Focusing on geographical provenance, rather than language of origin, we find that the so-called Celtic Fringe of the British Isles, i.e. Scotland, Wales, the Isle of Man, and Ireland, appears to have given its largest contribution in the 19<sup>th</sup> century – see Table 3a. Only Scotland appears to have contributed a larger number of lexical items in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, which is probably due to the growing connection between the two kingdoms that developed after James IV of Scotland married Margaret Tudor in August 1503: a connection that would eventually lead to the Union of the Crowns in 1603. However, if findings are broken down by area (Northern Scotland, Southern Scotland, Orkney and Shetland – see Table 3b), the significance of the 19<sup>th</sup> century emerges again, as the percentages of items that were acquired in that century alone appear to be relatively high. It may thus be worth looking at what kind of items were first recorded in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and what sources stand out as particularly frequent.

Table 3a. Lexical borrowings from the Celtic Fringe (as listed in the OED timelines by geographical provenance)

Area	Tot. contributions over time	Of which in the 19C	%
Scotland	18,334	3,437	19
Ireland	2,352	710	30
Wales	176	46	26
Isle of Man	43	20	47
Total			20

Table 3b. Lexical borrowings from Scotland (as listed in the OED timelines by geographical provenance)

Area	Tot. contributions over time	Of which in the 19C	%
Northern Scotland	491	110	22
Shetland	315	99	31
Orkney	227	60	26
Southern Scotland	30	11	37
Total			26

Starting from the semantic domain to which these borrowings belong, we see they are so strongly culture-bound as to become untranslatable;

in fact, the earliest quotations that illustrate them are often from sources discussing folk lore and other traditional features – see the examples below:

- (9) **carval**, n. **Etymology:** < Manx *carval*. A carol, a ballad on a sacred subject.

1873 W. Harrison in *Mona Miscellany* 2nd Ser. p. x A specimen of a Manx *carval* is given... It would have been easy to have given many of these *carvals*, which may be termed a literature entirely peculiar to the Manx people, consisting chiefly of ballads on sacred subjects which have been handed down in writing... Most of these *carvals* are from 50 to 150 years old, and amongst the favourites may be mentioned 'Joseph's History', 'Susannah's History', 'The Nativity', 'The Holy War', 'David and Goliath', 'Samson's History', 'Birth of Christ'.

1887 H. Caine *Deemster* III. xxxiii. 60 Sometimes he crooned a Manx *carval*.

1910 *Encycl. Brit.* V. 639/2 Most of the existing literature ... consists of ballads and carols, locally called *carvels*.

**quaaltagh**, n. **Origin:** A borrowing from Manx. Etymon: Manx *quaaltagh*.

1. The practice or custom of going in a group from door to door at Christmas or New Year, typically making a request for food or other gifts in the form of a song. Now *hist*.

1835 A. Cregeen *Dict. Manks Lang.* 132/2 A company of young lads or men, generally went in old times on what they termed the *Quaaltagh*, at Christmas or New Year's Day to the house of their more wealthy neighbours.

1845 J. Train *Hist. & Statist. Acct. Isle of Man* II. 114 Until at the *Quaaltagh* again we appear To wish you, as now, all a happy New Year.

1891 *Notes & Queries* 3 Jan. 4/1 The actors in the *Quaaltagh* do not assume fantastic habiliments, like the mummers of England or the Guiscards of Scotland. [...]

2. The first person to enter a house on New Year's Day; = first foot n. 1. Also: the first person one meets after leaving home, esp. on a special occasion.

1845 J. Train *Hist. & Statist. Acct. Isle of Man* II. 115 A light-haired male or female is deemed unlucky to be a first-foot or quaaltagh on New Year's morning.

1891 A.W. Moore *Folk-lore Isle of Man* 103 It was considered fortunate if the *quaaltagh* were a person of dark complexion. [...]

**sporrán, n. Etymology:** < Scottish Gaelic *sporan*, Irish *sparán* purse. A pouch or large purse made of skin, usually with the hair left on and with ornamental tassels, etc., worn in front of the kilt by Scottish Highlanders.

1817 Scott *Rob Roy* III. vii. 209 I advise no man to attempt opening this sporrán till he has my secret.

1837 W.F. Skene *Highlanders Scotl.* I. i. ix. 227 The resemblance to the Highland dress is very striking, presenting also considerable indication of the sporrán or purse. [...]

**piob mhor, n. Origin:** A borrowing from Scottish Gaelic. Etymon: Scottish Gaelic *piob mhór*. **Etymology:** < Scottish Gaelic *piob mhór* < *piob* pipe n.<sup>1</sup> + *mhór*, feminine of *mór* ... The Highland bagpipe.

[1790 E. Ledwich *Antiq. Ireland* 241 Having obtained this instrument from Britain, the Irish retained its original name, and called it *piob-mala*, or Bag-pipes.]

1838 A. MacKay *Coll. Anc. Piobaireachd or Highland Pipe Music* 5 When the infirmities accompanying a protracted life, prevented him handling his favourite *Piob-mhor*, he would sit on the sunny braes, and run over the notes on the staff.

1845 *New Statist. Acct. Scotl.* XIV. 339 The names of some of the caves and knolls in the vicinity still point out the spots where the scholars used to practise, respectively on the chanter, the small pipe, and the *Piob mhor*, or large bagpipe. [...]

**ceilidh, n. Etymology:** < Irish *céilidhe*, Scottish Gaelic *cēilidh*, < Old Irish *céile* companion. In Scotland and Ireland: (a) an evening visit, a friendly social call; (b) a session of traditional music, storytelling, or dancing; also *attrib.* and *fig.*

1875 *Celtic Mag.* I. 40 The Highland Ceilidh.

As for labels identifying social groups, the indebtedness to literary sources is clear both in the case of *Gael* and of *Sassenach*:

- (10) **Gael**, n. **Etymology:** < Scottish Gaelic *Gaidheal* a member of the Gaelic race = Old Irish *Gaidel*, *Goidel*. A Scottish Highlander or Celt; also, an Irish Celt.

[1596 J. Dalrymple tr. J. Leslie *Hist. Scotl.* (1888) I. 73    Calling thame al Scottis albeit is plane and euident that mony hundir zeiris eftir, thay war called Gathelis fra Gathel.]

1810 Scott *Lady of Lake* v. 192    The Gael around him threw His graceful plaid of varied hue.

**Sassenach**, n.<sup>12</sup> **Etymology:** repr. Gaelic *Sasunnach* adjective English, noun an Englishman = Irish *Sasanach*. The name given by the Gaelic inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland to their 'Saxon' or English neighbours. (Sometimes attributed to Welsh speakers: the corresponding Welsh form is *Seisnig*.)

1771 T. Smollett *Humphry Clinker* III. 21    The Highlanders have no other name for the people of the Low-country, but Sassenagh, or Saxons.

1815 Scott *Let.* 21 Jan. (1933) IV. 19    I believe the frolics one can cut in this loose garb are all set down by you Sassenach to the real agility of the wearer.

a1820 Drennan in *Spirit of Nation* (1845) 24    Unarm'd must thy sons and thy daughters await The Sassenagh's lust or the Sassenagh's hate.

a1845 T.O. Davis *Fontenoy* V    Revenge! remember Limerick! dash down the Sacsanach.

1876 J. Grant *Hist. Burgh Schools Scotl.* ii. xiii. 410 (*note*)    A brave and patriotic Sassenach may be said to have wiped out this stain.

*attrib.*

1869 W.S. Gilbert *Bab Ballads* 187    All loved their McClan, save a Sassenach brute, Who came to the Highlands to fish and to shoot.

Concerning similarities with features of Johnson's *Dictionary*, we find that in *kilt* there are some indirect references to the Act of Proscription, but also indications (in Burt's and Pennant's quotations) that perhaps it was still in use in some parts of the country even after it had only been allowed in very limited cases:

<sup>12</sup> This entry has not yet been fully updated (first published 1909).

- (11) **kilt**, n. A part of the modern Highland dress, consisting of a skirt or petticoat reaching from the waist to the knee: it is usually made of tartan cloth, and is deeply plaited round the back and sides; hence, any similar article of dress worn in other countries.
- 1746 *Act 19 & 21 Geo. II* c. 39 §17 The philebeg or little kilt.
- 1754 E. Burt *Lett. N. Scotl.* II. xxii. 185 Those among them who travel on Foot..vary it [the Trowze] into the *Quelt*, a small Part of the Plaid, is set in Folds and girt round the Waste to make of it a short Petticoat that reaches half Way down the Thigh.
- 1771 T. Smollett *Humphry Clinker* III. 23 His piper has a right to wear the kilt, or antient Highland dress, with the purse, pistol, and durk.
- 1771 T. Pennant *Tour Scotl.* (1790) I. 211 The feil beag, i.e. little plaid, also called kelt, is a modern substitute for the lower part of the plaid.
- 1814 Scott *Waverley* I. xvi. 232 The short kilt, or petticoat, showed his sinewy and clean-made limbs. [...]

In the entry for *second sight*, instead, the Celtic word identifying the phenomenon is found only in a relatively late quotation dating from 1875:

- (12) **second sight**, n.
1. a. A supposed power by which occurrences in the future or things at a distance are perceived as though they were actually present.
- 1616 in A. Macdonald & J. Dennistoun *Misc. Maitland Club* (1840) II. 189 Be the secund sicht grantit to her. She saw Robert Stewart..and certane utheris with towis about thair craigis.
- 1685 J. Evelyn *Diary* (1955) IV. 470 There was something said of the second-sight, happning to some persons, especially Scotch.
- 1763 *Pastoral Cordial* 11 Their Faith and firm Belief In Second Sight, and Mother Shipton.
- 1827 Scott *Highland Widow in Chron. Canongate* 1st Ser. I. xii. 265 There are Highland visions, Captain Campbell, as unsatisfactory and vain as those of the second sight.
- 1875 A. Lang in *Encycl. Brit.* II. 204/1 Persons possessing the Celtic *taishitaraugh*, or gift of second-sight.

The data provided so far point to an evidently significant role of literature in the preservation of Celtic vocabulary. This can be attributed to the policies that the editors of the OED implemented for the acquisition of examples, which resulted in informants contributing a vast quantity of quotations taken from literary sources. However, it is undeniable that the popularity of such sources also affected how people perceived the (more or less exotic) realities they described, whether they were geographically or historically distant. In the next section specific attention will be paid to literary and non-literary sources in which the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 features most prominently, in order to see to what extent the roots of persistent stereotypes can be traced back to them.

### 3. Literary and popular culture

Given the importance of literary sources in the quotations provided by the OED, further analysis is required in order to assess the extent to which Gaelic vocabulary was borrowed into English through literary and non-literary channels. To achieve this aim, I selected a reference corpus comprising two collections of Scottish documents, one pertaining to popular culture and the other pertaining to narrations of the last Jacobite uprising, so as to assess the presence of Gaelic vocabulary in (mostly) non-literary texts.

The former collection includes the ballads available in a site hosted by the National Library of Scotland, “The Word on the Street”: nearly 1,800 broadsides circulating in Scotland between 1650 and 1910 and thus assumed to be representative of current usage. Interestingly, such ballads do not seem to include Gaelic vocabulary in the texts collected under the *Jacobites* and *Highlanders* labels<sup>13</sup>. Of course many Jacobite songs were actually sung in Gaelic and even Scots ones included specific lexical items where required, as shown in the following lines from *Hey, Johnnie Cope*:

- (13) ‘Faith’, quo Johnnie, ‘I had sic fegs,  
 Wi’ their claymores and their philabegs,  
 If I face them again Deil brak ma legs,  
 So I wish you a ‘good morning’.

<sup>13</sup> Documents about these subjects are listed at <http://digital.nls.uk/broadsides/subject.cfm/key/highlanders> and <http://digital.nls.uk/broadsides/subject.cfm/key/Jacobites> respectively; both pages were accessed on 03.03.2018.

However, Gaelic items are infrequent also in the second collection, *The Lyon in Mourning* (Forbes 1746-75), nearly 600 documents of varying length concerning the Forty-five and its aftermath<sup>14</sup>. There we come across only *kilt*, *durk*, *claymore* and *tartan*, mostly in accounts of Charles Edward Stewart's escape after Culloden:

- (14) The Prince at this time was in a small hutt built for the purpose in the wood betwixt Achnasual and the end of Locharkeig. [...]. He was then bare-footed, had an old black kilt coat on, a plaid, philabeg and waistcoat, a dirty shirt and a long red beard, a gun in his hand, a pistol and durk by his side. (Forbes 1746-75: I, 97)

I have had this philibeg on now for some days, and I find I do as well with it as any the best breeches I ever put on. [...] Then he remarked that the waistcoat he had upon him was too fine for a servant, being a scarlet tartan with a gold twist button, and proposed to the master to change with him. (Forbes 1746-75: I, 137)

The reasons for the continuing popularity of these lexical items should therefore be investigated also in other sources, and more specifically in literary ones. First of all, the crucial role played by Sir Walter Scott in the re-launch of tartan on the occasion of George IV's visit to Scotland in 1822 cannot be ignored; in addition, the vast popularity of Scott's novels and their representation of both Scotland and the Jacobite cause is seen in the frequency with which the OED referred to them for instances of first usage or first meaning. Sir Walter Scott is the third most frequently quoted source in the OED, with a total of 17,118 quotations (about 0.49% of all OED quotations). Of these, 449 provide first evidence of a word, while 2,122 provide first evidence of a particular meaning. The distribution of quotations among Scott's works is given in Table 4 below.

<sup>14</sup> The documents, collected by Robert Forbes, Bishop of Ross and Caithness, were published in three volumes at the end of the nineteenth century, and in each volume there is a preface in which the editor, Henry Paton, of the Scottish History Society, provides background notes on both the collector and the papers themselves; these are not arranged chronologically according to the times of the events to which they refer, but follow the order in which Forbes collected them – see <http://digital.nls.uk/print/transcriptions/index.html>. Background notes on the history of the collection are at [www.nls.uk/about-us/publications/discover/2009/lyon-in-mourning](http://www.nls.uk/about-us/publications/discover/2009/lyon-in-mourning) (accessed 03/03/2018).

Table 4. Walter Scott: most quoted texts in the OED

Work	No. of quotations	%
<i>Heart of Mid-Lothian</i>	1,007	5.0
<i>Fair Maid of Perth</i>	940	5.0
<i>Antiquary</i>	890	5.0
<i>Guy Mannering</i>	765	4.0
<i>Waverley</i>	700	4.0
<i>Kenilworth</i>	685	3.0
<i>Lady of the Lake</i>	655	3.0
<i>Ivanhoe</i>	651	3.0
<i>Rob Roy</i>	639	3.0
Letters	617	3.0

Among such quotations we find both items pertaining to Scottish culture (e.g. *clansman*, *sporrán* and *the Forty-five*) and items that would gain much broader circulation, not least in literary usage – it is the case for instance of *password* and *skyline*; the relevant quotations are given here in chronological order:

- (15) 1799 Scott tr. Goethe *Goetz of Berlichingen* ii. iii. 69 George shall force the fellow to give him the pass-word.  
 1810 Scott *Lady of Lake* ii. 68 A hundred clans-men raise Their voices.  
 1817 Scott *Rob Roy* III. vii. 209 I advise no man to attempt opening this sporrán till he has my secret.  
 1823 Scott *St. Ronan's Well* I. iv. 84 Some boy's daubing, I suppose... Eh! What is this? Who can this be. Do but see the sky-line – why, this is an exquisite little bit.  
 1832 Scott *Redgauntlet* II. xi. 247 Ye have heard of a year they call the *forty-five*.

Other successful items first used by Scott were *Gael*, *Glaswegian*, *slainte*, and *petticoat tail* (a triangular piece of shortbread). The contexts in which these lexemes first occurred are given in the quotations below, again in chronological order:

- (16) 1810 Scott *Lady of Lake* v. 192 The Gael around him threw His graceful plaid of varied hue.

- 1817 *Scott Rob Roy* II. ix. 195 The Glaswegian took him by the hand.  
 1819 *Scott Bride of Lammermoor* xii, in *Tales of my Landlord* 3rd Ser. II.  
 285 Never had there been..such making of car-cakes and  
 sweet scones, Selkirk bannocks, cookies, and petticoat-tails,  
 delicacies little known to the present generation.  
 1824 *Scott Redgauntlet* II. vii. 159 He then took up the tankard, and  
 saying aloud in Gaelic, '*Slaint an Rey*', just tasted the liquor.

Although the OED does not refer to the Act of Proscription in the entry for *plaid* either, there is a reference to Queen Victoria's enthusiastic appropriation of Scottish culture in the 1897 quotation illustrating usage of *tartan*<sup>15</sup>:

- (17) **plaid**, n.<sup>1</sup> **Origin:** Perhaps a borrowing from Scottish Gaelic. Etymon: Scottish Gaelic *plaid*. [...]  
 2. a. A length of such material, formerly worn in the north of England and all parts of Scotland, later mainly in the Scottish Highlands, and now chiefly as part of the ceremonial dress of the pipe bands of Scottish regiments. [...]

**tartan**, n.<sup>1</sup>

1. a. A kind of woollen cloth woven in stripes of various colours crossing at right angles so as to form a regular pattern; worn chiefly by the Scottish Highlanders, each clan having generally its distinctive pattern; often preceded by a clan-name, etc. denoting a particular traditional or authorized design. Also, the pattern or design of such cloth, and applied to silk and other fabrics having a similar pattern. *shepherds' tartan*, *shepherds' plaid*: see quot. 1882. In quot. 1810 *pl.* tartan garments.

?a1500

*Symmye & Bruder* 22 in *Sibbald Chron. Sc. Poetry* (1802) I. 360  
 Syne schupe thame up, to lowp owr leiss, Twa tabartis of  
 the tartane. [...]

- 1803 *Gazetteer Scotl.* at *Ninians (St.)* Of late, the greater part of the tartan for the army has been manufactured in this parish.

<sup>15</sup> More extensive discussion of the ways in which travel, tourism, empire and ideology contributed to the creation of an often artificial image of Scotland and its history can be found in numerous book-length studies, such as Grenier (2005), and is therefore beyond the scope of this paper.

- 1810 Scott *Lady of Lake* iii. 134 Their feathers dance, their tartans float. A wild and warlike groupe they stand.
- 1822 D. Stewart *Sketches Highlanders Scotl.* I. iii. i. 229 The pipers wore a red tartan of very bright colours, (of the pattern known by the name of the Stewart tartan). [...]
- 1897 *Private Life of Queen* xxv. 209 The writing-room is hung entirely with the Balmoral tartan.

Since Culloden, a cultural shift had taken place, not just in legal terms, but also in linguistic and symbolic ones. Highland life, language and culture were now considerably restricted and what survived was reinterpreted in completely different ways: obvious instances of this are in the representation of a new, distinctively military Highland garb in numerous paintings commissioned by the Hanoverian elite – see, most notably, Sir Henry Raeburn’s portrait of Sir John Sinclair (1794-95)<sup>16</sup>, but also William Dyce’s portrait of Francis Humberston-MacKenzie (ca. 1840)<sup>17</sup> and – even more significantly – Hugh Montgomery’s portrait by John Singleton Copley (1780), in which kilted soldiers are not defeated as in 1746, but have now become victorious over Indian nations<sup>18</sup>.

#### 4. Concluding remarks

The complex ways in which lexical change appears to have occurred in Late Modern times in relation to Scots, Scottish English and Gaelic can be documented both by lexicographical investigations and by analyses of other text types. Although this study has considered only a small fraction of the items that appear to have changed their viability in day-to-day communication after the dramatic events of the last Jacobite rebellion, this overview of their treatment in both literary and non-literary sources has shed light on the significance that such sources have in the creation of persistent images. Even so, quantitative analyses cannot be expected to answer all

<sup>16</sup> See [www.wga.hu/html\\_m/r/raeburn/sinclair.html](http://www.wga.hu/html_m/r/raeburn/sinclair.html) (accessed 03/03/2018).

<sup>17</sup> See <http://clanmackenziesociety.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/William-Dyces-portrait-of-Francis-Humberston-MacKenzie-shown-in-the-uniform-of-the-78th-or-Seaforth-Highlanders.jpg> (accessed 03/03/2018).

<sup>18</sup> See <https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/65/14/27/651427124bb647edaa9df649cf484934--oil-paintings-for-sale-original-paintings.jpg> (accessed 03/03/2018).

research questions, on account of the relatively biased composition of the text collections under investigation: for instance, certain authors may feature more prominently than others among quoted sources, due to their popularity at a specific point in time.

As a result, linguistic studies need to be supplemented with sufficiently broad background knowledge of the social and historical contexts in which such changes occurred. While the importance of the external history of a language has long been acknowledged, recent trends in corpus-based studies appear to have somewhat neglected that. However, quantitative findings require qualitative interpretation both in relation to data and in relation to the cultural framework in which they are seen to occur. Thanks to such an encompassing approach, it may be possible to see that the borders of time and space can hardly be defined when language change is concerned: what falls out of use and what survives, whether with the same or with a new semantic value, may hardly depend on internal rules, but may depend on historical events and how they are narrated, idealized, and even re-interpreted.

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Address: MARINA DOSSENA, Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Culture Straniere, Università degli Studi di Bergamo, Piazza Rosate 2, 24129 Bergamo (Italy).

ORCID code: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8025-6086>.

## **Words of religious dissent in eighteenth-century Italian translations of Chambers's *Cyclopaedia***

Elisabetta Lonati

*Università degli Studi di Milano*

### ABSTRACT

Chambers's *Cyclopaedia, or An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (1728) is the first relevant reference work of eighteenth-century British encyclopaedism. The impact of Chambers's work was so widespread that in a few years further English editions and translations in other European languages were carried out (e.g. the French *Encyclopédie* started as a translation project).

Between the 1740s and the 1770s, three Italian editions of Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* were issued: in Venice (1748-49 [1748-1753]), Naples (1747-54), and Genoa (1770-75). These translations helped disseminate British culture, history, social values, traditions, and customs in Italy. Among the most interesting topics, religion and religious terminology across two very diverse – even contrasting – religious backgrounds provide a fruitful area of investigation.

The aim of the present study is to collect the entries on religious dissent in Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* (the 5<sup>th</sup> 1741-43 edition, and the 1753 *Supplement*, edited by G. Lewis Scott) and compare them with respect to the same items in the three Italian translations. The analysis highlights the degree of inclusion of religious terminology of this kind, the extension of individual entries (omission-deletion, addition-expansion), and the use of denotation or connotation in describing and translating religious events, entities, and concepts (variation-replacement, source version *vs.* target version). In other words, the focus of my analysis is on how cultural transfer and exchange of potentially controversial contents are managed by language and translation (especially the adaptation and dissemination of religious contents in a Catholic country).

Keywords: religious dissent, translation, Anglo-Italian, censorship, eighteenth-century, Chambers's *Cyclopaedia*.

## 1. Introduction: Dictionaries of arts and sciences

Dictionaries of arts and sciences represented a new and emerging genre in eighteenth century Europe. In a few volumes they condensed a large number of disciplines, and their respective terminology, for the educated and curious reader. Arranged in alphabetical order like a dictionary, these encyclopaedic works of reference organised knowledge into its constituent parts. Arts and sciences were framed into and disseminated as specific headwords and entries related to each other with a system of internal cross-references. As a consequence, individual topics and entries were ideally and practically connected to form a more general outlook (cf. Yeo 1991, 1996, 2001, 2003).

### 1.1 The *Cyclopaedia* and the British world of knowledge dissemination throughout the eighteenth century

From a chronological point of view, Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* (hereafter *Cy*) is the second reference work of this kind to be published in England: Harris's *Lexicon Technicum* (hereafter *LT*) had already been issued in London in 1704<sup>1</sup>. The first edition of the *Cy* was actually published in two in-folio volumes in 1727, even though the title-page is dated 1728. A long and relevant preface introduces and explains the plan of the work: the philosophical and epistemological assumptions of Locke and Newton, on which it is based, are thoroughly discussed (cf. Mamiani 1983). As in the case of the *LT*, a long list of subscribers follows: members of the aristocracy and learned men such as academics and mathematicians, as well as lawyers, ecclesiastics, surgeons, merchants and booksellers. More than the *LT*, the *Cy* represented a turning point in the encyclopaedic tradition: it opened a new era, and became a model both for the fields of knowledge included in it and for the complex system of cross-references introduced as a useful device for the reader (Farinella 1996: 97)<sup>2</sup>. The many editions and reprints produced throughout the century

<sup>1</sup> Russell (1997, 2: 1-2): "Senex is known to have encouraged his young protégé in his desire to acquire knowledge and it was whilst working for his master that Chambers appears to have entertained the idea of creating an encyclopaedia modelled upon the *Lexicon Technicum* of John Harris. [...] It is significant that John Senex was a subscriber to [...] Harris's [work] which we can assume would be on his shelves for Chambers to consult at his leisure. The influence of the *Lexicon Technicum* on Chambers was considerable and led him [...] to compile his own *Cyclopaedia*".

<sup>2</sup> Farinella (1996: 97) maintains that the "*Cyclopaedia* [...] rappresentò una cesura con la precedente tradizione della redazione di opere enciclopediche e inaugurò una pagina

testify to its long-lasting success. It was also translated all over Europe: three editions appeared in Italy alone between the end of the 1740s and the first half of the 1770s, and it was the basis of the French *Encyclopédie*.

The novelty of the genre, the needs and expectations of an expanding and multilayered reading public, as well as the book market interests, certainly favoured the circulation of encyclopaedic reference works and their editorial success (cf. Fragnito 2001a, 2001b, 2001c; Delpiano 2017, 2018).

## 1.2 The '*Ciclopedia*' and the Italian world of knowledge dissemination in the second half of the eighteenth century

Encyclopaedic reference works of a lexicographic nature, or dictionaries of arts and sciences, began to circulate among the Italian reading public. Here as elsewhere in Europe, the reading public was rapidly and steadily expanding, and was clearly interested in editorial novelties, which helped disseminate knowledge and ideas. However, Italy – or, rather, its many political entities – had, at the time, a particular socio-cultural background, rooted and mainly characterised by Catholicism, (self-)censorship, and other restrictions to reading (cf. Delpiano 2007, 2017, 2018; Fragnito 2001c). The Holy Office and its *Index of Prohibited Books* limited the dissemination of potentially dangerous ideas: manipulation and expurgation of texts, self-correction to elude censorship and balance severe controls, or to avoid “strict suppression [...] that involved book burnings” (Delpiano 2018: 4), were effectively suggested and became widespread practice in the second half of the century. This aspect, obviously, conditioned the production and the circulation of original works, as well as the translation and adaptation of contemporary works coming from abroad, a kind of “adaptation à la péninsule” (Delpiano 2017: 4) and its Catholic readership. Restrictions became particularly severe in the 1750s; and even more so in the 1760s after the publication of the first volumes of the French *Encyclopédie*, condemned in 1752 (Orlandi 1992: 23).

It is in this climate that Chambers's *Cy* was translated into Italian, in three geographical areas (Venice, Naples, and Genoa) where the reading

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nuova nella storia delle enciclopedie, offrendo un modello con il quale [...] occorreva quasi obbligatoriamente misurarsi tanto per l'ampiezza dei campi del sapere toccati quanto per il complesso e continuo gioco di rimandi tra una voce e l'altra. [...] in poco meno di venticinque anni la settima [edizione], nel 1751-52. La *Cyclopaedia* si era rapidamente trasformata nel sinonimo di enciclopedia 'moderna', lasciandosi alle spalle 'tutti gli sforzi enciclopedici' precedenti [...]"

public and the book market on the one hand, and the influence and attitude of the ecclesiastical and lay authorities on the other, were significantly different.

## 2. Source texts: Original works, translations and adaptations, prefaces and readership

The original English works under scrutiny here are Chambers's *Cy*, particularly the 5<sup>th</sup> edition issued in 1741-43 (hereafter *5<sup>th</sup>Cy*), in two in-folio volumes; and the 1753 *Supplement* (hereafter *Sup*), in two in-folio volumes, compiled and edited by G. Lewis Scott. The *5<sup>th</sup>Cy* expanded part of the original 1728 *Cy* contents across disciplines, and is the latest edition published before the first Italian versions were issued in Venice and in Naples. In this case the translator himself, Giuseppe Maria Secondo, declares in his preface to have used the *5<sup>th</sup>Cy* as a basis for his work. The *Sup* includes some expansions and updates of a selected number of entries presented in alphabetical order, and adds some new headwords:

considerable additions have been made to the work [...] The plan of the CYCLOPAEDIA has been, in general, adhered to [...] care has been taken to connect the SUPPLEMENT to the CYCLOPAEDIA [...] some branches of learning have been treated much more at length than others [...] the additions and emendations [are] very considerable in quantity, the reader will find them no less so in point of pleasure and utility. (*Sup*, To the Reader, 1753: unnumbered pages)

The *Sup* was used for the compilation of the Genoa edition in the 1770s, in which the title page expressly states "cui si aggiunge articolo per articolo il supplemento di Giorgio Lewis", i.e. with additions and expansions by G. Lewis.

The Italian translations of the *Cy* represent both the general interest for the emerging genre of *dictionary of arts and sciences* at a European level, and also the particular relevance that the *Cy* had obtained in Italy. The first Italian translation was planned in Venice, by Giambattista Pasquali in 1746. However, the translation was carried out at intervals only in the following years, to be completed in 1753, in nine in-quarto volumes, first by an English Franciscan, and later by Abbot Jacopo Fabrizi (Orlandi 1992: 11; Farinella 1996: 102). The title page of the first volume, faithfully reproducing Chambers's title, makes the aim of the work explicit, by adding that it will

be a “Traduzione esatta ed intiera dall’Inglese” (Venice, Title page 1748), a complete and faithful translation from English.

A similar plan was started in Naples in 1747, and was completed in 1754, in eight in-quarto volumes. The printer was Giuseppe De Bonis, and the translator was a well-known jurist, Giuseppe Maria Secondo. The general aim and the main features of the work are expressed on the title page: the dictionary is “Tradotto dall’Inglese, e di molti Articoli accresciuto”<sup>3</sup> (Naples, Title page 1747), translated from English, with many additions. More detailed issues, relevant to the target readership and the socio-cultural background, are introduced and discussed in the preface, “Prefazione del traduttore”:

Una tal meraviglia [opera], accompagnata di un vivo desiderio di far provare a’ miei Concittadini le mirabili produzioni dell’ingegno umano; mi mossero di meditarne una versione italiana. [...] Ciò posto adunque, conviene in primo luogo togliere al Pubblico tutte quelle dubbiose immaginazioni, che gli potrebbero forse sorgere, sulla mia intrapresa, con dare un’idea generale della maniera, colla quale ne son venuto all’esecuzione, per poi in secondo luogo accennare l’utile che può ognuno ricavar dalla lettura e dallo studio di quell’Opera. Il Lettore potrà vivere sicuro di una fedeltà nella traduzione tutta scrupolosa; egli non sarà fraudato in tutto il corso di quell’opera, neppure d’una sola parola. [...] E per maggiormente rendere utile, ed universale quest’Opera [...] mi sono indotto ad aggiungere, oltre di varie cose erudite, che mi son parute necessarie, una distinta notizia ed uso delle nostre Patrie leggi [...].

Quantunque questa Opera sia una traduzione fedele, e fatta in modo sull’originale, che si camina termine per termine, per dir così, coll’Inglese. [...] ella potrebbe meritare ancora, in qualche maniera, il titolo di Opera originale; poiché sebbene quasi tutto il materiale era fatto, il doverlo mettere nell’ordine Italiano, non è da credersi l’immenza fatica, che ha dovuto costare, e l’esamina giudicosa nel collocare o gli Articoli medesimi, o parte di essi ne’ luoghi corrispondenti alla grazia della nostra lingua. [...] Non è da tralasciarsi di partecipare a’ Lettori d’essersi questa mia versione fatta sull’ultima edizione d’Inghilterra, o sia la quinta, cominciata a stamparsi in Londra nel 1741, e finita nel 1743, che vale a dire d’essersi fatta sull’edizione più corretta; e riveduta

<sup>3</sup> These additions were adapted to the Italian reading public and the social context of use, particularly concerning local laws and statutes.

dall'Autore tuttavia vivente [...]. (Naples, Prefazione del Traduttore 1747: unnumbered pages)<sup>4</sup>.

The preface is preceded by the "Supplica", or introductory plea, to the ecclesiastical and lay authority for revision (possible expurgation and/or self-correction, if not censorship) and imprimatur<sup>5</sup>. This gives us some idea of the restrictions on publishing a work from abroad, especially from a non-Catholic country, in a very conservative context.

This aspect, that is the need to be extremely careful in translating, printing, and publishing original foreign works, becomes far more relevant in the second half of the century. The proscription of the *Encyclopédie*, and its inclusion in the *Index*, testified to the prompt reaction of the Catholic authority. In the following decades, further restrictions were established for the book market. Both the Venice and the Naples translations of the *Cyclopaedia* suffered the same fate, and were prohibited in the 1760s as dangerous works (Orlandi 1992: 25; Farinella 1996: 126), disseminating ideas and values contrary to those of the Catholic faith<sup>6</sup>.

The translation carried out in the 1770s in Genoa was strongly affected by this climate. The ecclesiastical authorities aimed to limit and control suspect contents, in order to make them appropriate to the local values. Writers, compilers, and printers tried to elude restrictions by self-correction (and/or self-censorship, as strategically and persuasively 'suggested' by the local authorities): omissions, deletions, manipulation and explanatory notes were thus systematically used.

The Genoa translation was issued between 1770 and 1775, and was based on the *Cy*, "cui siaggiunge articolo per articolo il Supplemento di Giorgio Lewis [...] Terza Edizione Italiana riveduta e purgata d'ogni errore"

<sup>4</sup> Giuseppe Maria Secondo here explains the reasons for the translation of Chambers's *Cyclopaedia*: the work is magnificent, and the Italian readership deserves it, since it contains and disseminates the most useful and up-to-date topics, ideas, and disciplines. The translation is close to the original, and it is carried out with the utmost care. Some culture-bound contents have also been added to the work, in particular useful local laws. The original source for him is <sup>5th</sup>*Cy*.

<sup>5</sup> The permission to print was granted by the ecclesiastical reviser, Carolus Gagliardus, "Attenta relatione Domini Revisoris, imprimatur. Datum Neapoli die 15 mensis Novembris 1754"; and by the lay reviser, Antonio Genovese, "Non ci ho trovato nulla, che sia contrario a' Diritti e Gius del Rè e del Regno [...] Napoli 15. di Maggio 1753", nothing can be found here contrary to the laws of the Kingdom of Naples.

<sup>6</sup> Farinella (1996: 126) explains some of the strategies used by translators and printer-editors to elude censorship, if not proscription: adjectives and substantives able to mitigate the original, and make it more acceptable to a Catholic readership were

(Genoa, Title page 1770), with additions translated from Lewis's *Sup*. Bernardo Tarigo was the printer responsible for this new 'revised and expurgated' plan. The introductory section "A chi legge", to the reader, written by the printer himself is far more explicit as regards the methodology adopted to translate the original work, and differentiates it from previous publications:

In primo luogo è questa premessa e leggibile senza timor d'inciampo, come quella, che di suprema autorità è stata purgata da quegli errori (a), onde fu l'opera per l'addietro proscritta. So esservi alcuni, che richiamansi di così fatta correzione, persuasi, che vuolsi produr le Opere tali quali uscirono da' loro Autori. [...] Aggiungasi, che cotesto gran troncamento tutto poi si riduce ad alcune pochissime cose, le quali e sono empie, o false, e non interessan punto punto la sostanza e connessione del Libro. [...] Può dirsi di più empio, di più falso, di meno interessante? Se pregiudichi all'Opera l'esser emendata da queste e altre baje di simil conio [...] per me ne fo giudice il Cattolico Saggio Lettore, e passo a un altro pregio della mia Edizione. [...]

Fu sorte, che GIORGIO LEWIS Cavaliere fornito di tanta abilità, quanta si richiede a tal uopo, fattosi a considerare le già raccolte notizie, si prese egli l'assunto di migliorarle e darle in luce. [...] ma si desiderò non pertanto, ch'egli pure esente si fosse da certi pregiudizj propri de' Protestanti, e che, in vece di formare un libro separatamente col titolo di Supplemento, uniti avesse all'Opera gli accresciuti articoli [...]. Un sì giusto desiderio vien ora da me in questa Edizion appagato.

(a) Le Correzioni aggiunte all'Opera si sono poste tra due asterischi<sup>7</sup>.  
(Genoa, A chi legge, 1770: unnumbered pages)

The revision plan of the *Cy*, and its updating, had been started by Chambers himself before his death (1740). It was finalized thirteen years later by Lewis

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systematically used. Some were replacements for original adjectives, others were introduced *ex novo*. In the Venice edition, rewriting of entries of religious and ecclesiastical content was limited.

<sup>7</sup> Tarigo maintains that the reader may be certain of the new and accurate translation, since many *errors* ("baje di simil conio", as mistaken and blasphemous (*empie*) opinions, wrong and/or false (*false*) beliefs, misjudgments, offence, etc.) have been corrected (*emendate*), or omitted (*troncamento*): some writers think translation means *word-for-word reproduction*. That is not the case here, Tarigo affirms, since works should be amended and expurgated when required: the Catholic reader is the only judge to assess content adequacy. To help the reader, (a) corrections have been placed – and thus highlighted – between asterisks. This edition is also enriched and enlarged by additions drawn from George Lewis's *Supplement* (1753).

in two in-folio volumes: updates, additions, and new entries were not integrated into the pre-existing original text of the *Cy*.

### 3. Aims and method

This study investigates the most frequent strategies adopted to translate and adapt original contents to a new context of use: that is to say, how the translators of Chambers's *Cy* managed complex, and sometimes troublesome contents, for a new readership in a Catholic country.

The focus and the approach are primarily qualitative, concentrating on a selected number of terms: the starting point is the general word *dissenter*. The process of selection is mainly based on an explicit cross-reference system (cf. APPENDIX 1, Table of cross-references): in this case, cross-references are usually introduced by "See" in the source text. Other major terms on the notions of dissent, conformity, nonconformity, orthodoxy, and heterodoxy, are frequently included within individual entries: this kind of implicit reference has been useful in establishing the sample wordlist for the analysis (cf. APPENDIX 2, Key topics and religious sects within individual entries). The most relevant headwords thus identified are transcribed and organised below in a general synoptic table (Table 1) to facilitate comparison, and to make the degree of inclusion emerge in the English versions (taken from <sup>5th</sup>*Cy* 1741-43, the latest before the Italian translations, and *Sup* 1753), and the Italian ones (Venice, Naples, Genoa).

Table 1

HEADWORDS ✓ = included - = not included Anabattisti, etc. = Italian version	CHAMBERS 5 <sup>th</sup> 1741-43	CHAMBERS SUPPLEMENT 1753	CHAMBERS VENICE 1748-1749	CHAMBERS NAPLES 1748-1754	CHAMBERS GENOA 1770-1775
1	2	3	4	5	6
ANABAPTIISTS	✓	✓	Anabattisti	Anabatista	Anabattisti
ANTINOMIANS (under ANTINOMY)	Antinomy	✓	Antinomia	Antinomia	Antinomia
ANTITRINITARIANS	✓	-	Antitrini- tarii	Antitrini- tarj	Antitrini- tarii

1	2	3	4	5	6
ARMINIANISM	✓	–	Arminiani- smo	Arminiane- smo	Arminiani- smo
ARMINIANS	✓	Arminius	Arminiani	Arminiani	Arminiani
BROWNISTS	✓	✓	Brounisti	Brunisti	Brounisti
CALVINISM	✓	Calvinists	Calvinismo	Calvinismo	Calvinismo
CHURCH	✓	–	Chiesa	Chiesa	Chiesa
DISSENTERS	✓	–	Dissentisti	Dissen- zienti	Dissentisti
ENTHUSIAST	✓	–	Entusiasta	Entusiaste	Entusiasta
EXCOMMUNICA- TION	✓	–	Scomunica	Scomunica	Scomunica
HERESY (HERETIC)	✓	✓	Eresia	Eresia	Eresia
INDEPENDENTS	✓	–	Indipen- denti	Indipen- denti	Indipen- denti
LATITUDINARIAN	✓	–	Latitudina- rio	Latitudina- rio	Latitudina- rio
LUTHERANS	✓	–	Luterani	Luterani	Luterani
LUTHERANISM	✓	–	Luterani- smo	Luterani- smo	Luterani- smo
NONCON- FORMISTS	✓	–	Noncon- formisti	Non Con- formisti	Noncon- formisti
POPE, PAPA	✓	–	Papa, Pontifex	Papa	Papa, Pontifex
PRESBYTERIANS	✓	–	Presbyte- riani	Presbite- riani	Presbyte- riani
PROTESTANT (sub-headword)	✓	–	Protestanti	Protestanti	Protestanti
PURITANS	✓	–	Puritani	Puritani	Puritani
QUAKERS	✓	–	Quaccheri	Quaccheri	Quaccheri
REFORMATION (REFORMED <i>church</i> )	✓	–	Riforma- zione	Riforma- zione	Riforma- zione
SCHISM	✓	–	Scisma	Scisma	Scisma
SECT	✓	–	Setta	Setta	Setta
SEPARATISTS	✓	–	Separatisti	Separatisti	Separatisti
SERVETISTS	✓	–	Servetisti	Servetisti	Servetisti
TOLERATION	✓	–	Tolerazione	Tolerazione	Tolerazione
TORIES, Torys	✓	–	Torii	Tori	Torii
WHIG	✓	–	Wighi	Wighi	Wighi

In Section 4 below, a selection of the preceding terms and their respective entries (mostly extracts) is transcribed, analysed, and discussed. For an effective reading, and immediate comparison, as well as for reasons of space, the examples include only those terms, entries, and passages that highlight interesting differences from the original, and suggest variation in meaning. At a formal level, these differences may be limited to omission, replacement, addition of single lexical items, or expansion to multiword expressions. Their relevance is not strictly bound to their extension: the smallest formal changes may produce in-depth modifications at message, or content, level. As a rule, only the first twenty lines of each entry in the original English texts (*5<sup>th</sup>Cy* 1741-43, and *Sup* 1753) have been considered for comparison, since the most relevant lexicographic, lexicological, and ideational contents, including some hints at the general organisation of the entries (equivalent, definition, etymology, main cross-reference; omission, deletion, addition, etc.) are usually provided systematically in the first paragraphs. They may correspond to circa twenty lines in the Italian translations. However, in some cases, particularly when analysing long (or longer than the average entry) and complex encyclopaedic articles, the transcriptions provided include contents recovered further on in the entry, if considered necessary or significant for the aims of the investigation. These specific circumstances are highlighted in turn – see for instance the cases of *church* and *pope* below.

#### **4. Discussion: Lexicography, lexicology, and culture-bound features in context**

This section includes two sets of extracts: the first set (Group A) focuses on minor changes at the formal level, though some of them may be relevant at the discourse level; the second set of examples (Group B) focuses on very complex and troublesome entries, since dogmatic principles are introduced and discussed. For each of the two sets, the strategies used to translate the original texts (*5<sup>th</sup>Cy* and *Sup*) will be highlighted, in particular omission-deletion (1, highlighted by Ø in translations), variation-replacement (2), addition-expansion (3, highlighted by ✓ in the source). Group A includes DISSENTERS, NON-CONFORMISTS, ANABAPTISTS, BROWNISTS, QUAKERS, and ANTINOMY. Examples are identified, organized, and commented on according to individual and specific translation strategies: different stretches of text belonging to the same entry are thus analysed and discussed across examples. Group B includes CHURCH, POPE, and ANABAPTISTS-*Sup* (4, 5a-5b,

and 6a-6b respectively): these entries introduce more controversial contents, and for this reason they have been treated individually. All the translation strategies mentioned above are considered at once, for each single entry. In (6b), structural misinterpretation (*syntax*) under ANABAPTISTS-*Sup* has also been highlighted. For reasons of space and legibility, only small portions of text are transcribed in the body of the article. For a thorough reading, instead, extracts are organised in synoptic tables, and transcribed at the end of the discussion (APPENDIX 3: Transcriptions).

#### 4.1 Group A: Dissenters, Non-Conformists, Anabaptists, Brownists, Quakers, and Antinomy

Group A includes three examples: omission-deletion (1), variation-replacement (2), and addition-expansion (3). Each starts from the original English text-extract (<sup>5th</sup>Cy 1741-43) to be compared with the corresponding extracts of the three following Italian translations (*Ve* 1748-53; *Na* 1747-54; *Ge* 1770-75).

Omission (or deletion) is the first strategy to be investigated: in Group A this technique usually concerns single words, or very short sequences, as is the case under Dissenters, Non-Conformists, and Anabaptists in their Italian versions below.

##### (1) Dissenters, Non-Conformists, and Anabaptists: Omission-deletion

**DISSENTERS**, [...]. It expresses certain sects, or parties in England, who in matters of religion, church discipline, and ceremonies, *dissent* from, or disagree with, the church of England, and have a toleration by law for the same. See TOLERATION. (s.v. Dissenters, <sup>5th</sup>Cy)

**DISSENTISTI**, *Dissenters* nell'Inglese, [...]. Ella esprime diversi Ø partiti in Inghilterra, che nelle materie di Religione, nella disciplina della Chiesa, e nelle cerimonie, *dissentono*, o discordano dalla Chiesa d'Inghilterra, e sono tollerati Ø. Vedi TOLLERANZA. (s.v. Dissentisti, *Ve* e *Ge*)

**DISSENZIENTI**, [...]. Egli esprime certe sette o partiti in Inghilterra, che in materie di Religione, di discipline ecclesiastiche e di cerimonie, dissentiscono o disconvengono colla Chiesa d'Inghilterra, ma per legge son tollerati. VEDI TOLLERAZIONE. (s.v. Dissenzienti, *Na*)

**NONCONFORMISTS**, the name of a religious sect, or rather numbers of sects, in England. See SEPARATIST. (s.v. Nonconformists, <sup>5th</sup>Cy)

**NONCONFORMISTI**, il nome di una Setta Ø, o piuttosto di una moltitudine di Sette, in Inghilterra. Vedi SEPARATISTI. (s.v. Nonconformisti, *Ve* e *Ge*)

**NON CONFORMISTI**, è il nome di una setta Ø, o piuttosto di una moltitudine di sette in Inghilterra. (s.v. Non Conformisti, *Na*)

**ANABAPTISTS\***, a religious sect, whose distinguishing tenet is, that children are not to be baptized, till they arrive at years of discretion; [...]. (s.v. Anabaptists, <sup>5th</sup>Cy)

**ANABATTISTI\***, setta Ø, la di cui massima distintiva è, che i fanciulli non debbano battezzarsi, se prima non arrivano agli anni della discrezione; [...]. (s.v. Anabattisti, *Ve* and *Ge*)

**ANABATISTA\*** è una setta religiosa, il cui distintivo è di sostenere, che i Fanciulli non debbono battezzarsi, se non pervenuti all'età del discernimento; [...]. (s.v. Anabatista, *Na*)

Under DISSENTERS/DISSENTISTI (*Ve* and *Ge*) omissions mainly concern single words or expressions. In the original, these may either add details on the general nature of dissent, that is “sects”, or specify their condition and degree of acceptability within society, “toleration by law for the same”. In the *Ve* and *Ge* versions, the omission of “sects” seems to make the focus shift towards political dissent (expressed by “parties” becoming “partiti”)<sup>8</sup>. An alternative interpretation may consider the two original terms “sects” and “parties” as equivalents (connected by “or”) in the mind of the translator, and their repetition as superfluous. However, this omission clearly has an impact on the text and on the reader, since it is not as evocative of different and multilayered, complex realities as it is in the English source. The omission of “toleration by law for the same” (Act of Toleration, 1689) may imply a deeper insight: it can be interpreted as ‘dissent can be tolerated, but not by law’, at least not in the Italian context. The *Na* translation, compared

<sup>8</sup> The term *partito*, according to the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (1738, 4<sup>th</sup> ed.) is defined as *modo/manner, patto/agreement, determinazione/self-confidence*, etc.

with the preceding ones, is more faithful to the original: it includes “sette o partiti”, and it also includes “ma per legge son tollerati”. However, there is an interesting difference between this *Na* version, and all the others: the interpretation of “and”/“e” before “toleration by law”/“per legge son tollerati” as “ma”. The introduction of “ma” makes the reading more explicit than the more vague and ambiguous “and”/“e”: the *Na* version highlights contrast and maybe disagreement, whereas “and”/“e” would suggest compliance, and compromise.

As regards omission, NONCONFORMISTS provides another interesting case: it is said to be “a religious sect” in the original source, but it is only translated with “setta” in the three Italian versions (as before, *Ve* and *Ge* overlap). The same omission is also applied to ANABAPTISTS (cf. also below, Group B examples): “religious sect” in the original is transformed into “setta” in *Ve* and *Ge*, whereas “setta religiosa” is the *Na* version. Again, the adjective “religious” is deleted, as if a “sect”/“setta” cannot be considered religious, or even acceptable, at all: if under DISSENTERS the word “sects” is omitted, under NONCONFORMISTS and ANABAPTISTS, “religious” is excluded. It seems that the Italian translators try to make the connection between religion and dissent and nonconformity less direct and predictable.

NONCONFORMISTS, alongside BROWNISTS, also provides evidence of variation (as replacement) in the selection of substantives and adjectives. These lexical replacements, though limited, may highlight a more evaluative perspective on the topic. The following extracts focus on “acquiescence” under NONCONFORMISTS, and on “a religious sect” under BROWNISTS:

(2) Nonconformists and Brownists: Variation-replacement

**NONCONFORMISTS**, [...] The term [...] extends to all who dissent from the established church, the ✓ Romanists alone excepted. [...] all the churches of England and Scotland should have the same ceremonies and discipline; the acquiescence wherein, or dissenting from which, determined *conformity*, and *nonconformity*. (s.v. Nonconformists, 5<sup>th</sup>Cy)

**NONCONFORMISTI**, [...] Il termine [...] al presente si estende a tutti quelli che differiscono dalla Chiesa stabilita, eccettuati i Cattolici Romani. [...] tutte le Chiese d’Inghilterra e di Scozia avessero le stesse cerimonie e la stessa disciplina; l’ubbidienza a quel Decreto,

o la discordanza da esso, produsse *conformità*, e *nonconformità*. (s.v. Nonconformisti, *Ve* and *Ge*)

**NON CONFORMISTI**, [...] Il termine [...] al presente si estende a tutti quelli, che differiscono dalla Chiesa stabilita, eccettuati i Cattolici Romani. [...] tutte le Chiese d'Inghilterra, e di Scozia usassero le stesse cerimonie, e la stessa disciplina; l'obbedienza al qual decreto, o la discordanza da esso, produsse la conformità, e la non conformità. (s.v. Non Conformisti, *Na*)

**BROWNISTS**, a religious sect, which sprung out of the Puritans, towards the close of the sixteenth century; their leader, Robert Brown\*. [...] (s.v. Brownists, *5<sup>th</sup>Cy*)

**BROUNISTI**, o *Brownisti*, setta di Eretici, pullulata dai Puritani verso il finire del XVI Secolo; il loro Duce, fu Roberto *Brown*\*. [...] (s.v. Brounisti, *Ve* and *Ge*)

**BRUNISTI**, è una Setta religiosa uscita da' Puritani, verso la fine del decimosesto secolo; il cui conduttore fu Roberto *Brown*\*. [...] (s.v. Brunisti, *Na*)

The word "acquiescence" is always translated with "obbedienza"/"ubbidienza": strictly speaking, these cannot be considered as synonyms of the source-text word, since "acquiescence" refers to "consent" and "compliance" (Bailey 1736, s.v. Acquiescence), "to assent or submit to" (Martin 1749, s.v. Acquiesce), and "silent appearance of content", "satisfaction" (Johnson 1755, s.v. Acquiescence), but not to opposition. The terms "obbedienza"/"ubbidienza" are instead strongly marked by a sense of submission (neither typically associated with consent or agreement, nor is either necessarily implied), and ultimately imposition from above (cf. also "toleration by law" above)<sup>9</sup>.

BROWNISTS (Brounisti/Brunisti) proposes again the thorny question of the expression "a religious sect", already discussed (cf. DISSENTERS and NONCONFORMISTS). In this case, neither "sect" nor "religious" is omitted: the adjective "religious" is replaced by the substantive "Eretici" in the *Ve* and *Ge* versions. The manipulation of the original text and meaning is remarkable,

<sup>9</sup> The term *acquiescenza* is recorded in the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* in the 5<sup>th</sup> edition (1863-1923). The 4<sup>th</sup> edition (1738) only records *obbedienza/ubbidienza*.

and the perspective on the Brownists, and the Puritans as a whole, is definitely negative. They are completely outside the accepted, or acceptable, boundaries of religion. As in previous instances, *Na* is closer to the original, “una setta religiosa”.

NONCONFORMISTS also offers the opportunity to examine examples of addition (or expansion): “Romanists” is translated with “Cattolici Romani” in the three Italian versions, making the reference and the relationship explicit in the target text, for the target readership. By contrast, the source does not need to expand the expression, since the term “Romanists” already includes ‘Catholicism’, and cannot but be associated with it. However, “Romanists” is loaded, and stands in opposition both to nonconformity, and the established Church of England<sup>10</sup>.

Other instances of the addition-expansion technique are included under QUAKERS and ANTINOMY. The investigation in (3) concerns the expressions “soon gained him disciples” (QUAKERS), and “a sect of enthusiasts [...] gospel liberty above all moral regards” (ANTINOMY).

(3) Quakers and Antinomy: Addition-expansion

**QUAKERS**, [...] They took their origin from George Fox, [...] the great appearance of devotion in the man, soon ✓ gained him disciples; and some unusual shakings and convulsions which they were seised withal at their first meetings, procured them the appellation *Quakers*. (s.v. Quakers, <sup>5th</sup>Cy)

**QUACCHERI**, [...] Presero la loro origine da Giorgio Fox, [...] la grand'apparenza di divozione in tal Uomo, gli acquistaron ben presto Discepoli; e da certi inusitati scotimenti, e convulsioni, da cui erano presi nelle loro prime adunanze, s'ebbe motivo di chiamarli *Quakers*, cioè Tremanti. (s.v. Quaccheri, *Vè* and *Ge*)

**QUACCHERI**, [...] Ebbero costoro la loro origine da Giorgio Fox [...] la grande apparenza di divozione all'Uomo, gli fece far subito acquisto di discepoli, e certi scuotimenti, e convulsioni insolite, delle

<sup>10</sup> The headword ROMANIST(s) is usually included in eighteenth-century dictionaries: the equivalents are *Roman Catholick* and/or *papist* (J.K. 1702, J.K. 1706, Kersey 1708, Bailey 1721, Bailey 1730, Scott – Bailey 1755). Johnson (1755) only includes Romish as *popish*. According to the OED (3<sup>rd</sup> edition, November 2010), “Romanist [...] B *adj.* (usually *attrib.*). I. That is a Roman Catholic; consisting of Roman Catholics; belonging or adhering to the Roman Catholic Church. Frequently *depreciative*”.

quali furono sorpresi ne i loro primi congressi, procurarono loro il nome di *Quaccheri*. (s.v. *Quaccheri*, *Na*)

**ANTINOMY\***, **ANTINOMIA**, [...] \*The word is derived [...]. **ANTINOMY** sometimes also signifies an opposition to all law. Whence a sect of enthusiasts ✓, who are for carrying ✓ gospel liberty above all moral regards, and slight the motives of virtue as insufficient to salvation, are called *Antinomians*; sometimes *Anomians*. (s.v. *Antinomy*, <sup>5th</sup>*Cy*)

**ANTINOMIA\***, [...] \*Derivasi dal Greco [...]. **ANTINOMIA** talora anche significa opposizione ad ogni legge. Laonde quella setta di Entusiastii, o Fanatici, che mettono la libertà Evangelica sopra tutti i rispetti morali, e disprezzano i motivi di virtù come insufficienti alla salute eterna, diconsi *antinomiani*, e talvolta *anomiani*. (s.v. *Antinomia*, *Ve*)

**ANTINOMIA\***, [...] \*Derivasi dal Greco [...]. **ANTINOMIA** talora anche significa opposizione a ogni legge. Laonde quella setta di Entusiasti o Fanatici, che mettono la libertà (dicono) Evangelica sopra tutti i rispetti morali, e disprezzano i motivi di virtù come insufficienti alla salute eterna, diconsi *Antinomiani* e talvolta *Anottiani*. (s.v. *Antinomia*, *Ge*)

**ANTINOMIA\*** [...] \*La voce è derivata dal greco [...]. **L'ANTINOMIA** alle volte significa un'opposizione a tutta la legge. Quando una setta di Entusiasti intraprende di trasportare la libertà evengelica oltre a tutti i rispetti morali, e ributta i motivi di virtù come insufficienti alla salvazione; è chiamata *antinomia* ed alle volte *anomia*. (s.v. *Antinomia*, *Na*)

The translations issued in *Ve* and *Ge*, once again, overlap. In this case, they are close to the original except for two additions: “soon” is replaced by “ben presto”, with an intensifier. This may be due to the almost fixed expression in the target language, resulting in a more marked expression for the context as a whole. Another addition concerns the term “Quakers” itself, whose translation equivalent “Tremanti” is also included. The *Na* version replaces “soon” with “subbito”, highlighting the immediacy of the effect.

**ANTINOMY** is interesting because of two expansions of the original sequence “a sect of enthusiasts”, “who are for carrying gospel liberty above all moral regards”: the *Na* version is close to the source text (cf. above); whereas

the *Ve* and *Ge* translations operate on meaning by limited changes at the formal level. The first addition is included as an equivalent of “enthusiasts”, that is to say “setta di Entusiasti o Fanatici”. The term “Fanatici” expands the meaning, and seems to make it clearer and more readily understandable to the reader. However, the terms “enthusiasts”/“Entusiastii” and (fanaticks)/“Fanatici” only partially overlap in the two languages, and the result may be misleading.

In English, according to the dictionaries of the period, *enthusiasm* and *enthusiast* refer to some kind of “prophetick or poetick rage or fury” (Bailey 1736), “a pretended inspiration, or fanaticism” (Martin 1749), and “vain belief”, “private revelation”, “heat of imagination”, etc. (Johnson 1755); fanatic(ks) refers to “extravagant”, “visionary”, “enthusiastical”, “pretenders to imagination” (Bailey 1736), “visionary”, “fanciful man or woman” (Martin 1749), and “enthusiastic”, “struck with a superstitious frenzy” (Johnson 1755). In the corresponding *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (1738, 4<sup>th</sup> edition; hereafter <sup>4th</sup>Cr), *entusiasmo* only refers to “sollevamento di mente”, “furor poetico”, and “fanatic” to “furioso”. The limited number of equivalents in Italian, plausibly related to usage, also limits the interpretation process for the readership.

The second addition is a comment, an evaluation insinuating doubt in the *Ge* sequence “che mettono la libertà (dicono) Evangelica”. The comment between brackets, meaning *they say*, refers to the “enthusiasts”/“Entusiastii”. It serves to redirect interpretation, and to stimulate orthodox inference. This is one of the techniques of elusion and self-correction introduced by Tarigo (editor and printer of *Ge* translation) to avoid expurgation and proscription. The *Ge* edition was issued in the 1770s, a period in which both the preceding *Ve* and *Na* translations had already been proscribed: this intrusive comment may be explained by a more cautious attitude in compiling a new version.

## 4.2 Group B: Church, Pope, and Anabaptists

This second set of examples concerns entries that are more complex at the discourse level: CHURCH, POPE, and ANABAPTISTS deal with issues relating to dogmas or tenets of the faith, and for this reason they were perceived as more dangerous and more problematic for the translator. This complexity is also appreciable at the surface, textual level: modifications and adaptations are numerous. Accordingly, in the case of CHURCH, POPE, and ANABAPTISTS, more than the first twenty lines of each entry have been selected for analysis and comment: these entries are particularly consistent in the perspective

of dissent vs. (Catholic) orthodoxy, and they are valuable to the general purpose of the study.

Because of the complexity of text and discourse, each entry is analysed and discussed separately from the others: this means that the strategies selected by the translators are not singled out across headwords, as in previous examples, but considered altogether in each entry.

CHURCH, the first headword-entry analysed, is the most interesting example of omission-deletion. As can be seen from the extracts below, some sequences included in the original have been systematically deleted in the target texts, particularly the *Vè* and *Ge* versions. The *Na* translation is closer to the source text except for the omission of the adverb “respectively”, whose relevance is limited here. The translators are instead more selective in *Vè* and *Ge*, and provide in-depth modifications regarding both omission-deletion and variation-replacement (“Romish divines” vs. “Teologi Cattolici”; “great address” vs. “ingegnosamente”, “con sommo ardire”, “\*sinistramente interpretando\*”). Discussion will begin at the end of the following extracts:

(4) Church: omission-deletion and variation-replacement

**CHURCH**, an assembly of persons united by the profession of the same Christian faith, and the participation of the same sacraments. Bellarmin, and the Romish divines, of this definition add, *Under the same pope, sovereign pontiff, and vicar of Jesus Christ on earth*: in which circumstance it is that the Romish, and reformed notion of *Church* differ. See POPE. [...] Amelotte, and others, make a visible head, or chief, essential to a *Church*: accordingly, among the Catholics, the pope; in England the king, are respectively allowed heads of the *Church*. Bishop Hoadly sets aside the notion of a visible head: Christ alone, according to him, is head of the church; which position he has maintained with great address, in a celebrated sermon before the late king on those words, [...]. (s.v. Church, <sup>5th</sup>Cy)

**CHIESA**, un'assemblea di persone unite mediante la professione della medesima fede Cristiana, e mediante la partecipazione de' medesimi Sacramenti. Bellarmino, ed i Teologi Cattolici aggiungono a questa definizione, *sotto un medesimo capo, il Pontefice Romano, ch'è Vicario di Cristo in terra*. ØØØ [...] Amelotte ed altri, fanno essenziale alla *Chiesa* un corpo visibile: che appresso i Cattolici è il Papa; in Inghilterra il Re. ØØØ Il vescovo Hoadly lascia da parte la nozione di un capo visibile;

Cristo solo, secondo lui, è capo della Chiesa; la qual proposizione egli ha sostenuta ingegnosamente in un celebre Sermone, detto alla presenza del Re, sopra quelle parole, [...]. (s.v. Chiesa, *Vè*)

**CHIESA**, un'assemblea di persone unite mediante la professione della medesima fede, e la partecipazione de' medesimi Sacramenti... [*dots in the original to mark deletion*] Ø Ø Ø sotto un medesimo capo, il Pontefice Romano, ch'è Vicario di Cristo in terra. Ø Ø Ø [...] Amelotte e altri fanno essenziale alla *Chiesa* un capo visibile: che appresso i cattolici è il Papa; in Inghilterra il Re. Ø Ø Ø Il Vescovo Hoadly lascia da parte la nozione di un capo visibile: Cristo solo, secondo lui, è capo della Chiesa; la qual proposizione egli ha sostenuta in un Sermone, detto alla presenza del Re \*sinistramente interpretando\* le parole, [...]. (s.v. Chiesa, *Ge*)

**CHIESA**, è un'assemblea di persone, unite per la professione della stessa fede Cristiana e per la partecipazione degli stessi Sacramenti. Il Bellarmino e i Teologi Cattolici aggiungono a questa definizione: *sotto uno stesso Capo Sommo Pontefice e Vicario di Gesucristo in Terra*; per la qual circostanza differiscono i Cattolici da' riformati, nella nozione di *Chiesa*. Vedi PAPA. [...] Amelotto ed altri fanno un capo visibile essenziale alla Chiesa; e perciò tra Cattolici il Papa, tra gl'Inglesi il Re sono Ø portati per Capi della Chiesa. Il Vescovo Hoadly rigetta la nozione di Capo Visibile: Cristo solamente, secondo la sua opinione è il Capo della Chiesa; la qual proposizione egli ha sostenuta con sommo ardore in un celebre sermone, avanti l'ultimo Re, su queste parole: [...]. (s.v. Chiesa, *Na*)

The first sequence to be omitted, "in which [...] differ", concerns the difference between "the Romish, and reformed notion of *Church*", and its nature: a controversial issue, since from a Catholic (universal) perspective there is only one possible notion of church. The topic itself is unacceptable, and cannot be admitted (*Vè* and *Ge*). The second sequence, "are respectively [...] *Church*", introduces the debate on the head of the church: once again, from a Catholic perspective, the only allowed and existing head is the Pope. As a consequence, the passage has to be excluded. The third sequence, "Bellarmin [...] add", is only omitted from the *Ge* version, compiled between 1770 and 1775. In the same years, precisely in 1773, the Society of Jesus was suppressed in Europe by Pope Clement XIV. Bellarmin was a Jesuit theologian, and his name in the entry might be perceived as inappropriate or provocative.

The same sequence is instead maintained in *Vè* and *Na*. In these two cases, the expression “Romish divines” is replaced by “Teologi Cattolici”. This results in a translation with less-strong overtones, and one clearly more acceptable in a Catholic context. The adjective Romish, is usually applied to the Roman Catholic Church, and overlaps with the derogatory notion of ‘popish’ (Johnson 1755; Scott – Bailey 1755). In previous dictionaries (first record in J.K. 1702, then 1706 and 1713; Kersey 1708; Bailey 1721), Romish is attested with the apparently more neutral meaning of ‘belonging to the Church of Rome’. However, the association with Roman Catholic and Romanist (cf. 2, and fn. 10) might have helped establish its negative connotation<sup>11</sup>. The expression “Romish divines” may thus be perceived as offensive, and requires modification: “Teologi Cattolici” avoids controversy by the use of a term without derogatory overtones.

One further example of variation-replacement at the surface level is extremely significant at the discourse level. The adverbial expression “with great address” is variously translated as “ingegnosamente” (*Vè*), “con sommo ardire” (*Na*), and with “\*sinistramente interpretando\*” (*Ge*). This passage refers to the challenging attitude of Bishop Hoadly in a sermon entitled *The Nature of the Kingdom, or Church, of Christ* (Starkie 2007: 3)<sup>12</sup>. Hoadly

<sup>11</sup> Romish is first attested in J.K. (1702) as “belonging to the Church of Rome”; J.K. also includes, in his dictionary, “Roman-Catholicks, or Papists that embrace the Doctrines of the Church of Rome; so called from their boasting themselves to be the only true Members of the Catholick, or Universal Church”; and “A Romanist, Roman Catholick, or Papist that adheres to the Church of Rome”. The same associations of meanings and definitions continue in later dictionaries, up to Johnson (1755) and Scott – Bailey (1755), in which *romish* and *popish* are established as equivalents. In Chambers’s *5<sup>th</sup> Cy*, “ROMAN, or ROMISH church, is that whereof the pope is head; in opposition to the reformed churches. See CHURCH, POPE, &c”. In the *OED*, Third Edition, November 2010, the term *romish* is defined as “2. Of, relating to, or belonging to the Roman Catholic Church; adhering to or favouring Roman Catholic doctrine, practice, etc.; Roman Catholic. Frequently derogatory”.

<sup>12</sup> Andrew Starkie (2007: 3) clearly explains the causes of this controversy, and its relevance in the complex religious and political context of the period: “The controversy ensued an account of a sermon, preached by Hoadly in the presence of George I, in the chapel of St James’s Palace, on the 31 March 1717. Entitled *The Nature of the Kingdom, or Church, of Christ*, it took as its text John 18:36, ‘Jesus answered, My Kingdom is not of this World’. Taking the word ‘kingdom’ to be synonymous with ‘church’, Hoadly maintained that Jesus’s teaching entailed that there could be no certain identification of the church as a visible society in this present age. Membership of the true ‘invisible’ church was defined by sincerity alone, not by adherence to any particular doctrine or communion. To admit the authority of a particular communion to approve doctrine, and thus not to rely on mere sincerity, was to usurp the authority which Christ alone should exercise over his kingdom. Having defined the church as an exclusively other-worldly institution, Hoadly proceeded to draw the practical

actually rejected the right of civil power to impose a particular confession and determine a specific set of doctrines, since any choice would be based on sincerity and the most intimate conscience. This position was probably perceived as more than challenging in a Catholic context as well, since secular power as a whole was harshly criticised. From there, the three marked Italian translations emerge: “ingegnosamente” referring to “acutezzad’inventare”, ‘sharpness of mind’, ma anche “inganno”-deceit, “astuzia”-cunning, “stratagemma”-artifice (<sup>4th</sup>Cr); “con sommo ardore” meaning ‘with the utmost hardiness’, and ‘risk’ (cf. “arrischiarsi”, <sup>4th</sup>Cr); and the expression between asterisks “\*sinistramente interpretando\*” in the *Ge* version, overtly marking dangerous and expurgated passages of the original. The translation here is highly loaded, and refers to “cattivo”, “dannoso” (<sup>4th</sup>Cr): a wicked, malevolent and menacing attitude in the interpretation of the gospel, maybe interpreted as mischievous and seditious for the “Cattolico saggio Lettore” (Tarigo, *A chi legge*, unnumbered pages).

The entry POPE, another crucial key point of debate, provides instances of omission and expansion. In both cases, the translators are dealing with the story of “a popess Joan” (<sup>5th</sup>Cy), “una Papessa Giovanna” (*Ve* and *Ge*), “della Papessa Giovanna” (*Na*). Omission is mainly used to eliminate words or expressions, and all those details that may result in readings which are ambiguous, dangerous, or even suspicious for their implications. The original sequence to undergo different degrees of manipulation and omission is “and shews it to be a question *de facto*, scarce determinable at this time of day”. The sequence is included in the *Ve* translation, without modifications; in *Na* the expression “*de facto*” has been deleted, thus implying that ‘the question cannot be accepted as *de facto*’; in *Ge*, the translator goes further, omitting the whole sequence:

(5a) Pope: omission-deletion and addition-expansion

**POPE, PAPA**, the bishop of Rome; being the head or patriarch of the Roman-Catholic church. See PONTIFEX. [...] History mentions a popess, Joan. – The reality hereof has been opposed and defended by many learned men. – [...] M Spanheim, professor of theology at Leyden, has

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consequence from such a definition: the church could not benefit from the legislative protection of civil power, since the law did not have power over sincerity. On the contrary, any civil encouragement to profess a particular set of doctrines, or to adhere to a particular communion, necessarily discouraged sincerity, since it gave people an incentive to act against their consciences”.

lately written very amply on the subject; and shews it to be a question *de facto*, scarce determinable at this time of day. (s.v. Pope, <sup>5th</sup>Cy)

**PAPA, PONTIFEX**, il Vescovo di Roma; il Capo, od il Patriarca della Chiesa Cattolica. Vedi PONTIFEX. [...] L'Istoria fa menzione di una Papessa Giovanna. – La realtà di tale Storia da molti dotti uomini è stata combattuta, e da altri difesa. [...] M. Spanheim, professore di Teologia a Leiden, ha ultimamente scritto a dilungo sopra questo argomento; e fa vedere, essere questa una questione *de facto*, che a gran fatica si può in oggi decidere. (s.v. Papa, *Ve*)

**PAPA**, è il Vescovo di Roma; il Capo o Patriarca della Chiesa Cattolica Romana. Vedi PONTIFICE. [...] La Storia fa menzione della *Papessa* Giovanna. La realtà della quale è stata opposta, e difesa da molti uomini dotti. [...] Il Signor Spanemio, professor di Teologia, in Leide, ha ultimamente scritto molto a lungo sul soggetto, e dimostra essere una questione  $\emptyset$ , che difficilmente può terminarsi al giorno d'oggi (**a**). (s.v. Papa, *Na*)

**PAPA, PONTIFEX**, il Vescovo di Roma, il Capo, od il Patriarca della Chiesa Cattolica. Vedi PONTIFEX. [...] L'Istoria fa menzione di una Papessa Giovanna. – La realtà di tale Storia da molti dotti uomini è stata combattuta, e da altri difesa. (\*) [...] M. Spanheim, professore di Teologia a Leiden, ha ultimamente scritto a dilungo sopra questo argomento.  $\emptyset \emptyset \emptyset$  (s.v. Chiesa, *Ge*)

The *Na* and *Ge* versions also provide examples of expansion: these expansions are not included and integrated within the original entry, but are framed as footnotes to the text. The longest is *Na*, in which it was added by the ecclesiastical reviser, and signalled within the text by (a):

(5b) Pope: Footnotes

**PAPA**, [...] e dimostra essere una questione  $\emptyset$ , che difficilmente può terminarsi al giorno d'oggi (**a**). (s.v. Papa, *Na*)

(a) *Scoverti i caratteri della mera favola della Papessa Giovanna, si sforzano i nemici della Chiesa Cattolica Romana, di farla credere almen, come dubbia e probabile. Ma i loro sforzi si rendon vani, e restano sempre oppressi dalla*

*forza invincibile della verità. Egli è fatto indubitabile presso tutti gli Scrittori della Storia Ecclesiastica, anche scismatici, che morto Papa Leone IV a' 17 di Luglio dell'anno 755, fu assunto al Pontificato Benedetto III. a 29 di Settembre dell'istesso anno. Com'è dunque possibile che tra'l Pontificato di Leone IV, e di Benedetto III abbia nella Sede Apostolica regnato la Papessa Giovanna due anni, mesi cinque e giorni quattro, quanti le n'attribuiscono gl'infelici inventori della favola? Se presso gli Storici contemporanei del Secolo nono, e del seguente si osserva un profondo silenzio di tal chimera, chi uom di senno darà credenza al sogno della Papessa, cominciato a narrarsi dopo due secoli? Validissime prove vi sono, che mostrano negl'incorrotti esemplari di Mariano Scoto, e di Martino Polono non esservi il favoloso racconto della Papessa, inscritto poi ne' loro libri da mano fallace. Veggasi [...]. (a) Note del Signor Rev. sore Ecclesiastico<sup>13</sup>.*

The much shorter *Ge* one is signalled by an asterisk (\*):

**PAPA, [...]** Papessa Giovanna. – La realtà di tale Storia [...]. (\*) (s.v. Chiesa, *Ge*)

(\*) *Mabillon, oltre cent'altri dimostra* nella prefazione al 4°. Secolo Benedettino Parte 2. N°. 182. *esser ella una favola, e semplicità più che femminile il crederla Storia*<sup>14</sup>.

If the ecclesiastical reviser in the *Na* footnote aims at providing explanations to demonstrate the untruthfulness of the story, “*mera favola*”, in the *Ge* version the judgment is categorical, emphasised by the omission of “*question de facto*” (<sup>5th</sup>*Cy*, cf. 5a above), later on in the passage.

<sup>13</sup> According to the ecclesiastical reviser in his note to the text, the enemies of the Roman Catholic Church try to make the mere fable/*mera favola* of the popess Joan likely/*farla credere* [...] *probabile*. However, their efforts are always overwhelmed/*sforzi si rendono vani* by the power of truth/*forza invincibile della verità*. The reviser also adds that there was no time at all for the supposed popess Joan to reign between the death of Pope Lion IV (July 755 A.D.) and the election of Pope Benedict III (September 755 A.D.): this is certain/*fatto indubitabile* among ecclesiastical writers/*Scrittori della Storia Ecclesiastica*, and is accepted by the schismatic writers/*anche scismatici* as well. Moreover, in the undefiled writings/*incorrotti esemplari* of Mariano Scoto and Martino Polono, the fable/*favoloso racconto* is not originally included/*non esservi*, but later added/*inscritto poi* by deceitful writers/*mano fallace*.

<sup>14</sup> In *Ge*, the note to the text states that Mabillon, in his Preface to the *Secolo Benedettino*, demonstrates how the story of the popess Joan is a mere fable, suitable for women.

The last example to be discussed is taken from the entry *Anabaptists*: the first sequence refers to the original entry in <sup>5th</sup>*Cy*, and is included in *Ve*, *Na*, and *Ge*. The second sequence is taken from the 1753 *Sup* to the *Cy*. Lewis's *Sup* is only used in the *Ge* version in the 1770s, since the *Ve* translation had already been completed and published (1753), and the *Na* edition was reaching its conclusion (1754). Example (6a) highlights both replacement of terms and expansion of meaning: in the first case, the pronoun "such", in the original version, is replaced by "Eterodossi" in *Ve* and *Ge*. This variation makes the text more cohesive at a surface level: the word "Eterodossi" establishes a clear equivalence with *Anabaptists*, but it is more marked, and contrasts with both "Catholic bishops" and "orthodoxy", thus emphasising the juxtaposition. This is further reiterated by the replacement of "orthodoxy" with the more precise and specific expression "Chiesa Cattolica" (*Ve* and *Ge*): the epistemological contrast is thus enhanced in "such", (anabaptists) – "Eterodossi" vs. "orthodoxy" – "Chiesa Cattolica". *Na* displays instead the most conservative and faithful version: "coloro" and "Fede Ortodossa".

(6a) *Anabaptists*: Variation-replacement and addition-expansion

**ANABAPTISTS\***, [...] several Catholic bishops [...] who held the baptism of heretics invalid; and therefore rebaptized such as were converted to ✓ orthodoxy. (s.v. *Anabaptists*, <sup>5th</sup>*Cy*)

**ANABATTISTI\***, [...] varj Vescovi Cattolici, i quali tenevano, che il battesimo degli Eretici fosse invalido; onde ribattezzavano gli Eterodossi, che venivano alla Chiesa Cattolica. (s.v. *Anabattisti*, *Ve* and *Ge*)

**ANABATISTA\*** [...] molti Vescovi Cattolici i quali riputavano invalido il battesimo degli Eretici, e perciò ribattezzavano coloro, che si erano di nuovo convertiti alla Fede Ortodossa. (s.v. *Anabatista*, *Na*)

Example (6b) compares the *Sup* and the *Ge* translation, and essentially highlights addition-expansion in a very judgmental perspective. As can be seen below, the text and its contents result in profound changes to the implied meaning. The Italian version starts with syntax misinterpretation, and includes many additional expressions (✓), the majority of which are negatively marked. It also includes the omission of "zealous", referring to

“Catholics”: the adjective was possibly perceived as offensive, and thus deleted. A detailed analysis and discussion follow the two extracts below:

(6b) Anabaptists: Syntax-misinterpretation and addition-expansion

**ANABAPTISTS** (*Cycl. Sup.*) It is said *Anabaptists* hold it unlawful to bear arms, and decline ✓ all offices in government. [...] Notwithstanding ✓✓✓ the severity of their morals, which is ✓✓ remarkably great ✓<sup>(a)</sup>, some zealous Catholics, as Prateolus, Morery, and others, have not scrupled to charge the *Anabaptists* with the most abominable impurity, with renewing ✓✓ the ✓ practice ✓✓ of the Adamites, and enjoining their women to prostitute themselves ✓ to every man who demanded it<sup>(b)</sup>. [...]

**ANABATTISTI.** Detti erano *Anabattisti* coloro, i quali prendevano illecitamente le armi, e che declinavano e dipartivansi dagli uffizj tutti del governo. [...] Con tutto che i sembianti mostrassero questi *anabattisti* una morale severissima, la quale veramente appariva estremamente grande, ed osservabile<sup>(a)</sup>, alcuni Ø cattolici però, come il Prateolo, fra gli altri, e il Moreri, si fanno non ingiustamente peravventura, ad accagionarli d'abominabilissime impurità, rinovellando per certo modo in essi la impurissima pratica, e costumanza detestabile degli Adamiti, e caricando d'infamia le donne loro, come quelle, che si prostituissero di buon grado a tutti coloro, che ne le richiedessero<sup>(b)</sup>. [...]

The opening sentence misleads the reader, and represents the Anabaptists as people who unlawfully took up arms against someone else, “prendevano illecitamente le armi”, instead of the original “Anabaptists hold it unlawful to bear arms”. This obviously establishes a biased and derogatory outlook on them from the very beginning. Just after this incipit, a series of modifications of the original, as additions, follow. Some are equivalents which make the meaning clearer, “decline all offices” becoming “declinavano e dipartivansi dagli Uffizi”; others are expansions which partially modify the surface text, but deeply manipulate the contents. As regards “the severity of their morals”, the translator emphasises the contrast between reality and appearance: “i sembianti mostrassero [...] una morale severissima, la quale veramente appariva estremamente grande, ed osservabile” vs. “the severity of their morals, which is remarkably great”. This suggests the utmost discrepancy between what they profess and their behaviour. The negative trend continues

with “some zealous Catholics [...] have not scrupled to charge”: there are two aspects here to be explained. If in the original, the negative attitude towards the Anabaptists is not disguised, a certain degree of sarcasm is also attributed to the Catholic thinkers, “zealous”. In the translation, “zealous” is deleted, “alcuni cattolici”, and the negative judgment against the “Anabaptists” is highlighted by the addition of the adverbial expression “si fanno non ingiustamente peravventura”. This change highlights what is orthodox and acceptable, “alcuni cattolici”-“non ingiustamente”, and what is heterodox and sectarian, “the most abominable impurity” and “d’abominabilissime impurità”. Once again, this latest expression is reiterated in Italian with the expansion of “renewing the practice” into “rinovellando [...] la impurissima pratica, e costumanza detestabile”, and “enjoining their women to prostitute themselves” into “caricando d’infamia le donne loro [...] che si prostituissero di buon grado”.

## 5. Concluding remarks

Dictionaries of arts and sciences, principally compiled to include the multifarious branches of general knowledge as well as the more specific emerging sciences, have also helped preserve and disseminate traditional culture-bound topics, both in Great Britain and across Europe.

The alphabetical order presents ideas and concepts apparently scattered and fragmented; however, the system of cross-references relates headwords and entries between them, in a complex network. This is exactly what happens with words of religious dissent included in Chambers’s *Cyclopaedia*, and in three Italian translations (Venice 1748-53; Naples 1747-54; Genoa 1770-75), mainly derived from the fifth edition (1741-43). Starting from the headword *DISSENTERS*, a list of thirty relevant and related terms was selected. Among them, the most intriguing ones for contents and textual features were analysed across the English and the Italian versions.

These terms, included in the original works *5<sup>th</sup>Cy* and *Sup*, are always reproduced in the Italian versions. In general, the Italian translations are faithful, word-for-word versions, even respecting the original punctuation marks (Venice, title page, “Traduzione esatta edintiera dall’Inglese”, *word-for-word*, precise and complete translation; Naples, Prefazione, “una fedeltà nella traduzione tutta scrupolosa [...] non sarà fraudato [...] neppure d’una sola parola”, faithful and accurate translation, not a single word will be omitted). This actually represents the first approach, and the surface and

most general level. However, a number of entries undergo various degrees of modification, to adapt the text to the target language, the target cultural values and, in general, to the new context of use. For this reason, there are marked passages in the resulting versions, and the need to modify the source is clearly announced in the *Ge* translation: “troncamento/*omission* [...] si riduce ad alcune pochissime cose/*limited to unimportant changes* [...] baje di simil conio”. According to Tarigo (*Ge*, editor and printer), omission is limited to non-relevant ‘stuff’.

Table 2 below outlines the most relevant modifications in the three Italian texts:

Table 2

HEADWORDS	OMISSION DELETION ∅	VARIATION REPLACE- MENT	ADDITION EXPANSION	SYNTAX (misinterpretation)
1	2	3	4	5
ANABAPTISTS	<b>religious</b> (sect) > ∅ (Ve, Ge)	<b>converted to orthodoxy</b> > venivano alla Chiesa Cattolica (Ve, Ge); convertiti alla Fede Ortodossa (Na)		
ANABAPTISTS <i>Sup</i>	<b>some zealous Catholics</b> > alcuni cattolici (Ge)		<b>Notwithstanding the severity of their morals</b> > i sembianti mostrassero questi <i>anabattisti</i> una morale severissima (Ge); <b>which is remarkably great</b> > la quale veramente appariva estremamente grande, ed osservabile (Ge); <b>with renewing</b>	<b>It is said <i>Anabaptists</i> hold it unlawful to bear arms, and decline all offices in government</b> > Detti erano <i>Anabattisti</i> coloro, i quali prendevano illecitamente le armi, e che declinavano e dipartivansi dagli ufizj tutti del governo (Ge)

1	2	3	4	5
ANABAPTISTS <i>Sup</i>			<p><b>the practice of the Adamites</b> &gt; rinnovellando per certo modo in essi la impurissima pratica, e costumanza detestabile degli Adamiti (Ge); <b>to prostitute themselves to every man who demanded it</b> &gt; che si prostituissero di buon grado a tutti coloro, che ne le richiedessero (Ge)</p>	
ANTI-NOMY			<p><b>enthusiasts</b> &gt; Entusiasti(i) o Fanatici (Ve, Ge)</p>	
BROWNISTS		<p><b>religious sect</b> &gt; setta di Eretici (Ve, Ge); setta religiosa (Na)</p>		
CHURCH	<p><b>Bellarmin, and the Romish divines, of this definition add</b> &gt; Ø (Ge)  <b>in which circumstance it is that the Romish, and reformed notion of Church differ</b> &gt; Ø (Ve, Ge)  <b>are respectively allowed heads of the Church</b> &gt; Ø (Ve, Ge)  <b>are respectively</b> &gt; Ø (Na)</p>	<p><b>with great address</b> &gt; ingegnosamente (Ve); *sinistramente interpretando* (Ge); con sommo ardire (Na)</p>		

1	2	3	4	5
DISSENT-ERS	<b>sects, by law</b> > Ø (Ve, Ge)			
NON-CON-FORMISTS	<b>religious</b> (sect) > Ø (Ve, Ge, Na)	<b>Romanists</b> > Cattolici Romani (Ve, Ge, Na)		
POPE	<i>de facto</i> > Ø (Na) and shews it to be a question <i>de facto</i> , scarce determinable at this time of day > Ø (Ge)		<b>Footnotes to elude censorship</b> > Na and Ge (cf. ex. 5b and Appendix 3: Transcriptions)	
QUAKER			<b>soon gained him</b> > acquistaro- no ben presto (Ve, Ge); fece far subbi- to acquisto (Na)	

The most frequent techniques used to translate and adapt (mitigate, manipulate, purge, etc.) the original text to the new background concern omission/deletion (e.g. adjectives, short sequences, clauses), variation/replacement of words (e.g. adjectives > synonymy, connotation and denotation, etc.), addition/expansion (adverbial expressions, adjectives + superlative form, synonymous pairs, etc.), and syntax (sometimes leading to misinterpretation).

Some very limited variation at the formal level does not seem to involve in-depth manipulation at the content level. However, apparently unimportant, minor differences at the lexical and textual levels may change the perspective at the discourse level (DISSENTERS, NONCONFORMISTS, ANABAPTISTS, BROWNISTS, QUAKERS). In other cases, manipulation is significant, and goes beyond translation itself. When the entries introduce and discuss the tenets of the faith, extended omissions (CHURCH), expansions integrated within the text (ANABAPTISTS, *Sup*), or comments added by the ecclesiastical revisers as footnotes (POPE) are typically used.

Notwithstanding all these changes to the original text, a kind of self-censorship and self-expurgation, the fact that neither headwords nor entries

are completely deleted in the process of translation, is extremely relevant. In a Catholic country, still dominated by ecclesiastical control of the book market, the dissemination of ideas was at times limited, partial, and clearly biased, but was rarely significantly censored. The Italian versions of *5<sup>th</sup>Cy* and *Sup* which were published in Venice, Naples, and Genoa thus emerge as contributions to the innovation of ideas, and together as a step towards regarding translation as a tool which is fundamental to the circulation of thought.

## APPENDIX 1

**Explicit cross-references**

HEADWORDS	CROSS-REFERENCES to other sects and topics * = none or not relevant to the topic
ANABAPTISTS	Novatian, Cataphrygian, Donatist, Re-Baptizants, Albigenses, Waldenses, Quakers
ANTINOMIANS (under ANTINOMY)	*
ANTITRINITARIANS	Samosatesian, Arian, Socinian, Unitarian
ARMINIANISM	Arminians
ARMINIANS	Arminianism, Remonstrant
BROWNISTS	Separatist, Non-conformist, Independent
CALVINISM	Huguenot
CHURCH	Reformation, Lutheranism, Calvinism,
DISSENTERS	Nonconformist, Separatist, Toleration, Presbyterians, Independent, Puritan
ENTHUSIAST	Enthusiasm, Fanatic, Massalians, Euchites, Quaker, Anabaptist, Mystic
EXCOMMUNICATION	Censure, Anathema, Bishop, Heretic
HERESY; HERETIC	Error, Heterodoxy; Heresy, Infidel, Sect
INDEPENDENTS	Puritan, Calvinism, Presbyterians, Dissenters, Separatist
LATITUDINARIAN	Adiaphorist, Toleration
LUTHERANS	Lutheranism (and many sub-headwords)
LUTHERANISM	Indulgence, Reformation, Consubstantiation
NONCONFORMISTS	Separatist, Dissenter, Puritan, Presbyterian, Independent
POPE, PAPA	Pontifex
PRESBYTERIANS	Calvinism
PROTESTANT (sub-headword)	Reformation, Lutheran, Calvinist, Presbyterian

PURITANS	Calvinism, Presbyterian, Non-conformist, Separatist, Tory, Whig
QUAKERS	*
REFORMATION; REFORMED <i>church</i>	Lutheranism; Church
SCHISM	*
SECT	Heresy, Schism, Manichee, Gnostick, Lutheran, Calvinist
SEPARATISTS	Dissenters, Nonconformist, Presbyterian, Puritan, Brownist, Independants
SERVETISTS	Antitrinitarian, Anabaptist
TOLERATION	*
TORIES, Tories	Faction, Party, Whig, Presbyterian
WHIG	Faction, Tory, Huguenot

## APPENDIX 2

**Key topics and religious sects within individual entries**

HEADWORDS	* = none or not relevant to the topic
ANABAPTISTS	religious sect, primitive church, heretics, Protestants, Luther, Calvin; great number of sects [...] Muncerians, Catharists, Enthusiasts, Silentes, Adamites, Georgians, Independants, Hutites, Melchiorites, Nudipedalians, Mennonites, Bulcholdians, Augustinians, Servetians, [...]
ANTINOMIANS (under ANTINOMY)	Anomians
ANTITRINITARIANS	*
ARMINIANISM	Calvin, Arminius, Arminians
ARMINIANS	religious sect, Calvinists, Socinianism
BROWNISTS	religious sect, Puritans, reformed church, Presbyterians
CALVINISM	Calvin, Calvinists, Protestants, Reformed, Huguenots
CHURCH	Christian faith, Reformed Church, Lutheran Church, Calvinist Church
DISSENTERS	Sects, parties, matters of religion, church discipline, dissent, toleration, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers
ENTHUSIAST	enthusiasm, sect of heretics, Massalians, Euchites, Enthusiasts, fanatic, Quakers, Anabaptists, prophets, revelations, visions, impulses &c. from heaven

EXCOMMUNICATION	anathema, ecclesiastical censure, punishment, church, sacraments, bishop, heretic
HERESY; HERETIC	error, Christian faith; heresy, false opinion, Christian faith
INDEPENDENTS	sect of Puritans, separate church, congregation, excommunicate, faith and doctrine, reformed, party, church of England, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Socinians, Antinomians, Familists, Libertines
LATITUDINARIAN	*
LUTHERANS	Sect of Protestants, Lutheranism, Luther, Romish church, several sects
LUTHERANISM	indulgences, corruptions, excommunicated, Lutherans, Lutherus, Romish church, different sects
NONCONFORMISTS	religious sect, England, Puritans, Calvinists, dissent from the established church, Romanists, churches of England, conformity, nonconformity
POPE, PAPA	bishop, roman-Catholicchurch,
PRESBYTERIANS	Calvinists of Great Britain, church of England
PROTESTANT (sub-headword)	doctrine of Luther
PURITANS	Calvinists of Great Britain
QUAKERS	religious sect, England, Quakerism
REFORMATION; REFORMED <i>church</i>	*
SCHISM	division, separation, religion, faith, Romanists, English schism (reformation of religion in this kingdom), church of England/schism (separation of the non-conformists, viz. Presbyterians, Independants, Anabaptists)
SECT	(the principal now on foot) Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Arians, Socinians, Arminians, &c.
SEPARATISTS	religious sect in England, separate church, collection of sects, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independants, Nonconformists, Brownists
SERVETISTS	Antitrinitarians, Anabaptists, Arians, England
TOLERATION	religion, Protestants, heretics, schismatics, church of England, Reformation, Ecclesiastical toleration
TORIES, Torys	party or faction in England, state, religion, state tories, church tories, state whigs, reformation, Episcopalians, Presbyterians or Puritans, church of England
WHIG	party or faction in England

APPENDIX 3  
**Transcriptions**

CHAMBERS 5 <sup>th</sup> 1741-43 Ø = omissions ✓ = additions/ expansions	CHAMBERS VENICE 1748-1749 [1748-53] Pasquali	CHAMBERS NAPLES 1748-1754 Giuseppe de Bonis	CHAMBERS GENOA 1770-1775 Tarigo
<p>DISSENTERS, a general denomination of equal import with Non-conformists. See NONCONFORMIST, and SEPARATIST. It expresses certain sects, or parties in England, who in matters of religion, church discipline, and ceremonies, <i>dissent</i> from, or disagree with, the church of <i>England</i>, and have a toleration by law for the same. See TOLERATION. Such, particularly, are the presbyterians, independents, anabaptists, and quakers. See PRESBYTERIANS, INDEPENDENTS, PURITAN, etc.</p>	<p>DISSENTISTI, <i>Dissenters</i> nell'Inglese, è una generale denominazione d'equal significato che Non-conformisti. Vedi NON-CONFORMISTI, e SEPARATISTI. Ella esprime diversi Ø partiti in Inghilterra, che nelle materie di Religione, nella disciplina della Chiesa, e nelle cerimonie, <i>dissentono</i>, o discordano dalla Chiesa d'Inghilterra, e sono tollerati Ø. Vedi TOLLERANZA. Tali sono particolarmente i Presbiteriani, gl'Indipendenti, gli Anabatisti, i Quaccheri &amp;c. Vedi PRESBITERIANO, &amp;c.</p>	<p>DISSENZIENTI, è un nome generale, di eguale importo di Non-conformisti. Vedi NON-CONFORMISTI e SEPARATISTI. Egli esprime certe sette o partiti in Inghilterra, che in materie di Religione, di discipline ecclesiastiche e di cerimonie, dissentiscono o disconvengono colla Chiesa d'Inghilterra, ma per legge son tollerati. Vedi TOLLERAZIONE. Tali sono particolarmente i Presbiteriani, gl'Indipendenti, gli Anabatisti e i Quacqueri. Vedi PRESBITERIANI, INDIPENDENTI, PURITANI &amp;c.</p>	<p>DISSENTISTI, <i>Dissenters</i> nell'Inglese, è una generale denominazione d'equal significato che Non-conformisti. Vedi NON-CONFORMISTI, e SEPARATISTI. Ella esprime diversi Ø partiti in Inghilterra, che nelle materie di Religione, nella disciplina della Chiesa, e nelle cerimonie <i>dissentono</i> o discordano dalla Chiesa d'Inghilterra, e sono tollerati Ø. Vedi TOLLERANZA. Tali sono particolarmente i Presbiteriani, gl'Indipendenti, gli Anabatisti, i Quaccheri ec. Vedi PRESBITERIANOEC.</p>

<p>CHAMBERS 5<sup>th</sup>1741-43 ∅ = omissions ✓ = additions/ expansions</p>	<p>CHAMBERS VENICE 1748-1749 [1748-53] Pasquali</p>	<p>CHAMBERS NAPLES 1748-1754 Giuseppe de Bonis</p>	<p>CHAMBERS GENOA 1770-1775 Tarigo</p>
<p>NON-CONFORMISTS, the name of a religious sect, or rather number of sects, in England. See SEPARATIST. The term was antiently confined to the Puritans, or rigid Calvinists; at present it extends to all who dissent from the established church, the ✓ Romanists alone excepted. See DISSENER, PURITAN, PRESBYTERIAN, INDEPENDENT, &amp;c [...] all the churches of England and Scotland should have the same ceremonies and discipline; the acquiescence wherein, or dissenting from which, determined <i>conformity</i>, and <i>nonconformity</i>.</p>	<p>NON-CONFORMISTI, il nome di una Setta ∅, o piuttosto di una moltitudine di Sette, in Inghilterra. Vedi SEPARATISTI. Il termine fu anticamente ristretto ai Puritani, od ai Calvinisti rigidi; al presente si estende a tutti quelli che differiscono dalla Chiesa stabilita, eccettuati i Cattolici Romani. Vedi DISSENER, PURITANI, PRESBITERIANI, INDIPENDENTI, &amp;c. [...] tutte le Chiese d'Inghilterra e di Scozia avessero le stesse cerimonie e la stessa disciplina; l'ubbidienza a quel Decreto, o la discordanza da esso, produsse <i>conformità</i>, e <i>nonconformità</i>.</p>	<p>NON CONFORMISTI, è il nome di una setta ∅, o piuttosto di una moltitudine di sette in Inghilterra. Vedi SEPARATISTI. Il termine fu anticamente ristretto ai Puritani, o a' Calvinisti rigidi; al presente si estende a tutti quelli, che differiscono dalla Chiesa stabilita, eccettuati i Cattolici Romani. Vedi DISSENTISTA, PURITANI, PRESBITERIANI, INDIPENDENTI, &amp;c. [...] tutte le Chiese d'Inghilterra, e di Scozia usassero le stesse cerimonie, e la stessa disciplina; l'obbedienza al qual decreto, o la discordanza da esso, produsse la <i>conformità</i>, e la non <i>conformità</i>.</p>	<p>NON-CONFORMISTI, il nome di una Setta ∅, o piuttosto di una moltitudine di Sette, in Inghilterra. Vedi SEPARATISTI. Il termine fu anticamente ristretto ai Puritani, od ai Calvinisti rigidi; al presente si estende a tutti quelli che differiscono dalla Chiesa stabilita, eccettuati i Cattolici Romani. Vedi DISSENER, PURITANI, PRESBITERIANI, INDIPENDENTI, &amp;c. [...] tutte le Chiese d'Inghilterra e di Scozia avessero le stesse cerimonie e la stessa disciplina; l'ubbidienza a quel Decreto, o la discordanza da esso, produsse <i>conformità</i>, e <i>nonconformità</i>.</p>

CHAMBERS 5 <sup>th</sup> 1741-43 Ø = omissions ✓ = additions/ expansions	CHAMBERS VENICE 1748-1749 [1748-53] Pasquali	CHAMBERS NAPLES 1748-1754 Giuseppe de Bonis	CHAMBERS GENOA 1770-1775 Tarigo
BROWNISTS, a religious sect, which sprung out of the Puritans, towards the close of the sixteenth century; their leader, Robert Brown*. [...]	BROUNISTI, o <i>Brownisti</i> , setta di Eretici, pullulata dai Puritani verso il finire del XVI Secolo; il loro Duce, fu Roberto <i>Brown</i> *. [...]	BRUNISTI, è una Setta religiosa uscita da' Puritani, verso la fine del decimosesto secolo; il cui conduttore fu Roberto <i>Brown</i> *. [...]	BROUNISTI, o <i>Brownisti</i> , setta di Eretici, pullulata dai Puritani verso il finire del XVI. Secolo; il loro Duce, fu Roberto <i>Brown</i> *. [...]
[one in-folio column in length]			

CHAMBERS 5 <sup>th</sup> 1741-43 Ø = omissions ✓ = additions/ expansions	CHAMBERS VENICE 1748-1749 [1748-53] Pasquali	CHAMBERS NAPLES 1748-1754 Giuseppe de Bonis	CHAMBERS GENOA 1770-1775 Tarigo
QUAKERS, a religious sect, who made their appearance in England, during the time of the inter-regnum. See SECT. They took their origin from George Fox, an illiterate person, [...] a shoemaker. The accounts of those times tell us, that as he wrought at his trade, he used to meditate much on the scriptures [...]. The genius of	QUACCHERI, Setta di Religione, che comparve in Inghilterra in tempo dell'Interregno. Vedi SETTA. Presero la loro origine da Giorgio Fox, persona senza lettere, [...] Calzolajo. La storia di quel tempo ci insegna, che quando lavorava nel suo mestiere soleva assai meditare sulla Scrittura [...]. Il genio de' tempi, la novità della	QUACCHERI, è una setta di Religione, che comparve in Inghilterra, durante il tempo dell'interregno. Vedi SETTA. Ebbero costoro la loro origine da Giorgio Fox una persona ignorante, [...] calzolajo di professione. Le storie di quei tempi ci fan sapere, che quando egli lavorava nel suo mestiere, soleva molto meditare sulle scritte [...].	QUACCHERI, Setta di Religione, che comparve in Inghilterra in tempo dell'Interregno. Vedi SETTA. Presero la loro origine da Giorgio Fox, persona senza lettere, [...] Calzolajo. La storia di quel tempo ci insegna, che quando lavorava nel suo mestiere soleva assai meditare sulla Scrittura [...]. Il genio de' tempi, la novità della

<p>the times, the novelty of the doctrine, and the great appearance of devotion in the man, soon ✓ gained him disciples; and some unusual shakings and convulsions which they were seized withal at their first meetings, procured them the appellation <i>Quakers</i>. [...]</p>	<p>Dottrina, e la grand'apparenza di divozione in tal Uomo, gli acquistarono ben presto Discepoli; e da certi inusitati scotimenti, e convulsioni, da cui erano presi nelle loro prime adunanze, s'ebbe motivo di chiamarli <i>Quakers</i>, cioè Tremanti. [...]</p>	<p>Il genio di quei tempi, la novità della dottrina, e la grande apparenza di divozione all'Uomo, gli fece far subito acquisto di discepoli, e certi scuotimenti, e convulsioni insolite, delle quali furono sorpresi ne i loro primi congressi, procurarono loro il nome di <i>Quaccheri</i>. [...]</p>	<p>Dottrina, e la grand'apparenza di divozione in tal Uomo, gli acquistarono ben presto Discepoli; e da certi inusitati scotimenti, e convulsioni, da cui erano presi nelle loro prime adunanze, s'ebbe motivo di chiamarli <i>Quakers</i>, cioè Tremanti. [...]</p>
<p>[2-in folio columns in length]</p>			

<p>CHAMBERS 5<sup>th</sup>1741-43 Ø = omissions ✓ = additions/ expansions</p>	<p>CHAMBERS VENICE 1748-1749 [1748-53] Pasquali</p>	<p>CHAMBERS NAPLES 1748-1754 Giuseppe de Bonis</p>	<p>CHAMBERS GENOA 1770-1775 Tarigo</p>
<p>ANTINOMY*, ANTINOMIA, a contradiction between two laws, or two articles of the same law. See LAW. *The word is derived from [...]. ANTINOMY sometimes also signifies an opposition to all law. Whence a sect of enthusiasts ✓, who are for carrying ✓ gospel liberty above all moral regards,</p>	<p>ANTINOMIA*, contraddizione tra due leggi, o due articoli dell'istessa legge. Vedi LEGGE. *Derivasi dal Greco [...]. ANTINOMIA talora anche significa opposizione ad ogni legge. Laonde quella setta di Entusiastii, o Fanatici, che mettono la libertà Evangelica sopra tutti i rispetti morali,</p>	<p>ANTINOMIA* è una contraddizione tra due leggi, o due articoli di una stessa legge. Vedi LEGGE. *La voce è derivata dal greco [...]. L'ANTINOMIA alle volte significa un'opposizione a tutta la legge. Quando una setta di Entusiasti intraprende di trasportare la libertà evangelica oltre a tutti i rispetti</p>	<p>ANTINOMIA*, contraddizione tra due leggi o due articoli dell'istessa legge. Vedi LEGGE. *Derivasi dal Greco [...]. ANTINOMIA talora anche significa opposizione a ogni legge. Laonde quella setta di Entusiasti o Fanatici, che mettono la libertà (dicono) Evangelica sopra tutti i rispetti morali,</p>

motives of virtue as insufficient to salvation, are and slight the called <i>Antinomians</i> ; sometimes <i>Anomians</i> .	e disprezzano i motivi di virtù come insufficienti alla salute eterna, diconsi <i>antinomiani</i> , e talvolta <i>anomiani</i> .	morali, e ributta i motivi di virtù come insufficienti a tutti i rispetti alla salvezione; è chiamata <i>antinomia</i> ed alle volte <i>anomia</i> .	e disprezzano i motivi di virtù come insufficienti alla salute eterna, diconsi <i>Antinomiani</i> e talvolta <i>Anottiani</i> .
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CHAMBERS 5 <sup>th</sup> 1741-43 Ø = omissions ✓ = additions/ expansions	CHAMBERS VENICE 1748-1749 [1748-53] Pasquali	CHAMBERS NAPLES 1748-1754 Giuseppe de Bonis	CHAMBERS GENOA 1770-1775 Tarigo
ANABAPTISTS*, a religious sect, whose distinguishing tenet is, that children are not to be baptized, till they arrive at years of discretion; as holding it requisite, that they give a reason of their faith, before they can receive a regular baptism. See BAPTISM. [...] several Catholic bishops [...] who held the baptism of heretics invalid; and therefore rebaptized such as were converted to ✓ orthodoxy. [...]	ANABATTISTI*, Ø setta, la di cui massima distintiva è, che i fanciulli non debbano battezzarsi, se prima non arrivano agli anni della discrezione; sostenendo essi, che sia un requisito necessario, il dare una ragione della lor fede, avanti che ricevere un regolare battesimo. Vedi BATTESIMO. [...] varj Vescovi Cattolici, i quali tenevano, che il battesimo degli Eretici fosse invalido; onde ribattezzavano gli Eterodossi, che venivano alla Chiesa Cattolica. [...]	ANABATISTA* è una setta religiosa, il cui distintivo è di sostenere, che i Fanciulli non debbono battezzarsi, se non pervenuti all'età del discernimento; volendosi per requisito, di dover essi dare una ragione della lor fede, prima ch'essi possano ricevere un regolare battesimo. Vedi BATTESIMO. [...] molti Vescovi Cattolici [...] i quali riputavano invalido il battesimo degli Eretici, e perciò ribattezzavano coloro, che si erano di nuovo convertiti alla Fede Ortodossa. [...]	ANABATTISTI*, Ø setta la di cui massima distintiva è, che i fanciulli non debbano battezzarsi, se prima non arrivino gli anni della discrezione; sostenendo essi, che sia un requisito necessario, il dare una ragione della lor fede, avanti che ricevere un regolare battesimo. Vedi BATTESIMO. [...] varj Vescovi Cattolici, i quali tenevano, che il battesimo degli Eretici fosse invalido; onde ribattezzavano gli Eterodossi, che venivano alla Chiesa Cattolica. [...]
[two in-folio columns in length]			

CHAMBERS SUPPLEMENT 1753 Ø = omissions ✓ = additions/expansions	CHAMBERS GENOA 1770-1775 Tarigo-Lewis
ANABAPTISTS ( <i>Cycl.</i> ) It is said <i>Anabaptists</i> hold it unlawful to bear arms, and decline ✓ all offices in government. [...] Notwithstanding ✓✓✓ the severity of their morals, which is ✓✓ remarkably great ✓ <sup>(a)</sup> , some zealous Catholics, as Prateolus, Morery, and others, have not scrupled to charge the <i>Anabaptists</i> with the most abominable impurity, with renewing ✓✓ the ✓ practice ✓✓ of the Adamites, and enjoining their women to prostitute themselves ✓ to every man who demanded it <sup>(b)</sup> . [...]	ANABATTISTI. Detti erano <i>Anabattisti</i> coloro, i quali prendevano illecitamente le armi, e che declinavano e dipartivansi dagli ufizj tutti del governo. [...] Con tutto che i sembianti mostrassero questi <i>anabattisti</i> una morale severissima, la quale veramente appariva estremamente grande, ed osservabile <sup>(a)</sup> , alcuni Ø cattolici però, come il Prateolo, fra gli altri, e il Moreri, si fanno non ingiustamente peravventura, ad accagionarli d'abominabilissime impurità, rinovellando per certo modo in essi la impurissima pratica, e costumanza detestabile degli Adamiti, e caricando d'infamia le donne loro, come quelle, che si prostituissero di buon grado a tutti coloro, che ne le richiedessero <sup>(b)</sup> . [...]

CHAMBERS 5 <sup>th</sup> 1741-43 Ø = omissions ✓ = additions/ expansions	CHAMBERS VENICE 1748-1749 [1748-53] Pasquali	CHAMBERS NAPLES 1748-1754 Giuseppe de Bonis	CHAMBERS GENOA 1770-1775 Tarigo
CHURCH, an assembly of persons united by the profession of the same Christian faith, and the participation of the same sacraments. Bellarmin, and the Romish divines, to this definition add, <i>Under the same pope, sovereign pontiff, and vicar of Jesus Christ on earth: in which circumstance it is that the Romish,</i>	CHIESA, un'assemblea di persone unite mediante la professione della medesima fede Cristiana, e mediante la partecipazione de' medesimi Sacramenti. Bellarmino, ed i Teologi Cattolici aggiungono a questa definizione, <i>sotto un medesimo capo, il Pontefice Romano,</i>	CHIESA, è un'assemblea di persone, unite per la professione della stessa fede Cristiana e per la partecipazione degli stessi Sacramenti. Il Bellarmino e i Teologi Cattolici aggiungono a questa definizione: <i>sotto uno stesso Capo Sommo Pontefice e Vicario di Gesucristo</i>	CHIESA, un'assemblea di persone unite mediante la professione della medesima fede, e la partecipazione de' medesimi Sacramenti ... Ø Ø Ø sotto un medesimo capo, il Pontefice Romano, ch'è Vicario di Cristo in terra. Ø Ø Ø Amelotte e altri fanno essenziale alla Chiesa un

<p>and reformed notion of <i>Church</i> differ. See POPE. [...] Amelotte, and others, make a visible head, or chief, essential to a <i>Church</i>: accordingly, among the Catholics, the pope; in England the king, are respectively allowed heads of the <i>Church</i>. Bishop Hoadly sets aside the notion of a visible head: Christ alone, according to him, is head of the church; which position he has maintained with great address, in a celebrated sermon before the late king on those words, <i>My kingdom is not of this world</i>; and in the several vindications thereof. [...]</p> <p>[about 2 in-folio columns]</p>	<p>ch'è Vicario di Cristo in terra. Ø Ø Ø [...] Amelotte ed altri, fanno essenziale alla <i>Chiesa</i> un corpo visibile: che appresso i Cattolici è il Papa; in Inghilterra il Re. Ø Ø Ø Il vescovo Hoadly lascia da parte la nozione di un capo visibile; Cristo solo, secondo lui, è capo della Chiesa; la qual proposizione egli ha sostenuta ingegnosamente in un celebre Sermone, detto alla presenza del Re, sopra quelle parole, <i>Regnummeum non est de hoc mundo</i>; e in diverse vindicazioni che ne ha poi fatte. [...]</p>	<p><i>in Terra</i>; per la qual circostanza differiscono i Cattolici da' riformati, nella nozione di <i>Chiesa</i>. Vedi PAPA. [...] Amelotto ed altri fanno un capo visibile essenziale alla Chiesa; e perciò tra Cattolici il Papa, tra gl'Inglesi il Re sono Ø portati per Capi della Chiesa. Il Vescovo Hoadly rigetta la nozione di Capo Visibile: Cristo solamente, secondo la sua opinione è il Capo della Chiesa; la qual proposizione egli ha sostenuta con sommo ardore in un celebre sermone, avanti l'ultimo Re, su queste parole: <i>il mio Regno non è di questo mondo</i>, e in molte vindicazioni di esse. [...]</p>	<p>capo visibile: che appresso i cattolici è il Papa; in Inghilterra il Re. Ø Ø Ø Il Vescovo Hoadly lascia da parte la nozione di un capo visibile: Cristo solo, secondo lui, è capo della Chiesa; la qual proposizione egli ha sostenuta in un Sermone, detto alla presenza del Re *sinistramente interpretando* le parole, <i>Regnummeum, non est de hoc mundo</i>; e in diverse vindicazioni che ne ha poi fatte. [...]</p>
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<p>CHAMBERS 5<sup>th</sup>1741-43 Ø = omissions ✓ = additions/ expansions</p>	<p>CHAMBERS VENICE 1748-1749 [1748-53] Pasquali</p>	<p>CHAMBERS NAPLES 1748-1754 Giuseppe de Bonis</p>	<p>CHAMBERS GENOA 1770-1775 Tarigo</p>
<p>POPE, PAPA, the bishop of Rome; being the head or</p>	<p>PAPA, PONTIFEX, il Vescovo di Roma; il Capo, od</p>	<p>PAPA, è il Vescovo di Roma; il Capo o Patriarca della</p>	<p>PAPA, PONTIFEX, il Vescovo di Roma, il Capo, od</p>

patriarch of the Roman-Catholic church. See PONTIFEX. [...] the title *pope* was anciently given to all bishops. See BISHOP. They were also addressed under the term *holiness*, and *beatitude*; and their churches called *apostolical sees*. See HOLINESS, APOSTOLICAL, &c. [...] it was only in the eleventh century, that Gregory VII. first appointed, in a synod held at Rome, that the title *pope* should be restrained to the bishop of Rome, as a particular distinction and prerogative. [...] History mentions a popess, Joan. – The reality hereof has been opposed and defended by many learned men. – The tradition might possibly take its rise from the weakness of pope John VIII. in restoring Photius to his communion, and owing him as true patriarch:

il Patriarca della Chiesa Cattolica. Vedi PONTIFEX. [...] il titolo di *Papa* si dava anticamente a tutti i Vescovi. Vedi VESCOVO. Eglino erano anche salutati, o nominati co' titoli di *Santità*, e di *Beatitudine*; e le loro Chiese, chiamaronsi *Sedi Apostoliche*. Vedi SANTITÀ, APOSTOLICO, &c. [...] fu solo nel Secolo XI. che Gregorio VII. prima ordinò, in un Sinodo Romano, che il titolo di *Papa* fosse ristretto al Vescovo di Roma, per una particolare distinzione e prerogativa. [...] L'istoria fa menzione di una Papessa Giovanna. – La realtà di tale Storia da molti dotti uomini è stata combattuta, e da altri difesa. Forse una simile tradizione è nata dalla debolezza del *Papa* Giovanni VIII. nel rimettere ch'ei fece Fozio nella sua Comunione, e nel riconoscerlo per vero Patriarca:

Chiesa Cattolica Romana. Vedi PONTEFICE. [...] il titolo di *Papa* era anticamente dato a tutti i Vescovi. Vedi VESCOVO. Furono essi ancora trattati di *santità*, e *beatitudine*, e le loro Chiese chiamate *Sedi Apostoliche*. Vedi SANTITÀ, APOSTOLICA, &c. [...] nell'undecimo secolo, fu solamente che Gregorio VII. ordinò, in un Sinodo, tenuto in Roma, che il titolo di *Papa* dovesse restringersi al Vescovo di Roma, come una particolar distinzione, e prerogativa. [...] La Storia fa menzione della *Papessa* Giovanna. La realtà della quale è stata opposta, e difesa da molti uomini dotti. La tradizione può possibilmente aver avuta la sua origine dalla debolezza di *Papa* Giovanni VIII., in ristabilire Fozio alla sua comunione,

il Patriarca della Chiesa Cattolica. Vedi PONTIFEX. [...] il titolo di *Papa* si dava anticamente a tutti i Vescovi. Vedi VESCOVO. Eglino erano anche salutati, o nominati co' titoli di *Santità*, e di *Beatitudine*; e le loro Chiese, chiamaronsi *Sedi Apostoliche*. Vedi SANTITÀ, APOSTOLICO, &c. [...] fu solo nel Secolo XI. che Gregorio VII. prima ordinò, in un Sinodo Romano, che il titolo di *Papa* fosse ristretto al Vescovo di Roma, per una particolare distinzione e prerogativa. [...] L'istoria fa menzione di una Papessa Giovanna. – La realtà di tale Storia da molti dotti uomini è stata combattuta, e da altri difesa. (\*) Forse una simile tradizione è nata dalla debolezza del *Papa* Giovanni VIII. nel rimettere ch'ei fece Fozio nella sua Comunione, e nel riconoscerlo per vero Patriarca:

for he hence got the appellation of woman; as that prince called *king Mary* did, by leaving himself to be governed by Q. Mary his wife. See KING and QUEEN. M. Spanheim, professor of theology at Leyden, has lately written very amply on the subject; and shews it to be a question *de facto*, scarce determinable at this time of day.

[about half in-folio column in length]

imperocchè meritò da lì in appresso d'essere chiamato una donna, siccome quel Principe, chiamato il *Re Maria*, perché si lasciò governare dalla Regina Maria sua moglie. Vedi RE, e REGINA. M. Spanheim, professore di Teologia a Leiden, ha ultimamente scritto a dilungo sopra questo argomento; e fa vedere, essere questa una questione *de facto*, che a gran fatica si può in oggi decidere.

[about one in-quarto column in length]

e riputarlo, come un vero Patriarca; poichè da questo egli acquistò l'appellazione di *donna*, come l'acquistò quel Principe, che fu chiamato il *Re Maria*, per essersi lasciato governare dalla Regina Maria sua moglie. Vedi RE, e REGINA. Il Signor Spanemio, professor di Teologia, in Leide, ha ultimamente scritto molto a lungo sul soggetto, e dimostra essere una questione, che difficilmente può terminarsi al giorno d'oggi (a).

[about one in-quarto column in length]

(a) *Scoverti i caratteri della mera favola della Papessa Giovanna, si sforzano i nemici della Chiesa Cattolica Romana, di farla credere almen, come dubbia e probabile. Ma i loro sforzi si rendon vani, e restano sempre oppressi dalla forza invincibile della verità. Egli è fatto indubitabile presso tutti gli*

imperocchè meritò da lì in appresso d'essere chiamato una donna, siccome quel Principe, chiamato il *Re Maria*, perché si lasciò governare dalla Regina Maria sua moglie. Vedi RE, e REGINA. M. Spanheim, professore di Teologia a Leiden, ha ultimamente scritto a dilungo sopra questo argomento. Ø Ø Ø

[about one in-quarto column in length]

(\*) *Mabillon, oltre cent'altri dimostra nella prefazione al 4°. Secolo Benedettino Parte 2. N°. 182. esser ella una favola, e semplicità più che femminile il crederla Storia.*

*Scrittori della Storia Ecclesiastica, anche scismatici, che morto Papa Leone IV a' 17 di Luglio dell'anno 755, fu assunto al Pontificato Benedetto III. a 29 di Settembre dell'istesso anno. Com'è dunque possibile che tra'l Pontificato di Leone IV, e di Benedetto III abbia nella Sede Apostolica regnato la Papessa Giovanna due anni, mesi cinque e giorni quattro, quanti le n'attribuiscono gl'infelici inventori della favola? Se presso gli Storici contemporanei del Secolo nono, e del seguente si osserva un profondo silenzio di tal chimera, chi uom di senno darà credenza al sogno della Papessa, cominciato a narrarsi dopo due secoli? Validissime prove vi sono, che mostrano negl'incorrotti esemplari di Mariano Scoto, e di Martino Polono non esservi il favoloso racconto della Papessa, inscritto poi ne' loro libri da mano fallace. Veggasi [...]. (a) Note del Signor Rev.sore Ecclesiastico.*

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Address: ELISABETTA LONATI, Dipartimento di Lingue e Letterature Straniere – Anglistica, Università degli Studi di Milano, Piazza S. Alessandro 1 - 20123 Milano (Italy).

ORCID code: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-1350-6735>.

## **Teaching Business English in nineteenth-century Italy**

Polina Shvanyukova

*University of Florence*

### ABSTRACT

This article addresses an important gap in existing scholarship on the history of teaching English as a foreign language (EFLT) in Italy. Increasing popularity of English in nineteenth-century Italy stimulated the production of a vast range of didactic materials, addressed specifically to Italian learners. In addition to new grammars, dictionaries and reading books, in the same period also letter-writing guides for learners of English started to circulate widely. Two such guides, *Millhouse – Anderson* (1873 [1856]) and *Cann* (1878) will be examined in this study. Fifty-five commercial model letters from each guide will be analysed, in order to investigate practices of teaching business English to nineteenth-century Italian learners. The study shows that translation, in the form of explanatory notes or glosses provided in Italian, was employed as the main teaching method in both guides, while comparison of the choices the two authors made as to what they decided to translate and how they translated these items indicates that they had divergent views on what specific linguistic features characterised the nineteenth-century commercial style of writing in English.

Keywords: EFL, ELT, letter-writing guides, nineteenth-century business English.

### **1. Introduction**

This article examines two nineteenth-century letter-writing manuals (*Millhouse – Anderson* 1873 and *Cann* 1878) which aimed to teach English as a foreign language (EFL) to Italian learners. In recent years there has been a significant increase in studies exploring the historical dimension of teaching modern foreign languages in Europe. While Kelly (1969), Stern (1983) and,

for the English language, Howatt (1984; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Howatt – Widdowdson 2004, also Howatt – Smith 2014) remain among foundational texts, McLelland – Smith (2014a), Linn (2016), McLelland (2017) and McLelland – Smith (2018) have been able to build upon this tradition by bringing together cutting-edge research on different language traditions in the European context<sup>1</sup>. In Italy, important historical scholarship on modern foreign language teaching has been conducted within the framework of *CIRSIL*, an Inter-university Research Centre for the History of Language Teaching<sup>2</sup>. This network, involving several Italian universities, has focused, for example, on different types of historical didactic materials (primarily grammars and dictionaries) used to teach modern foreign language in Italy (see Minerva 2005, 2007, Pellandra 2007). Vicentini's extensive research (2005, 2012a, 2012b) represents a welcome addition in that she deals specifically with the Italian tradition of English-language teaching (ELT). Her examination of eighteenth-century grammars of English shows that the manuals published in the course of that century (Barker 1766, Dalmazzoni 1788, Baselli 1795) are texts specialised in the teaching of English. This represents a rupture with the earlier tradition of multilingual grammars, bearing witness to an increasing popularity of ELT in Italy (Vicentini 2012b: 97).

What kind of impact this increasing popularity had on the production of ELT materials, as well as on teaching practices, in nineteenth-century Italy is a question that has so far almost entirely escaped scholarly attention. Only two publications (Del Lungo Camiciotti 2005a, 2007), to my knowledge, have dealt with this topic. These two publications are concerned with the use of specialised business letter-writing guides in the teaching of nineteenth-century commercial English to Italians<sup>3</sup>. Del Lungo Camiciotti (2005a) offers an overview of a small specialised corpus of letter-writing guides used for didactic purposes (Millhouse – Anderson 1873, Manetta 1874, Cann 1883, Lowe 1894, and Candelari 1899). The same corpus is analysed in a more systematic way in Del Lungo Camiciotti (2007), with the aim of investigating strategies employed in different manuals to teach specialised lexis and commercial phraseology to Italian learners of business English. This second

<sup>1</sup> See McLelland – Smith's (2014b) for the presentation of the HoLLT (*History of language learning and teaching*) network, <http://www.hollt.net/>.

<sup>2</sup> *Centro Interuniversitario di Ricerca sulla Storia degli Insegnamenti Linguistici*, <https://cirsil.it/>.

<sup>3</sup> While Del Lungo Camiciotti (2005a and 2007) are the only two studies that focus specifically on the didactic aspect of these guides from the point of view of Italian learners of English, the scholar's ground-breaking work on nineteenth-century specialised business letter-writing guides was further pursued in Del Lungo Camiciotti (2005b, 2006a, 2006b and 2008).

study has shown that translation, in the form either of synonymic notes or explanatory notes, represents the main method for foreign language teaching (Del Lungo Camiciotti 2007: 49). As such, Del Lungo Camiciotti's studies (2005a, 2007) have made a significant contribution to our understanding of nineteenth-century teaching practices of domain-specific English.

The goal of the present study is to take Del Lungo Camiciotti's groundbreaking work one step further by examining the ways in which different authors conceptualise English commercial style and attempt to transmit its technicalities to Italian novices. In order to conduct a more in-depth analysis of the strategies of teaching business English, I will focus on Millhouse – Anderson (1873) and Cann (1878), the two most popular manuals of the five already discussed by Del Lungo Camiciotti (2005a, 2007). Cann's 1878 *Comprehensive Letter-Writer: A complete guide to English correspondence, etc.* (henceforth Cann) is the first edition of Cann (1883, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition) examined by Del Lungo Camiciotti, while *Practical Mercantile Correspondence, collection of modern letters of business, etc.* (henceforth Millhouse – Anderson) is the manual indicated as Anderson (1873) in Del Lungo Camiciotti. In this article this manual will be referred to as Millhouse – Anderson (1873) to acknowledge the contribution of John Millhouse. Millhouse was the editor of the bilingual English-Italian version, who supplied the explanatory notes for the Italian edition of William Anderson's popular letter-writing guide, first published in London in 1836<sup>4</sup>. In the next section I will scrutinise the publishing activities of the two Englishmen, John Millhouse and Theophilus C. Cann, both of whom, in addition to Millhouse – Anderson (1873) and Cann (1878) respectively, authored an impressive range of other didactic materials for the teaching of English in nineteenth-century Italy. I will show, first of all, that the Italian market of ELT materials was highly varied and dynamic in that period. Secondly, I will argue that, at a time when the Grammar-Translation method was the dominant paradigm in the teaching of foreign languages (Kelly 1969, Stern 1983), these two English teachers, Millhouse and Cann, approached translation as a teaching strategy in divergent ways. As the analysis of the explanatory notes in Millhouse – Anderson (1873) and Cann (1878) will show, the differences in using translation to teach business English concern both the selection of lexical items that were translated (i.e., what was translated) and the actual realisation of the translations (i.e., how the source text was translated). Bearing in mind that the two manuals

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<sup>4</sup> More information on the history of the different European editions of Anderson's *Practical Mercantile Correspondence* can be found in Shvanyukova (2014).

under examination addressed a restricted audience of Italians who wished to learn how to write business letters in English, it will be argued that similarities and differences in the ways Millhouse and Cann used translation to teach a commercial style of writing reveal their assumptions about what kind of nineteenth-century English was associated with professional communication.

## 2. John Millhouse and Theophilus C. Cann: Two English teachers in nineteenth-century Italy

The rapid expansion of the British sphere of commercial and political influence in the course of the nineteenth century was reflected in the growth of the book market of teaching materials for the study of English as a foreign language. Proliferation of a wide range of didactic publications, among which we find grammars of English, new English-Italian and Italian-English dictionaries, comprehensive English courses for beginners frequently composed of several volumes, reading books, as well as other kinds of didactic literature, are an example of such development. In addition to these more traditional types of didactic materials, in the same period also specialised letter-writing guides, catering for the needs of EFL learners in nineteenth-century Italy, started to circulate in increasingly greater numbers.

In Britain, two influential letter-writing guides specialising in English commercial correspondence appeared in the first two decades of the century<sup>5</sup>. First it was E. Hodgkins, who published a volume entitled *A series of mercantile letters, intended to give a general knowledge of business to those young persons whose views are directed to commerce, and for the use of schools* (Hodgkins 1808). This was followed by William Keegan's *Universal British Merchant; embracing, in a systematic manner, the epistolary style of commercial correspondence between Great Britain and the principal trading cities of Europe, etc.* (1815, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1820). Interestingly, Keegan's English manual was a revised version of his own letter-writing guide originally written in

<sup>5</sup> The precedents in the English tradition of specialised business letter-writing guides include John Browne's *Marchants Avizo*, of 1589, the first business handbook in English, containing also models of commercial letters (see McGrath 1957); a few examples of letters with requests for payment, etc., in Nicholas Breton's popular letter-writer *A Poste with a Packet of Mad Letters* (1660); two chapters containing advice on business letter-writing in Daniel Defoe's *Complete English Tradesman* (1727, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition) and, last but not least, several model letters on business matters in *Letters Written to and for Particular Friends, on the Most Important Occasions* (Richardson 1741).

French, *Le Négociant Universel; ou, Recueil de lettres originales de commerce, écrites par les meilleures maisons de Russie, Hollande, Angleterre ... &c.* (Keegan 1799): in the new English edition this was adjusted to meet the needs of the domestic market. An even more striking case is that of Hodgkins – Schor’s 1858 bilingual English-Italian volume. Published in Trieste under the title of *English-Italian Secretary, collection of familiar letters ... extracted from Percy Sadler’s Art of English Correspondence, and a series of commercial letters originally by E. Hodgkins; with explanatory Italian notes for the use of Italians* (Hodgkins – Schor 1858), this manual was in fact a hybrid volume, containing a selection of commercial letters extracted from the above-mentioned Hodgkins (1808), together with a selection of familiar letters from Sadler (1829), another very popular nineteenth-century letter-writing guide, originally published in Paris for French learners of English<sup>6</sup>. The existence of Hodgkins – Schor (1858) is proof that the borders of the national book markets in didactic materials for the teaching of modern foreign languages in the nineteenth century were easily permeable. Percy Sadler’s *Art of English Correspondence* circulated in different versions in Italy, with the original English text with explanatory notes in French (Sadler 1835a), the English-Italian version of the same manual (Sadler 1835b), an expanded, two-volume English-French bilingual edition (Sadler 1842), and, finally, the hybrid 1858 guide (Hodgkins – Schor 1858)<sup>7</sup>.

It may be argued that circulation of such guides boosted transmission of modern foreign language teaching practices within the nineteenth-century European framework. Moreover, judging by the number of specialised

<sup>6</sup> The fact that the manual was not original work was explicitly acknowledged in its extended title in Italian: *Il Segretario Inglese-italiano, ovvero raccolta di lettere familiari e regole sullo stile epistolare tratte dall’Arte della Corrispondenza Inglese di P. Sadler, nonché modelli di lettere commerciali inglesi ... di E. Hodgkins: il tutto con la versione italiana a fronte* (Hodgkins – Schor 1858).

<sup>7</sup> John Millhouse was also familiar with Sadler’s works. He acknowledges Sadler’s influence explicitly in a passage in which one of his own ELT publications is advertised to the reader: “Given that my Grammar is the most complete one in circulation, be it in French or Italian, so that these Themes, which can be used as complementary materials to the Grammar, are the most comprehensive and numerous ones. They are twice as many as those by Sadler, the most exhaustive and, at the same, the best there are in this language, and they are six times more than Vergani’s, as little inadequate and artificial as his. Indeed, the latter, the entire lot of them, cannot compete with mine on future and conditional alone” (Millhouse – Bracciforti 1865: vii, my transl.). Moreover, Millhouse also plagiarised some material from Sadler’s *Art of English Correspondence* in his *Dialogues anglais et français* (Millhouse 1851): commercial model letters in this work (1851: 142-146) are copied, with minor modifications, from Sadler (1835a: 279-283).

business letter-writing guides published in Italy alone, and the number of reprints of the most popular of them, Italians were starting to show interest in English as the medium of international business networking. To the list of the five guides presented in Del Lungo Camiciotti (2005a and 2007) we can add the different versions of Sadler's *Art of English Correspondence*, Hodgkins – Schor (1858) and its second reprint (Hodgkins – Schor 1869), Melzi (1878), at least two more editions of Millhouse – Anderson (1856, 1882)<sup>8</sup>, and six editions of Cann's manual published between 1878 and 1906. All of these guides circulated on the Italian book market in the same period, competing with one another, and with other imported works available, for the same target group of EFL learners<sup>9</sup>.

As already mentioned, both Millhouse and Cann were prolific authors of works dedicated to the teaching of English to Italian learners. John Millhouse's name is familiar to scholars of English-Italian historical lexicography (O'Connor 1978, 1990)<sup>10</sup>. The two volumes of his *New English and Italian Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary* (1849-1853) earned Millhouse the fame of a lexicographical innovator, largely due to his efforts to offer new ways of teaching correct pronunciation. Millhouse's specific contribution consists in introducing diacritic marks to make English pronunciation more accessible to Italian learners (O'Connor 1990: 104-105). This innovation obviously proved to be successful, as the two volumes of the dictionary were still being reprinted at the beginning of the twentieth century<sup>11</sup>. As will

<sup>8</sup> Millhouse – Anderson (1856) is the first English-Italian edition of Anderson's 1836 *Practical Mercantile Correspondence*; the 1873 volume is introduced on the title page as the third edition, while the 1882 one as the fourth. So far it has not been possible to recover the information on the year of publication of the second edition.

<sup>9</sup> On the basis of Gomes Da Torre (1999), we may compare this situation with what was happening with ELT materials in Portugal at the same time. In his survey of popular textbooks for teaching English that circulated in Portugal in the second half of the nineteenth century, Gomes Da Torre observes that imported (mainly French or German) manuals dominated the market: "In our libraries and secondhand bookshops it is relatively easy to find copies of the complete battery of books published by Percy Sadler in Paris for the teaching of English in France such as the *Manuel de phrases française et anglaises*, the *Cours de thèmes gradués* as well as of the *Petit cours de versions*, and translations of French adaptations of German publications by the well-known Heinrich Gottfried Ollendorf (1803-1865)" (Gomes Da Torre 1999: 292).

<sup>10</sup> Very little is known about John Millhouse's biography. His publishing activity seems to be concentrated in the period between 1842 and 1855. O'Connor remarks that Millhouse "did not live to see the republication of the Italian-English volume, which was completed in 1857 by Ferdinando Bracciforti" (O'Connor 1990: 106). That would put the year of Millhouse's death between 1855 and 1857.

<sup>11</sup> Volume One, with the Italian-English dictionary, was published in 1849. Volume Two, with the English-Italian part, was published in 1853, followed by the second edition

be shown in the section dedicated to the analysis of the Italian edition of Millhouse – Anderson (1873), Millhouse's background as a professional lexicographer undoubtedly influenced his approach to the realisation of the explanatory notes in Italian.

Before his popular dictionary saw the light, Millhouse had been busy producing a multi-volume *Graduated and Complete English Course: A didactic, moral and literary work (Corso graduato e completo di lingua inglese: opera ad un tempo didascalica, morale e letteraria)*. Its first installment, *Il primo passo all'inglese, ossia The English Narrator, etc. (First Step to English, or The English Narrator, etc.)*, came out some time in the early 1840s (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Millhouse 1842a). *Il primo passo all'inglese* can be described as a comprehensive self-study resource book, furnished with an extensive treatise on English pronunciation and detailed instructions on how to work one's way through the exercises. Here Millhouse emphasises the importance of the learners' native language, Italian, and translation as the method of foreign language teaching: all explanations are given in Italian, English texts are supplied with interlinear translations into Italian, while the main type of exercises are translations into and from Italian.

After *Il primo passo all'inglese*, four more installments of the course followed. In 1842 a dedicated collection of translation exercises (from English into Italian and vice versa) was published under the title *Temi sceneggiati ossia dialoghi italiani ed inglesi per isvolgere le regole grammaticali, ecc.* (Millhouse 1842b). Solutions to this part were made available separately as *Chiave, ossia Traduzione dei Temi Sceneggiati, ecc.* (Millhouse 1842c). Millhouse's grammar of the English language was published in 1844. In 1847 the course's last volume, *Elegant Extracts*, offered Italian EFL learners excerpts from the writings of major English authors. The individual parts of the course were reprinted throughout the century, with the first volume, *Il primo passo all'inglese*, and the 1844 grammar boasting the highest numbers of reprints. The twentieth-century edition of the grammar (revised by Ferdinando Bracciforti) was even adopted as a textbook in secondary and technical schools (Millhouse – Bracciforti 1914).

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of the same volume in 1855 (O'Connor 1990: 106). In the second part of the nineteenth century, after the revisions made by Ferdinando Bracciforti, the title of the dictionary was changed to acknowledge the contribution of the second author, and became *New English and Italian Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary: with many additions by Ferdinando Bracciforti* (Millhouse – Bracciforti 1864). O'Connor (1990: 110) gives 1924 as the year of the last known reprint of the dictionary. Ferdinando Bracciforti also revised Millhouse's grammar, which was last printed in 1914 (Millhouse – Bracciforti 1914).

Millhouse's portfolio of ELT materials was further diversified when he decided to produce new versions of important English works of literature (Millhouse – Sheridan 1851, Millhouse – Beecher Stowe 1853), religious treatises (Millhouse – Challoner 1845) and popularising works (Millhouse – Brewer 1851) by adding explanatory notes in Italian and/or instructions on correct pronunciation<sup>12</sup>. If we are to accept the opinion expressed in the promotional material regularly inserted in Millhouse's publications, the author's achievements in promoting English language teaching in nineteenth-century Italy cannot be underestimated:

With his *Course*, of which every part is comprehensive on its own and is sold separately, he [Millhouse] made English accessible to everyone; to those who limit themselves to reading English books, as well as to those who would like to write books in English, to those who content themselves with learning how to say *How do you do?*, to those who would like to engage in conversations in clubs or in Parliament.

And Millhouse's exertions were not in vain. His books have become ubiquitous. They are found everywhere in Italy. In seven years he has sold thirty-two thousand copies. If in the past only a few Italians would study English, today there has been a tenfold increase in the number of learners. (Millhouse – Bracciforti 1865: v, my transl.)

It is quite possible that Theophilus C. Cann was familiar with John Millhouse's different publications, although more research would be needed to provide concrete evidence of that. At any rate, what brings together these two expats is their role as key promoters of English language teaching. As we learn from the presentation of the author on the title page of his books, Cann had an established connection with the Italian school system: "Member of the R. College of Preceptors of London and other various literary societies, Appointed professor at the Scuola Normale Femminile in Florence" (Cann 1878)<sup>13</sup>. Moreover, in the preface to Cann (1878) the manual is introduced as Cann's fifth scholastic publication (Cann 1878: vi). In the same preface it

<sup>12</sup> Millhouse also authored another version of his *Temì*, a bilingual English-French *Dialogues anglais et français* (Millhouse 1851). See fn. 7 on the influence of the English-French tradition of ELT materials on Millhouse.

<sup>13</sup> This is what we read on the title page in Italian. The English version of the title page informs us that Cann is "Member of various literary societies, Author of 'Theoretical and practical grammar of the English language', 'Manual of English literature', 'Social Chat' &c. &c. Awards conferred at the Philadelphia & Paris International Exhibitions" (Cann 1878: titlepage).

is also stated that Cann's works were recommended to be included in the syllabi approved by the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Italy for use in professional schools (1878: iv). The sixth (and last) edition of Cann (1878), published in 1906, lists the following works by the same author:

*The Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the English Language*. Forty-fifth Edition, 542 pp.

*First English Reading Book*. Eighth Edition, 184 pp.

*Manual of English Literature*. Fifth edition, 450 pp.

*A History of the British Rule in India*. Fourth edition, 100 pp.

*Friends at Home and Abroad; or, Social Chat*. Eighth Edition, 270 pp.

*Cann's Shakespeare. Julius Caesar*. 120 pp.

*Gems from Byron and Tennyson*. 68 pp. (Cann 1906: iv)

Cann's most popular ELT work was his *Theoretical and Practical Grammar*, first published in 1872. According to the author, with this grammar Cann aimed to "offer the general public a method for studying English [...] that would enable learners, in as little time as possible, to read fluently and understand with ease the best English authors, to comprehend idiomatic expressions found in speech and speak this idiom effortlessly" (Cann 1872: 5, my transl.). Cann indicates Lindley Murray's 1795 grammar as his model, specifying that "recent grammatical changes that occurred in usage" were incorporated in his book (Cann 1872: 5). The grammar is divided into two parts. Its main part comprises sixty lessons, with each lesson dedicated to one or more grammatical topics, while the much shorter second part is a collection of miscellaneous materials<sup>14</sup>. The grammatical topics are introduced at the beginning of the lesson in Italian, with linguistic examples in English and their translations into Italian. The exercises are provided in the second part of the lesson. These usually include a translation task from English into Italian, followed by the second translation task this time from Italian into English, and a short reading. The teaching method employed in Cann's grammar is analogous to the method adopted by Millhouse: both rely on the resources of the native language to transmit knowledge of English. Translation here remains the main teaching strategy.

<sup>14</sup> The second part starts with a theoretical section which gives an overview of the topics discussed in the main part of the book. It also includes some poetry, additional readings, texts to be translated, etc. (Cann 1872: 305-455). A short glossary of "the most interesting nouns, verbs and adjectives from this grammar" is also provided (Cann 1872: 456-472).

The grammar seems to have been received with interest by the Italian public. Its second and third editions followed quickly, in 1873 and 1875 respectively. In the 1877 edition, which was reprinted until 1914, the grammar was officially divided into two separate volumes. The first volume was recommended for students in Technical Institutes, while the second one could be adopted by all other types of schools in Italy. Two revised versions of the grammar were produced in the twentieth century. In 1916 the updated Cann – Molinari grammar appeared under the title *Grammatica razionale teorico pratica della lingua inglese* (Cann – Molinari 1916). The last version of the grammar, edited by Olivero, was published in 1926 (Cann – Olivero 1926) and was reprinted until 1947 (Cann – Olivero 1947).

Other titles of Cann's ELT publications (see above) may echo those published earlier by Millhouse. To quote a few examples, Cann's *First English Reading Book* (1873), his manual of English literature (1875), dialogues compiled in *Friends at Home and Abroad, etc.* (Cann 1876), as well as Cann's versions of works by English authors furnished with Italian notes (Cann 1884, 1885, 1887) replicate patterns of diversification of the portfolio already made by Millhouse. Thus, it may be concluded that these two authors, with Cann likely following in his predecessor's footsteps, partake in a specific contemporary tradition of foreign language teaching. Neither chose to limit themselves to producing one type of ELT materials only, but worked hard to offer as wide a range of works as possible. Across this range, translation into and from Italian was employed consistently as the main teaching strategy, in Millhouse's and Cann's books alike. In the case of their grammars specifically, the organisation of Millhouse's and Cann's versions also relied on the same sequential arrangement, i.e. "a statement of the rule, followed by a vocabulary list and translation exercises" (Kelly 1969: 52), a convention disseminated by H.G. Ollendorff through his popular language courses in the 1840s. As such, the two authors can be placed within the nineteenth-century tradition of the Grammar-translation method, whose "principal practice technique [was] translation from and into the target language" (Stern 1983: 453)<sup>15</sup>. In the next section the different

<sup>15</sup> A more thorough and systematic analysis of the full portfolios of Millhouse's and Cann's ELT publications is needed to establish the extent to which the approaches of two authors to teaching English were shaped by the Grammar-Translation method. Stern's description of the method as placing "little or no emphasis on the speaking of the second language or listening to second language speech", or as "a mainly book-oriented method of working out and learning the grammatical system of the language" (Stern 1983: 454) clearly contradicts statements made by both authors on the importance of correct pronunciation and acquisition of fluent conversational skills.

uses of translation as the main strategy for teaching nineteenth-century business English will be analysed by examining explanatory notes in Italian in the two letter-writing guides published by Millhouse – Anderson (1873) and Cann (1878).

### **3. Teaching business English through translation in Millhouse – Anderson (1873) and Cann (1878)**

The nicety of writing in Business consists chiefly in giving every species of goods their trading names; for there are certain peculiarities in the trading language, which are to be observed as the greatest properties, and without which the language your letters are written in would be obscure. (Defoe 1727: 27, quoted in Myers 2003: 379)

Millhouse – Anderson (1873) and Cann (1878) can be categorised as letter-writing manuals or epistolary guides (the two labels can be used interchangeably), a popular nineteenth-century genre of self-help literature. Typically, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century guides produced in England would only rarely include actual instructions on how to compose letters, contrary to what the label ‘guide’ would seem to suggest. In most cases, these guides consisted entirely of a collection of model letters, whose success, as Mitchell rightly observes, “was helped by their role as works of reference [...] letters were often not intended literally as examples to be copied; instead, they offered sample language and modelled correct stances to be taken in a range of situations” (Mitchell 2003: 333). A hybrid genre, an eclectic miscellany or anthology which aimed to supply “as much relevant material as possible” (Mitchell 2003: 333) on the one hand, and, on the other hand, a conduct book that would provide moral advice and impart social norms<sup>16</sup>, nineteenth-century letter-writing manuals offered a comprehensive account of contemporary society.

As a rule, model letters in eighteenth-century manuals were divided into fuzzy categories of ‘business’, ‘social or familiar’, ‘love and marriage’, etc. In the nineteenth century, epistolary guides with collections of miscellaneous

<sup>16</sup> Myers connects this development, or “return, to [letter-writing manuals’] moral function” (2003: 373) with the publication of two key English epistolary guides in the first half of the eighteenth century, Defoe’s *Complete English Tradesman* (1727) and Richardson’s *Letters to and from Particular Friends* (1741), whose authors sought to “fus[e] conduct book with letter-writing manual” (Myers 2003: 383).

letters, aiming to reach the broadest possible audience, continued to be produced. The above-mentioned *Art of English Correspondence* (Sadler 1829/1835a) is an example of such a guide. Cann implicitly acknowledges his indebtedness to this tradition by including examples of the typical commercial letters found in eighteenth-century guides<sup>17</sup>. In a letter entitled "Inquiring into the references of a Country Tradesman", which was still reprinted in the last 1906 edition (Cann 1878: 33 – L31; Cann 1906: 57 – L69), Cann addresses the inquiry to no less than "Messrs. Virtue & Co.", in an attempt either to amuse his reader<sup>18</sup>, or to collocate his guide within the tradition of the earlier eighteenth-century manuals that conventionally supplied moral guidance.

In the preface to Cann (1878) it is stated that the guide was written "to supply a want long felt for a Reading-book composed entirely of English Letters, and adapted to the Students of the English Language" (1878: v). This manual is divided into two parts. Part I, entitled *Modern and Practical Letters of Business, Bills of Exchange, Receipts, Trade Circulars, and Forms of Other Commercial Documents* (Cann 1878: 9-62), is the dedicated commercial section of the guide. In Part II *Miscellaneous Letters on the most Useful and Common Matters, Notes, Cards, &c. &c. &c.* (Cann 1878: 63-130) are collected. Cann's

<sup>17</sup> According to Mitchell, among the most common commercial letters we would find "Tradesman in the country to a merchant in London about unsatisfactory goods", "London merchant to the country tradesman about unsatisfactory goods", "Tradesman requesting payment from a customer", "Tradesman to merchant, inquiring about delay of payments", "Tradesman asking for a loan" (Mitchell 2003: 332). Some of these are found already in Breton (1660), some in Defoe (1727), most in Richardson (1741), some in Sadler (1829/1835a) and Cann (1878). A good example in Cann (1878: 13) is Letter 6, "Requesting a payment of an account", modelled on an analogous letter in Richardson (2012[1741]: 371, Letter XLII, "To a Country Correspondent, modestly requesting a Balance of Accounts between them") and Sadler (1835a: 280, LXVII, "To request payment of an account").

<sup>18</sup> The following example, with another speaking surname, corroborates the first hypothesis: "I may add (1) that Captain Fairwind has been well known in our city for a long time as an experienced sailor, and is highly respected for his integrity and uprightness (2)" (Cann 1878, L42, 42). At the same time, this example also displays a conduct dimension. The glossing of 'integrity and uprightness' (as 'onestà e lealtà') draws the reader's attention to the positive characterisation of Captain Fairwind. 'Integrity' is glossed again in L19 (Cann 1878, 24), this time in combination with 'general qualifications', as 'onestà e capacità'. In Millhouse – Anderson (1873) a similar example is found in L25: "Sir, – Desirous of establishing in the city of Rio de Janeiro a branch of my London house, I beg to acquaint you that I have committed the management of that department to Mr. John Newman, a gentleman on whose zeal, ability, and integrity I place the utmost reliance (1)". However, here Mr. Newman's integrity is duly acknowledged only in the English version. The only Italian gloss given by Millhouse is 'massima fiducia' (1873, L25, 34).

collection of model letters is preceded by a short introductory chapter “containing General directions for English letter-writing” (Cann 1878: 3-8). Unlike Cann’s manual, that is a miscellaneous reference work with familiar, social and commercial model letters, Millhouse – Anderson (1873) offers commercial model letters only, making it a specialised guide addressed to the specific target audience of traders. The two guides are also structured in different ways. While in Cann the division into sections is meant to reflect the distinction between business and non-business letters, in Millhouse – Anderson (1873) model letters are grouped according to the specific sub-categories of business letters (Circulars, Millhouse – Anderson 1873: 22-39; Letters of Introduction, 1873: 39-47; General Correspondence, 1873: 48-182). Millhouse and Cann hence opt for two different solutions in producing a letter-writer adapted to the needs of Italian EFL learners. Millhouse, on the one hand, reprints a highly successful, specialised business manual produced originally for the English audience, adding his explanatory notes in Italian<sup>19</sup>. On the other hand, Cann claims to have composed an original work for the Italian market, although some of its materials have been borrowed from earlier manuals.

In order to draw a systematic comparison of the decisions made as to what kind of explanatory notes were included, what kind of lexical items were glossed and in what way the translations were realised, 55 out of 65 model letters from the first part of Cann (1878) (*Modern and Practical Letters of Business, etc.*) were examined together with 55 model letters in Millhouse – Anderson (1873). As for letters extracted from Cann, the ten samples from the business letter section that were excluded were forms of documents (e.g., Bill of lading, L58), together with two letters (L55, On England’s natural wealth, and L56, On the Best Means of Increasing the Trade of Italy), which dealt with topics other than routine business interactions. To produce a balanced sample, only 55 letters out of 310 in Millhouse – Anderson (1873) could be included. The first 55 letters, excluding L1 (Advice to a person commencing business) and L2 (Ditto), that had glosses, were extracted from the sections containing Circulars and Letters of Introduction in Millhouse – Anderson (1873). This decision proved to be optimal, as the two final sets of 55 letters from Millhouse – Anderson (1873) and Cann (1878) respectively were thematically coherent. In fact, the same sub-categories of business letters (e.g., circulars announcing a change in

<sup>19</sup> It has to be noted that Millhouse is not consistent in his addition of notes. Up to page 87 the notes are inserted regularly, from page 88 to page 129 no notes are provided, and, finally, four more notes are added, with the last one on page 138.

the firm's management, letters of introduction, etc.) were represented in both sets. All glosses in the final set of 110 letters were collected and examined manually. In what follows, the findings of the investigation will be presented.

### 3.1 Overview of the types and distribution of glosses in categories

This section starts with an overview of the total number and distribution into individual categories of the glosses inserted in the 110 model letters collected from the two guides. The glosses have been divided into categories according to the number of lexical items in the original English version (see the column with "Examples" in Table 1 below). The smaller numbers in brackets in Table 1 indicate the number of unique items that were glossed. These numbers exclude repetitions of the same glossed units.

Table 1. Types and distribution of glosses in Millhouse – Anderson (1873) and Cann (1878)

Number of lexical items	Millhouse – Anderson	Cann	Examples
1. Single-item units	135 (122)	174 (145)	transact (PMC); according (CLW)
2. Two-item units	31 (29)	78 (70)	stationary business (PMC); commercial securities (CLW)
3. Three- or four-item units	17 (16)	123 (117)	at fifteen days' sight (PMC); stagnation in trade (CLW)
4. Five- or more-item units	9	96	may not be worth your while (PMC); great fear is entertained just now of Russian privateers (CLW)
5. Letter titles		25	Applying for an Employment as a Clerk (CLW)
6. Abbreviations, geographical names	6	26 (22)	Nos. (PMC); C.E., the East (CLW)
Total	198 (182)	522 (475)	

The main finding of the quantitative analysis is that Cann (1878) contains 2.6 times more glosses than Millhouse – Anderson (1873), with 522 glosses against 198. This proportion remains unaltered even if we take into account the number of unique items glossed, with 475 against 182. This difference seems to indicate that Cann is much more thorough and exhaustive in

inserting the glosses. The analysis of the distribution of the glosses into categories reveals a number of additional trends that can help to explain the authors' choices. Firstly, looking at the distribution into categories, we observe that Cann has opted to gloss a much higher number of multi-item units than Millhouse – Anderson (categories 3 and 4). In categories 1 and 2, on the contrary, the differences between the two sets are less marked. In category 1 specifically, the total number of glosses in Cann (174), compared to the number of unique glosses (145), shows that it is this category that contains the highest number of repetitions in this manual, which results in the decrease of the difference between the number of unique glosses in category 1 in Cann (145) and Millhouse – Anderson (122) to 1.2 (from the overall 2.6 for Cann, total numbers considered).

As will be shown in the next sub-sections, these quantitative differences between the two manuals are indexical of the divergent ways in which the two authors approached the teaching of English commercial style to Italian learners. Before the two approaches can be discussed in more detail, it may be useful to provide an example of how glosses were inserted in the two manuals. The example below is taken from Cann (1878, L21, 25). Here we are provided with a reply to L20, in which a request for a quotation for sugar, coffee, and rice was sent from Vienna to London. In L21 the London merchants answer their prospective trading partners in the following way<sup>20</sup>:

Gentlemen,

We beg to acknowledge your favour (1) of the 20<sup>th</sup>. inst. and in reply we annex herewith our price-current (2), which you will compare (3) with yours, and will then be able to judge the articles that would turn to advantage (4) in this or your market. It seems that hemp and flax according (5) to your price-current would offer a good speculation. Tallow (6) is also much in demand just now (7). With respect to corn (8), we strongly advise you not to send any, as the market here is quite overstocked (9).

Terms of purchase (10) would be bill at three months, or 1 ½ per cent. Discount for cash. (Cann 1878, L21, Answer to the preceding with price-current, 25)

<sup>20</sup> All spellings and punctuation, both in the English and the Italian versions, have been left intact. The numbers referring to glosses have been amended to reflect the chronological order they are given in this paper.

The numbers in brackets refer to the glosses in Italian that are given after each individual letter, as in the example below:

(1) Abbiamo l'onore d'accusare la pregiata vostra – (2) Uniamo qui il nostro prezzo corrente – (3) Paragonerete – (4) Che riescirebbero vantaggiosi – (5) Canapa e lino secondo – (6) Segò – (7) Ricercato adesso – (8) In quanto al grano – (9) Sovverchiamente provvisto – (10) Condizioni d'acquisto

In Millhouse – Anderson (1873) the procedure is exactly the same, i.e., numbers are added in the original letter in English to refer to the Italian glosses. One minor difference is that here the glosses are given in footnotes, and not after individual letters, like in Cann (1878). In both manuals, however, the Italian gloss is inserted on its own and is not accompanied by the original passage in English. This means that the Italian learner is expected to be able to identify the exact passage (be it a single-, two- or more-item unit) in the original text that corresponds to what has been glossed in Italian. While this may not be problematic in cases like (6) (*tallow – segò*) above, where the gloss is a straightforward translation of an individual term, most of the other glosses in the same letter are potentially more complex. Among these we find two-item units (e.g., the Future Simple form (3), *will compare*, glossed as *Paragonerete*) and multi-item units, such as (1) *Abbiamo l'onore d'accusare la pregiata vostra*. Gloss (5) is an example of a preference for grouping words together for glossing because they happen to co-occur in this particular sentence, pointing to the lack of a more systematic effort to provide transparent and didactically useful glosses. In Millhouse – Anderson, as already noted, this kind of longer unit is rare, while the main bulk of explanatory notes is composed of categories 1 and 2 (glosses to one- and two-item units). In the next sub-section, which will discuss category 1, I will attempt to explain why glosses of this type in Millhouse – Anderson are less transparent than in Cann, representing a major challenge from the point of view of an Italian learner of English.

### 3.2 Analysis of one- and two-unit glosses

As already explained, Millhouse's intervention in Anderson's original manual limits itself to the insertion of glosses, which were added to approximately one-third of the volume. He reprints the preface to the first London edition (1873: v-viii), a short chapter entitled *Preliminary*

*Observations* (1873: 1-4), as well as a Note to the second London edition (1873: 4-5), all written by Anderson, with Italian glosses added also to these pages. As such, the English-Italian version of the manual does not contain a preface or a designated introductory chapter directed at the Italian readers of the manual, in which Millhouse could offer a rationale behind his edition of Millhouse – Anderson and the criteria for the insertion of the explanatory notes in Italian.

Cann's rationale, on the other hand, is presented in his Preface to CLW:

The numerous Italian notes which I have added at the foot of every page, offer in many cases not merely an interpretation of isolated words, but give the general sense of various idiomatic expressions peculiar to English. By this means the irksomeness, which is occasioned by poring over the columns of a dictionary, will be obviated. (Cann 1878: vi)

This is an important statement, in which the author informs his reader about the two main types of Italian glosses that have been inserted (“isolated words” vs. “peculiar idiomatic expressions”). However, the motivation provided to endorse the insertion of the glosses – to spare the learner the trouble of consulting a dictionary – implies an absence of a systematic approach to the teaching of technical vocabulary and specialised commercial style of writing. Hence it would seem that neither author approached the teaching of specialised business letter writing with a clearly-set agenda and a particular method. However, the analysis of single- and two-item lexical units shows that the authors shared a critical awareness that a core technical vocabulary of commercial life existed in English and had to be transmitted to Italian learners. Cann and Millhouse manifested this awareness by glossing a set of the same lexical items, in an effort to emphasise the importance of key commercial terms with which the users of their manuals had to familiarise themselves. Among these key lexical items we find terms designating the main participants in the mercantile community (such as clerks or customers), places of employment (counting-house and firm), routine practices of managing business transactions (trial, settlement (of an account), nett proceeds), to name but a few.

In what follows, examples will be provided to show how these key lexical items were presented to Italian learners, and what kinds of differences can be found concerning the strategies of glossing these items. The first key term glossed by both authors is *counting-house* (or *counting house*):

- (1) Mr. N having been managing clerk in my counting house (1) here for several years, is perfectly conversant with every kind of commercial operation, and with all the routine of business.  
1 – Studio (ufficio). (Millhouse – Anderson, L25, 34)<sup>21</sup>
- (2) My age is twenty-five and I have been for the last three years employed in the counting-house (1) of Messrs. Ward & Lock, the publishers (2) of Paternoster Row, to whom I beg to refer you for further (3) information respecting me.  
1 – Banco. 2 – Editori. 3 – Ho l'onore di rimandarvi per ulteriori. (Cann, L2, 10)

Millhouse – Anderson does not provide examples of the prototypical job application letter, of the type that is given in (2) extracted from Cann. Example (1) instead is a circular announcing the establishment of a new branch. The branch will be managed by Mr. N, whose credentials are presented to convince prospective customers to open an account with the firm. The protagonists in both the job application letter and in the circular are two clerks: one is introduced by the author of the circular (1), while the other introduces himself (2). On the other hand, another key term, the lexical unit *clerk* is not glossed in (1), but it is in (3) and (4) below:

- (3) Sir, – Referring to our circular of the 10<sup>th</sup> July last, addressed to you, on the demise (1) of Mr. John Allsop, senior partner in our late form of Allsop & M'Intosh, we have now the pleasure of intimating that articles of copartnership (2), commencing this day, have been entered into between Mr. James M'Intosh, the surviving partner; Mr. John Stephens, of Jeffrey's Square, London; and Mr. Alfred Bowring; a gentleman who has been for many years our confidential clerk (3).  
1 – Trapasso, morte. 2 – Società, compartecipazione. 3 – Commesso, ragioniere, giovine di studio. (Millhouse – Anderson, L5, 23)
- (4) Applying for Employment as a Clerk (1)  
Gentlemen,  
Having heard that you have a vacancy (2) in your house for a junior Clerk (3), I take the liberty of offering you my services.

<sup>21</sup> As explained above, glosses in Millhouse – Anderson are given in footnotes and are numbered in the order of their appearance on the individual page, and not according to the order in which they are introduced in individual letters. For the sake of clarity, I have renumbered the glosses in these examples, so as to make them appear chronologically in the given examples.

1 – Ricorso per impiego come commesso. 2 – Posto vacante. 3 – Giovane scrivano (Cann, L5, 12)

Example (3) from Millhouse – Anderson is another circular, announcing a change in the management of a firm which, once again, involves the figure of a clerk, while (4) from Cann is the second job application letter for a clerical position. A closer examination of the Italian glosses in (3) and (4) shows that, while both Millhouse and Cann select the same lexical item, the two authors implement different strategies in glossing it. In (3) Millhouse provides a gloss that is modelled on a dictionary entry: with three different choices, the gloss offers an exhaustive overview of the Italian translations of the word *clerk* – *commesso*, *ragionere*, *giovine di studio*. Clearly, Millhouse's background as a lexicographer influences his approach here. Cann instead opts for a single gloss, which is contextually motivated (*clerk: giovine di studio*), excluding any other possible translation as irrelevant in this particular letter. In fact, the other two glosses in (3) and (4) illustrate the same point: Millhouse provides synonyms (*demise: trapasso, morte; copartnership: società, compartecipazione*), while Cann is consistent in his single-gloss approach (*vacancy: posto vacante*). While the addition of synonyms does not necessarily hinder comprehension and may actually facilitate the learning of a term, finding several glossing options could make the learner unsure of how to interpret the item in the context of a particular letter (e.g., 'clerk' in Example 3). Cann's decision to limit the glossing to single (contextual) equivalents may have proved to be didactically more efficient.

Other items from the list of the same key terms glossed in both manuals include '*firm*' and '*customers*'. In CLW '*firm*' is the most frequently glossed single-unit item, translated in five different letters (L8, L12, L18, L38 and L53). Examples (5) and (6) illustrate the main uses of the term in CLW; (7) is the only instance of '*firm*' glossed in PMC:

(5) His son, Henry, a steady and promising (1) young man, is fully conversant (2) with our affairs, and is besides well acquainted with general business, having been employed for several years in the well known firm (3) of Smith, Elders & Co., Liverpool.

1 – Posato e promettente. 2 – Versato. 3 – Ditta. (Cann, L38, 38)

(6) We beg leave (1) to inform you that we have established a House of General Agency in this City at the above address, under the firm (2) of Thomas Cooper & Co.

1 – Noi prendiamo la libertà. 2 – Ditta. (Cann, L8, 15)

- (7) Gentlemen, – We beg to acquaint you (1) that we have opened a house of general agency at the Mauritius, under the firm (2) of Young, Forbes & Co. (3); the two senior members of which have been some years established at Port Louis in the same line (4), under the firm of Young & Forbes.  
1 – Ci preghiamo di farvi avvertito. 2 – Ditta. 3 – Co. *abbrev. di* Company, Compagnia, Soc. 4 – Linea, genere. (Millhouse – Anderson, L3, 22)

Examples (6) from Cann and (7) from Millhouse – Anderson are extracted from two circulars dealing with the same type of event: an establishment of a new house of general agency. In both examples, the glossed item ‘*firm*’ is part of the idiomatic expression ‘under the firm of’. Neither manual acknowledges this, as both simply provide the Italian equivalent of the English term. Example (5) from Cann represents a different type of circular, announcing a change in the management of a firm. In its contents, as well as in the linguistic realisation of this specific passage, introducing a new partner in the management of a firm, (5) is strongly reminiscent of (1) taken from Millhouse – Anderson. More specifically, the use of the adjective ‘*conversant*’ in these two examples is an interesting case of a non-technical term which seems to have acquired the particular connotation of being associated with competence in business affairs (cf. “*conversant with every kind of commercial operation, and with all the routine of business*”, Example 1, Millhouse – Anderson; and “*fully conversant (2) with our affairs, and is besides well acquainted with general business*”, Example 5, Cann). As a matter of fact, Cann, unlike Millhouse, acknowledges the utility and specificity of the term by glossing the adjective.

Millhouse – Anderson’s preference for dictionary-like glosses added to short passages in the original is confirmed again in (8), which contrasts with Cann’s decisions to gloss much longer passages in (9):

- (8) Sir, – In announcing the opening of a *Wine, Spirit, and Beer Store* (1), on these premises (2), for the sale of these articles wholesale (3) and retail in casks (4) and bottles, I beg to acquaint you with my determination to select none but the choicest (5) and most approved qualities of the different descriptions of each; by which means I shall, at all times, have it in my power to ensure to my friends and customers (6) such articles as will, I trust, merit their approbation and obtain for me a continuance of their favours.  
1 – Magazzini all’ingrosso. 2 – Locali, luoghi terreni. 3 – All’ingrosso. 4 – Barili. 5 – Più scelti, più squisiti. 6 – Avventori. (Millhouse – Anderson, L16, 50)

- (9) He is determined to supply (1) only the very best articles in the market (2), and to sell them at prices that can bear the test of comparison (3) with those of any other house in the trade (2), and while giving unremitting attention (4) to the wishes of his customers (5), he is led to hope that although he may not command, he may at least merit success, and thus ensure that patronage and support (6) which he now solicits.

1 – Fornire. 2 – Piazza. 3 – Che non temono la prova di confronto.

4 – Costante attenzione. 5 – Avventori. 6 – Protezione e appoggio.

(Cann, L57, 58)

One key term, that has been glossed in both examples, is *'customers'*. This is fitting, given that the addition of the Italian gloss helps to draw attention to the figure of the customer and, indirectly, to the ways an English customer should be treated. Additional lexical items, such as *'unremitting attention to the wishes of the customers'* and *'patronage and support'* in (9) or *'the choicest'* in (8) reinforce the cultural message.

Other instances of the same lexical items included in both manuals include mainly other nouns from the specialised lexical pool of commercial terminology (*invoice, nett proceeds, parcel, references, trial*), a number of key verbs related to the most important business activities (*introduce, refer, supply*), adjectives such as *'wholesale', 'steady', 'unassuming',* and *'thoroughly'* as the only adverb.

### **3.3 Extended glosses: Formulaic constructions, prepositional phrases and adverbials**

With their selection of lexical items, Millhouse and Cann show how sensitive they were to the sophisticated technicalities of nineteenth-century English business discourse. These technicalities clearly were not limited to the usage of specialised vocabulary. As pioneering studies of authentic nineteenth-century correspondence have shown, the presence of particular linguistic traits in historical business letters in that period started to account for the standardised, *'frozen'* style of writing, characteristic of this epistolary sub-genre at the intersection of public and private discourse (Dossena 2010a, 2010b). The nineteenth century is thus the period when the personal dimension, typical of earlier business letters, gradually diminishes and *"the business letter in the modern sense of the word begins to emerge"* (Dossena 2010a: 48). In its linguistic realisation, this new form of letter relies heavily on

a set of conventionalised, crystallised and elaborated units of discourse, such as different kinds of formulae or standardised expressions.

Standardised expressions in business correspondence can be used as building blocks to produce the macrostructure of the letter. Such expressions can signal topic change, or they may place the letter within a specific sub-category. For instance, the standardised opening “In reply to your advertisement in” serves to categorise the letter as a job application. A comparison between the openings of the first two paragraphs from a circular in Millhouse – Anderson and Cann, announcing the death of a partner in a firm, illustrates the same function:

Table 2. Structure of a circular announcing death of a partner in Millhouse – Anderson (1873) and Cann (1878)

	Millhouse – Anderson, L4, 23	Cann, L38, 38
Title of the letter	Circulars: Death of partner	Announcing the Death of a Senior Partner (1) of a Mercantile firm.
	Sir, -	Gentlemen,
Par 1	It is with deep regret that we have to apprise you of the death of [...], which occurred [...].	It is with feeling of deep regret that we have to inform you of the death of [...], which occurred [...].
Par 2	At the same time we have the satisfaction of stating that this melancholy event will in no way interfere with the future conduct of our business [...].	As regards the conduct of our affairs, this melancholy event will produce little or no change [...].

The first sentences in the circulars contain a routinised expression: “It is with (feeling of) deep regret”, helping to identify the letter as a circular announcing someone’s death. The transition from the first to the second paragraph is performed with the help of further routinised expressions, such as “the melancholy event”, “the (future) conduct of our affairs/business”, emphasising the conventionalised style of business letter writing.

The analysis of the different categories of longer glosses in Millhouse – Anderson (1873) and Cann (1878) shows that both authors identify a set of conventionalised units whose usage is associated with nineteenth-century English commercial style. These sets of conventionalised units are consistently glossed in Cann, as well as in Millhouse – Anderson, with a high frequency of repetitions of the same units. However, the two sets are not

identical. While Cann's glosses emphasise the importance of the so-called "pre-fabricated chunks of discourse" (Elspaß 2012: 46), or conventionalised formulae proper (e.g., of the type 'I beg to do X'), Millhouse – Anderson draws the learner's attention to the use of standard prepositional phrases (e.g., 'prior to', 'in the meantime', etc.).

Table 3 presents an overview of the glossing of 'I/we/he + beg(s) + to do X' constructions in Cann (1878):

Table 3. Glosses of formulaic constructions with 'to beg' in Cann (1878)

I/we/he + beg(s) + to do X		
L2,10	I beg respectfully to offer my services	Mi prendo la libertà, traduzione letterale: chiedo rispettosamente di offrirvi i miei servizi.
L57, 58	[George Byfield] begs respectfully [to inform]	Prende la libertà rispettosamente
L35, 36	I [have to acknowledge your favour (1) of the 20 <sup>th</sup> . inst., and in reply] beg to enclose you a <i>pro forma</i> invoice	Mi prendo la libertà d'accludervi una fattura fittizia
L2,10	to whom I beg to refer you for further	ho l'onore di rimandarvi per ulteriori
L49, 46	I beg to say	Mi pregio dire
L33, 34	[We have to acknowledge your favour of yesterday, and in reply] we beg to say	Dobbiamo dire
L44, 43	We beg to add	Dobbiamo aggiungere
I/we + beg + to acknowledge		
L11,17	I beg to acknowledge [receipt of your favour of yesterday]	Mi pregio d'accusare
L21, 25	We beg to acknowledge your favour	Abbiamo l'onore d'accusare la pregiata vostra
L45, 44	We beg to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed	Accusiamo ricevimento della vostra pregiata
I/we + beg leave		
L8,15	We beg leave [to inform you]	Noi prendiamo la libertà
L28, 31	We beg leave [to inform you]	Prendiamo la libertà
L39, 39	We beg leave to hand you herewith	Noi prendiamo la libertà di mandarvi qui accluso

Different constructions containing ‘to beg’ have been glossed in Cann a total of thirteen times<sup>22</sup>. The three distinct sections in Table 3 (Section 1: ‘I/we/he+beg(s)+to do X; Section 2: ‘I/we+beg+to acknowledge; Section 3: “I/we+beg leave) reflect the most frequent contextual uses of the varying forms of the construction, which collocates with specific verbs (e.g., to acknowledge, to inform) more frequently than with others. Like in the case of single-unit glosses, also in the case of such formulaic constructions Cann tends to provide contextually-motivated glosses, with translations that also exhibit a degree of variability: some are synonymous expressions (e.g., ‘ho l’onore’ instead of ‘mi pregio’), some are simply translated differently (e.g., ‘I beg to say’ is glossed as ‘Mi pregio dire’ in L49, while for ‘we beg to say’ in L33 ‘Dobbiamo dire’ is given as its Italian equivalent). In only one instance, in the gloss in L2, does Cann provide also a literal translation. In all remaining cases, the learner is expected to deduce independently that the gloss containing a formulaic construction in Italian corresponds to an equivalent conventionalised expression in English.

An attentive learner would quickly notice the frequency of conventionalised expressions containing the verb ‘to beg’. This repetition would make the acquisition of the formulae more effective. In Millhouse – Anderson we find only two glosses to ‘to beg’ constructions. In addition to “We beg to acquaint you (1)” inserted in (7) above, the formulaic ‘I beg’ is glossed only once:

- (10) Sir – I beg to (1) inform you that, under the auspices of the highly respectable house of Messrs. Burtwell Brothers, in whose service I spent thirteen years, I have commenced business as a broker (2) for colonial produce.

1 – Mi pregio di. (Millhouse – Anderson, L6, 24)

According to Millhouse – Anderson, rather than conventionalised expressions, it is specific prepositional phrases and adverbials that represent distinctive linguistic traits associated with English commercial style. In fact, these items constitute a substantial group of the multi-item glosses provided in Millhouse – Anderson. In Table 4 selection and glossing practices of prepositional phrases and adverbials are compared.

<sup>22</sup> In L51 (Cann also glosses a complete sentence containing a non-formulaic instance of “to beg”: “He begs us to send you his kind regards” - “Egli ci prega di salutarvi cordialmente”. (Cann 1878: 49).

Table 4. Prepositional phrases and adverbials glossed in Cann (1878) and Millhouse – Anderson (1873)

Prepositional phrase	Millhouse – Anderson	Cann
as heretofore	Per lo addietro, finora (L4, 23)	1) Per lo addietro o fin'adesso (L38, 39); 2) continuata come fino a qui ('will be carried on as heretofore', L44, 43)
(as) hitherto	Come per lo passato (L4, 23)	1) Fin'adesso, voi avete tirato su di me ('hitherto, you have drawn on me, L16, 21); 2) Pagamento dei conti come ho fatto fin qui ('settlements of accounts as I have hitherto done', L35, 36); 3) Fino adesso ('hitherto', L43, 43); 4) Sono fin qui stati al commercio ('have hitherto carried on business', L53, 51)
as to	In quanto, riguardo a (L60, 50)	In quanto a (L19, 24)
in the meantime	Frattanto (L32, 57)	Sollecitudine per migliorare le nostre relazioni, e frattanto (readiness to improve our correspondence, and in the meantime (1), L4, 12)
prior to	Prima di (L25, 34)	Avanti lo sbarco di parecchi carichi (prior to the landing of several cargoes (1), L51, 48)
in compliance with	In adempimento di, conformemente a (L69, 54)	
in pursuance of	1) In seguito a, conforme a (L7, 48); 2) In seguito a, conforme a (L67, 53)	
in the interim	Frattanto, intanto (L61, 50)	
on behalf of	In favore di (L5, 24)	

It can be observed that five out of nine units are glossed in both Cann and Millhouse – Anderson. However, as already observed with the examples in category 1 (see 3.2), the authors adopt different strategies of glossing. Millhouse – Anderson consistently glosses shorter units: in this case, individual prepositional phrases and adverbials. The fact that the prepositional phrases and adverbials are glossed on their own (see 11 and 12), and not as part of a longer unit, as frequently found in Cann (see 13), could help the learner identify those units as characteristic of English business style. In Cann, instead, this identification is compromised once prepositional phrases and adverbials are glossed as part of an extended unit.

- (11) The surviving partner, Mr. James M'Intosh, will conduct the affairs of the house in this presidency, as hitherto (1); and we confidently hope, from the experience you have had of our uniform punctuality and regularity, that you will continue to favour us with your correspondence; resting assured that the same unremitting attention will be paid to the interests of all our commercial friends as heretofore (2).

1 – Come per lo passato. 2 – Per lo addietro, finora. (Millhouse – Anderson, L4, 23)

- (12) Sir, - In pursuance of (1) the orders given to my friends at Liverpool, as I advised you under date of the 20<sup>th</sup>. ult. (2), they have shipped, to your address, thirty bags of Maranh cotton of excellent quality, by the Ann, Captain Thomas Ball, to Havre.

1 – In seguito a, conforme a. 2 – Ult. *abbrev. ai ultimo, scorso*. (Millhouse – Anderson, L7, 48)

- (13) My means are too limited and the profits I realise too small, to admit of my waiting for the settlement of the accounts as I have hitherto done (1).

1 – Pagamento dei conti come ho fatto fin qui. (Cann, L35, 36)

In (11) and (12) from Millhouse – Anderson, three out of four glosses belong to this particular category. In (13) from Cann, 'hitherto' is embedded in an extended unit and is not glossed independently.

#### 4. Discussion and conclusion

What emerges from an analysis of the lexical items glossed in Millhouse – Anderson (1873) and Cann (1878) respectively (Section 3) is that the English

teachers have been able to provide a comprehensive overview of the core specialised vocabulary of commercial English. Moreover, the selection of items indicates that, in transmitting specialised vocabulary through glossing, the authors also aimed to familiarise Italian EFL learners with the contemporary British mercantile environment. In this environment clerks, conversant in affairs and steady in character, were employed in counting-houses and firms, forwarding parcels and supplying their customers, to whose wishes they paid ‘unremitting attention’, with ‘the choicest articles’. In other words, the glosses drew attention to norms and customs of a different society, disseminating important social and cultural knowledge.

The acquisition of fixed formulae represents a major challenge for foreign language learners. The stakes for the learner are even higher when, as it is with domain-specific styles of writing, the efficiency and overall success of communication is largely dependent on the correct usage of standardised expressions. The need to acquire the proper style of commercial writing as distinct from “the general style of English miscellaneous letters” (Cann 1878: 4) is made explicit by both authors in their prefaces. In the original preface to the English edition of *Practical Mercantile Correspondence*, William Anderson writes that “[n]othing, [...], can better conduce to this end than a collection of genuine commercial letters, of recent dates, adapted at once to form the style and to afford a correct insight into the business of the counting house” (1872: v); while Cann includes “brevity”, “clearness”, “precision” and “methodical arrangement” in his list of “the chief characteristics of a good English business letter” (1878: 3)<sup>23</sup>. The ability to produce letters that conform to the conventionalised style of English business writing thus becomes a priority for the target readers of Millhouse – Anderson 1873 and Cann 1878.

The use of conventionalised formulae, or “pre-fabricated chunks of discourse” (Elspaß 2012: 46), in authentic private correspondence of the nineteenth century has been shown to be associated mainly with the writing of less skilled and typically less schooled encoders, whose linguistic insecurity would manifest itself in a lack of epistolary creativity (Dossena 2007, 2008b, Elspaß 2012, Laitinen – Nordlund 2012). As such, formulaic usages would be condemned as “old-fashioned” in letter-writing guides (Elspaß 2012: 55), stigmatising, as a result, these less capable encoders, who would be labelled as

<sup>23</sup> These statements echo those made by Defoe on “Tradesman’s stile” more than a century earlier: “a Tradesman’s letters should be plain, concise, and to the purpose; no quaint expressions, no book-phrases, no flourishes; and yet they must be full and sufficient to express what he means, so as not to be doubtful, much less unintelligible” (Defoe 1727: 19, quoted in Myers 2003: 376).

linguistically inferior. However, linguistic formulaicity in the correspondence of a public kind (e.g., institutional or business correspondence) has to be approached from a different perspective. For example, in nineteenth-century institutional contexts, the ongoing “routinisation of the clerical work on correspondence” meant that lower clerks were responsible for reworking their superiors’ notes into actual letters by adding the formulae, as well as the epistolary frame (Włodarczyk 2015: 161-162). In this light, the routinised nature of written institutional as well as business communication (Dossena 2008a, Włodarczyk 2013), makes this type of writing activity distinctively specialised and inaccessible for non-experts<sup>24</sup>. In other words, while the extensive usage of formulae in private letters of poorly skilled encoders betrayed their little experience of epistolary writing, correspondence clerks showed their competence as encoders of institutional letters by structuring letters through the use of appropriate formulae.

Very fittingly, then, in their explanatory notes both Millhouse and Cann drew their readers’ attention to the conventions of the English commercial style by glossing different types of multi-unit lexical items, in addition to individual technical terms. However, as this study has shown, the two authors made different decisions when it came to the selection of the items and the ways the glosses were realised. This indicates that Millhouse and Cann relied mainly on their extraordinary linguistic intuitions<sup>25</sup> as to what kind of linguistic features of the English commercial style of writing had to be taught to their EFL learners in nineteenth-century Italy.

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<sup>24</sup> This is in line with what has been demonstrated for present-day institutional settings, where, as Drew – Heritage (1992) have noted, the use of specialised lexis by professional speakers takes on the function of “display[ing] expertise in a particular domain and thus orient[ing] themselves and their audiences to the institutional context” (Crawford Camiciottoli 2007: 127).

<sup>25</sup> I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their insightful and helpful comments, and especially one of them, whose remark on the authors’ intuitions I am paraphrasing here.

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Address: POLINA SHVANYUKOVA, Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Studi Interculturali, University of Florence, Via S. Reparata 93, 50129 Firenze (Italy).

ORCID code: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002--1684-4414>.

# **The method and practice of translational stylistics**

John Douthwaite

*Università degli Studi di Genova*

## ABSTRACT

This paper deals with how translation should be approached in the classroom and why. It argues in favour of a stylistic approach which allows for a full comprehension of a text and the devices by which meaning is conveyed in the text so that the 'best' equivalent translation may be found. In order to illustrate the process two Italian translations of a Joycean extract are examined to determine in certain instances what meanings the translators conveyed and how these compare to the meanings in the source text. Hypotheses are advanced as to why certain solutions were adopted in the light of translation theory.

Keywords: stylistics, translation, equivalence, meaning, complexity.

## **1. Translation theory**

### **1.1 The complexity of human communication**

Communication is a complex, multifaceted phenomenon, even with the simplest of utterances. Take this decontextualized example:

*What on earth are you doing, boy!*

Despite the absence of context, conjuring up viable interpretations presents no cognitive difficulty even to those not versed in linguistic theory. One of the most important linguistic indicators is the vocative "boy", as this immediately helps build context. Addressing another individual as "boy" presupposes that the speaker who has selected this linguistic form of address is an adult for it carries the social message of the speaker's 'superiority' with regard

to the condition of the hearer. The first important lesson to be drawn from this consideration is that there are many different types of meaning – “boy” employed as a vocative conveys social meaning which is far more important in this exchange than the conceptual meaning that it expresses, (i.e. ‘young male member of the species’), the latter constituting what the so-called man-in-the-street is generally believed to understand by the word “meaning”.

To make this distinction clear, let us examine the syntax of the utterance (U). The grammatical form is that of an interrogative, yet the communicative meaning the hearer infers from the U is not that of asking a question but of ordering, reprimanding, and perhaps even threatening. This interpretation is justified by the speaker-writer’s deployment of two further linguistic devices.

First, the use of an exclamation mark. This graphological mark performs three functions. Firstly, it denies the conceptual meaning that the U is a question, otherwise a question mark would have been employed. Secondly, it indicates the presence of an intonation pattern (in this case a falling tone rather than a rising tone), which again negates the function of the U as being that of a question. The function of this marked intonation pattern is to confirm the three functions, or illocutionary forces, identified above: ordering, reprimanding, threatening. Thirdly, it also supports the hypothesis that the U also expresses surprise and anger. In other words, after ideational and social meaning, we have uncovered a third dimension to “the meaning of meaning” (Ogden – Richards 1923): emotional, psychological meaning, or the conveyance of mental and emotional states and attitudes. We have at the same time discovered that Us can be (and usually are) multifunctional – they can bear more than one illocutionary force and more than one perlocutionary force concurrently. We have also ascertained that the ‘meanings’ identified so far are all non-literal, since the literal meaning, or locutionary force, would have been that of asking a question (that is to say, asking for information). Note also that Austin’s (1962) theory of speech acts, which draws a distinction between locutionary force (literal meaning), illocutionary force (speaker meaning) and perlocutionary force (the effect the speaker desires to produce in the hearer through the use of the specific U) widens further the horizon of “the meaning of meaning”.

The second linguistic device bolstering the interpretation of the U as conveying both conceptual meaning and emotional meaning is the use of the ‘polite’ expletive “on earth”. The ‘politeness’ of the expletive provides further social information as to the identity of the speaker and as to the nature of the interpersonal relationship between the two interactants.

Let us return to context. One hypothesis that immediately springs to mind (the implicature that has optimal relevance for the present writer, in Sperber – Wilson’s [1995] terms) is that the speaker is a teacher and the hearer a student who is doing something wrong, such as cheating during an examination. Hence what the teacher is saying, or, to be more precise, implying/conveying, (i.e. the explicature, in Sperber – Wilson’s terminology), is ‘You are a bad boy, you must stop copying, you will be punished if you don’t stop copying, I am surprised and angered by your bad behaviour’.

Two new aspects may now be identified. First, the U concurrently evaluates the behavioral act it attempts to stop (“bad boy”, or reprimand). Second, the evaluation is a social phenomenon, since the type of value judgment expressed depends on the speaker’s values, which are socially determined by the society s/he lives in (acquired through socialisation and maintained by internal and external restraints – conscience and the law). Language cannot thus be separated from the culture and social structure in which it is produced.

This latter point can be demonstrated quite simply by probing the social picture further. For a given speech act to be “felicitous”, (viz. successful), certain felicity conditions must be satisfied, otherwise the act is “null and void” (Austin 1962: 25). In the case of imparting an order, conditions such as the speaker’s right to give the order and the hearer’s duty to obey the order are crucial. This may be demonstrated by changing the contextual parameters. Were the speaker to be a fellow student, then the illocutionary forces would change to warning or advising and justifying his warning: “Stop copying – if the teacher sees you, you will be thrown out of the exam!” Stated differently, felicity conditions are determined by the nature of the speech act and of the context. The change of contextual parameters demonstrates the manifold interpretations that might be given to a U, and hence the ambiguity inherent in language.

So far we have talked about a single, decontextualized utterance (since in my interpretation the context was inferred). However, Us are interconnected and together they compose texts. The way they are connected and the structure of individual texts provide further meaning. Intratextuality and intertextuality are two aspects of such meaning. In Conrad’s novel *Nostromo*, in a flash forward which occurs at a relatively early stage in the novel, we are informed that the revolution described is a failure. This then enables the reader to judge in a critical light the words and actions of the characters that follow the flash-forward. Thus when they make their great speeches about liberty and justice, the reader knows these are hollow.

In this brief introduction, I have attempted to show that communication is extremely complex, that every U may convey numerous meanings, different types of meanings, and that Us have to be linked to the context of utterance and to co-texts if we are to 'extract' the 'full meaning' of a U, and a myriad of other factors such as intertextuality, social structure and to culture.

## 1.2 Translating and teaching translation

What we can take away from our discussion so far is that competent translation requires an awareness of as many intra-utterance and intra-textual meanings as possible. A translator must possess the analytical skills required to identify all the linguistic devices at work in a text and then calculate how they produce the effects (meanings) which the reader understands (or the author wishes the reader to understand). Consequently, the translator must also be able to account for the effect (or reaction) the author wishes to exert on the reader before he begins to attempt a translation.

Unsurprisingly, the translator has a difficult job to do. The daunting task described above is rendered impossible by the non-isomorphism of languages, since this latter phenomenon impedes the achievement of perfect equivalence. The target language does not possess exactly the same linguistic devices as the source language, and even where the two languages do possess nearly identical resources the effect those resources produce (the meanings they convey) may not necessarily be identical (linguistic relativity). Hence the need for compensatory strategies. The problem is exacerbated by differences being attributable not simply to linguistic relativity, but also to cultural relativity, another almost insurmountable obstacle to equivalence in many cases.

Turning to actual translation practices, some genres might prove a shade easier than others. Medical texts come to mind given their comparatively restricted language range, restricted concepts and restricted communicative functions or goals. However, technical, scientific texts where such criteria apply are only part of the translation universe. When we come to literary texts, advertising texts, legal texts, then the complexity is formidable.

Translation practice is also affected by market practice. Some publishing companies want a text which is readily digestible, where the complications of the target text are avoided. This is especially true of literary texts. Hence translators are 'encouraged' to domesticate.

This brings us to the problem of teaching translation. This is a universe in itself. The considerations offered below are 'direct consequences' of the

discussion of translational stylistics<sup>1</sup>. They therefore need to be set within a full analytical framework of the teaching of translation, a venture which is well beyond the scope of this article. I direct readers' attention to Cortese (1995, 1996) who deals with such issues in some depth. I now return to the limited comments pertinent to my own investigation.

Given the complexity of meaning and the non-isomorphism of language, would-be translators need to be trained in interpreting texts and then rendering them in the target language with the greatest 'accuracy' possible, that is to say, with the highest level of equivalence possible. Though domestication will also be a target skill, foreignization will be the general skill aimed at. To do so, rich texts must be employed. This principle makes literary texts and advertising texts prime material for classroom use.

The following section will thus take the beginning of a short story from *Dubliners*, ("The Boarding House", in Joyce 1914), and examine how two of the many Italian translations available have dealt with the source text. An attempt will be made to identify not simply the losses and gains in translation, and to evaluate the results, but also to try to understand why the translator adopted the solution which s/he opted for.

## 2. Translation practice

### 2.1 The preparatory stylistic analysis

First students are invited to analyse the passage and then translate it before the lesson. Translation forces them to re-examine their interpretation as well as acquire training in finding the best possible equivalences. Next, in class a preliminary stylistic analysis is made of points which the teacher deems essential to interpretation. The two major aims of this operation are to ensure 'correct' (tenable) and profound interpretations are being advanced together with the identification of the linguistic devices supporting those interpretations, and, of especial importance, to make those points that might well not emerge from a sentence-by-sentence translation come to the surface, with particular attention being devoted to issues related to culture and society, specifically when the teacher suspects student knowledge in that domain might be insufficient or not activated spontaneously. The words highlighted in the source text below, (the first paragraph of "The Boarding

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<sup>1</sup> On stylistics see Douthwaite (2000); Jeffries – McIntyre (2010); and Short (1996).

House" by James Joyce), have been specifically selected with this purpose in mind. An exhaustive analysis is not undertaken since this would lead to duplication when dealing with the two target translations and the students' own solutions, with a consequent loss in motivation and attention.

One final point concerns the selection of the source text. One cogent reason for choosing *Dubliners* is that the stories and the language appear to be simplicity itself. Joyce, like many great writers, is deceptively simple. Great care needs to be taken when dealing with such a writer, again justifying the need for exhaustive stylistic analysis of the text, as illustrated below, when teaching translation so as to make students aware that much more is happening in the text than would first appear.

[1] **MRS. MOONEY** WAS a butcher's **daughter**. [2] **She** was a **woman** who was quite able to keep things to herself: a determined **woman**. [3] **She** had married her father's foreman and opened a butcher's shop near Spring Gardens. [4] **But** as soon as his father-in-law was dead **Mr. Mooney** began to go to the devil. [5] **He** drank, plundered the till, ran headlong into debt. [6] **It** was no use making **him** take the pledge: **he** was sure to break out again a few days after. [7] By fighting **his wife** in the presence of customers and by buying bad meat **he** ruined **his** business. [8] One night **he** went for his **wife** with the cleaver and **she** had to sleep at a neighbour's house.

First of all, it will be noted that the first part of the passage is 'dominated' by the wife (signaled in bold type). In the three sentences which constitute this sub-section, the wife is the theme of the U in all three cases and occupies the end focus slot in two Us out of three. Significantly, Mrs Mooney is introduced and identified by her functional role: wife. This immediately introduces the central main theme of the text, gender relations. Since introducing a character by title and surname is standard practice, then missing this point is extremely easy. This example thus provides a first demonstration of the importance of stylistic analysis prior to translating any text. By contrast, the husband is mentioned only once, significantly not by name but by occupational status and by 'possession' ("her father's foreman), and performing the role of goal of the (metaphorical) material process, the result of being 'owned' by the father. Such signals as these indicate Mooney's 'inferiority' in the story, thus beginning to build the readerly position with regard to the characters.

The fourth sentence begins with contrastive "but", signaling the beginning of the second section, with the husband (signaled in bold italics) taking over the role of agent (and grammatical subject) in all the sentences

bar U6, where the grammatical subject is realized by impersonal “it” and Mr Mooney plays the role of goal. However, this syntactic-pragmatic exception is no exception when one considers that all the Us connote Mooney negatively and that “it” is actually a dummy subject hiding the ‘real’ subject (Mrs Mooney being implicitly referred to and so ‘repressed’). Indeed, Mooney is introduced as “Mr Mooney” in U4 to parallel “Mrs Mooney” in U1, hence setting up the contrast between the two characters. Mrs Mooney regains the role of grammatical subject and functional theme (Halliday – Matthiessen: 2004) in the final clause in the paragraph – the third, albeit brief, section. Significantly, as we shall see, this is a clause conjoined by the coordinating conjunction with the previous clause where the husband still occupies thematic position “and”, thereby putting the two people on an equal footing, syntactically speaking, while the illocutionary force of the conjunction is to introduce the effect of the cause described in the preceding clause. This interpretation is borne out by the use of the modal “had to”.

The preceding analysis involves two crucial points: co-text and (cultural) context. First of all, the opening paragraph exhibits a three-part movement. In the first part, Mrs Mooney dominates, in the second part Mr Mooney dominates, as the emphasized constituents immediately bring to our attention. Highly significant is the brusque change from Mrs Mooney as theme in the first three Us to Mr Mooney, brusque because U4 appears to break the Gricean maxim of relation (Grice 1989). The logical, thematic (ie. conceptual) link between U3 and U4 is not immediately transparent. In order to read between the lines, we need to identify the cultural framework which provides the background information necessary to draw the implications the text contains. Ireland was a patriarchal, Catholic society. Hence we find the initiative is taken originally by Mrs Mooney, who has the power because she is the daughter of the owner of the business and which power she exerts by selecting a husband.

However, the presence of strong contrastive “but” in sentence-initial position in U4 begins to explain that she can exert this power only by dint of being the daughter of the owner, for, as the first clause explains, as soon as her father dies, power is transferred to the *pater familias*. Two crucial linguistic phenomena support this reading. First, Mooney becomes theme and agent of the following Us. Second, verb tenses and the time marker in U4: “as soon as” “was dead” and “began”. Standard tenses following temporal “as soon as” would be past perfect plus past simple, a *consecutio temporum* which ‘separates’ or distances the two actions. Instead, the deployment of exactly the same tense – past simple – together with the specific temporal expression employed creates an effect virtually of simultaneity. This subtle

play creates the implications that while Mrs Mooney chose her husband, the future Mr Mooney bowed down to power, deliberately biding his time, because he knew that, (culturally speaking), once the old man had gone, he would be the boss. Hence the linguistic features that have just been listed and the negativity expressed by all the sentences in the second section: Mr Mooney is being evaluated extremely negatively as an opportunist, and rightly so, since he will ruin his family through squandering the money his opportunism brings him. Evoking such a strongly negative reaction in the reader is of paramount importance for when we read the rest of the story and discover Mrs Mooney's grievous faults (for the time), (namely, arranging her daughter to marry Doran by allowing her to have sexual intercourse with him outside the bond of marriage and then forcing him into a shotgun wedding), given the family situation and given the historical fact that the male is the breadwinner and the local or contextual fact that Mary is not like her mother and will be incapable of looking after herself as can her mother, we readers do not condemn Mrs Mooney so much as the society which produces such people, which I hypothesise is one of Joyce's major goals.

Through this analysis, we have established the importance of co-text, context and culture. This analysis is confirmed by the final clause in the paragraph (section three). Here, as we have said, Mrs Mooney begins to take back the power she had lost. In this clause she merely reacts defensively by abandoning the house. But this already constitutes (socio-cultural) rebellion, the assertion of the (female) self. Again co-text will provide confirmation, for in the next paragraph she will go to the priest and obtain a "divorce" – a highly radical act challenging traditional male hegemony. Stated differently, we immediately interpret the story as one of gender relations and power in the Irish society of the time and Joyce's critique of such a society, and not as the personal history of a handful of individuals. Without prior stylistic analysis, many of these points might well be missed in translating sentence by sentence. The result could be mis-translation. Furthermore, as will be shown immediately in the analysis of U1, when a literal or near-literal or apparently near-literal translation is available, the reader/translator is less likely to stop and think about possible implications, especially so in the case of the translator who has a job to complete in a limited time span. But such implications are important for they may well, and usually do, affect the remaining co-text<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> One cogent example which will be dealt with occurs in U8 when translating "a neighbour's house".

The interpretation also brings to light a central problem that will be encountered in translation. As Italian is a pro-drop language, then Joyce's play on gender achieved through the use of lexis and syntax (thematic position, end focus, agent-patient, pronoun and possessive adjectives) is threatened and what will be lost because of the difference between the two languages must be compensated for<sup>3</sup>.

Returning to classroom practice, attention must initially be drawn to style, which is informal, conversational, since before starting a translation, the translator must decide the type of translation s/he is going to produce, and then ensure all her/his linguistic selections conform to her/his selected solution, unless, of course, the style changes in the ST.

## 2.2 The stylistic analysis of the two translations.

At this stage we proceed by examining the target translations sentence by sentence followed by asking students if they can equal or improve on two highly reputable translations, the first by Attilio Brilli (1998), the second by Daniele Benati (2013). In the Us that follow, E = English source text, I = Italian target text.

- (1) U1  
 E MRS. MOONEY WAS a butcher's daughter.  
 I1 Mrs Mooney era figlia di un macellaio.  
 I2 Mrs Mooney era la figlia di un macellaio.

The sentence is seemingly transparent and straightforward thanks to its brevity, its linguistic construction and its lack of complex conceptual content. Furthermore, the syntactic structure available in the target language appears to be so close to that of the source language that little deep thought seems to be required to produce an 'equivalent' in the target language. There seems to be nothing to reflect on.

This impression is instantly belied by the sole difference between the two translations, the presence in I2 of the definite article "la" ("the") and its absence in I1. This should immediately alert us to implicatures. The question that should be asked is the (Gricean) relevance of U1 to the text. Why is the protagonist introduced/presented as wife and as the daughter of a butcher, that is to say by categorial features, (the functional category of butcher and

<sup>3</sup> The example "a neighbour's house" is again pertinent – see fn. 2 above.

the relational categories of wife and daughter – Van Leeuwen 1966), and not by individual human features? The reader thus immediately retrieves his knowledge of the world about butchers from long-term memory, conjuring up the image of a butcher – prototypically a big, strong, purposeful man. The implicature (or relevance) of U1 is that Mrs Mooney possesses some of the ‘salient’ characteristics of her father, the butcher. As we will learn shortly, (co-text), the main feature she shares with her father, since it will determine Mrs Mooney’s behaviour throughout the story, is that of a strong, active, resolute character, one which is more ‘properly’ associated with the male than with the female in the society of the time. In other terms, the story starts with a social portrait of a female non-conformist. A second feature, which we will pick up later in U3, is the association of protectiveness with ‘big’ and ‘strong’.

In I2, one viable interpretation of the inclusion of the definite article “la” is that it renders the portrait that of a specific human individual. A further ambiguity that the inclusion of the article in Italian gives rise to is that it has the potential to imply that that particular person (the butcher) had more than one child and that Mrs Mooney was his only daughter. In contrast, the suppression of the definite article in I1 renders the picture a purely categorial one, as in the source text (ST), without any implications as to any other possible member of the family.

What is crucial here is not so much that I2 is ambiguous, but that that ambiguity goes against the much deeper implications my interpretation of the ST gives rise to, since my basic contention is that the theme of the story is not the psychological portrait of a single individual, but the social issue of gender and power in the family (and in the wider society) in Ireland in Joyce’s time. If this contention is correct, then the version without the article is to be preferred to guide the reader more steadfastly towards the social interpretation of the story. Such implicatures, I repeat, are all too easy to miss if a prior stylistic analysis is not carried out. The final lesson to be drawn from this example that I wish to stress is that the extreme complexity and subtlety of language use is instantly attested to by the ‘mere’ presence or absence of an article, one of the ‘humblest’ constituents of the language system.

(2) U2

E She was a woman who was quite able to keep things to herself: a determined woman.

I1 Era una donna che sapeva il fatto suo, una donna senza dubbio risoluta.

I2 Abile a tener per sé le proprie faccende, era una donna determinata.

With this second U the translator's life becomes immediately much more difficult. We note two radically different translations, both of which differ noticeably from the ST. The first point to observe concerns graphology. Joyce is extremely punctilious in his use of this symbolising device, creating subtle nuances of meaning through its deployment. In the case at hand Joyce's use of the colon is surprisingly discarded by both translators. The colon in the ST starkly divides the sentence into two parts. The first part is long. The second part is short, hence foregrounded by its brevity, which in turn is rendered even more perceptually salient by the colon, hence signalled as important information. Significantly, the information regards Mrs Mooney's character, for "determined" implies a strong character, as hypothesised above with reference to U1. Hence U2 represents a 'logical' continuation of the conceptual theme introduced by U1, and a confirmation of the interpretation offered of U1. Turning to the specific content of U2, the illocutionary force of the first clause is that of describing a specific feature of Mrs Mooney's character. The illocutionary force of the second clause is that of making a higher-level generalisation about Mrs Mooney's character which is confirmed by the specific instantiation predicated by the preceding clause.

The lack of a colon in the target texts alters the pragmatic relationship between the two clauses. Turning exclusively to syntax, I1 and the ST are almost equivalent, since they both consist of two main clauses, the second of which is syntactically imperfect thanks to the ellipsis of subject and verb (with the subject having been 'dropped' in the Italian translation). However, in I1, due to the suppression of the colon, replaced by a comma, the second clause pragmatically constitutes a continuation of the first clause: the addition of a second and therefore independent character trait. The hierarchy between the two clauses of the ST and the relationship of illustration-generalisation of the ST are thus lost. Consequently, the force of "determined" – that key character trait which keeps Mrs Mooney going in the face of the great adversity recounted in the story – is considerably diminished.

However, I1 attempts to recover the lost force through the use of two compensatory strategies. The first is the exploitation of Italian syntax which enables the translator to place "risoluta" in strong end focus position. The second is the addition of the prepositional "senza dubbio". As well as its semantic function as intensifier, the prepositional phrase also plays on alliteration to draw attention to the concept. However, as we shall see five paragraphs below, this second point is not really a gain at all.

The syntactic structure of I2 differs radically from the ST, since it is realised by a verbless subordinate clause followed by a perfectly-formed main

clause – the opposite construction of the Joycean U. Thus, the information in the first clause is flagged by the grammar as being less important than that in the main clause, which is not true of the ST, where the information in both clauses is signalled as very important. I2 attempts to mimic the structure of the source by employing ellipsis, as in the original, though shifting this syntactic feature to the first clause. As with I1, the resulting pragmatic effect appears to be more one of addition.

The pro-drop feature of Italian immediately emerges with great force. The ST begins with “she” in graphologically first and functionally thematic position, as well as realising the grammatical function of subject of the sentence. The lexeme “woman” appears in end focus, and is thereby signalled as important information. We also find “woman” as the fourth word in the sentence. It is redundant, or repetitive, since U1 contains the items “Mrs Mooney” and “daughter” and U2 begins with “she”, leaving no doubt as to gender identity. Hence, had Joyce wished to respect the canons laid down by the classic style manuals, he could have varied quite simply by replacing the lexical item “woman” with the lexeme “person”. Redundancy is also important with regard to the second, brief, clause, for Joyce could have opted for something like “she was determined”. He could even have reduced the two clauses to one, as in: ‘she was a determined woman who was quite able to keep things to herself’, eliminating one instantiation of “woman”. In addition to confirming the importance of the gender factor conveyed by the repetition of the gender markers, brevity, redundancy and graphological foregrounding also mean that “a” and “woman” constitute given information. Indeed, the only new information in the second clause is the premodifier “determined”. This again constitutes foregrounding (Douthwaite 2000) for, by dint of constituting new information, the premodifier in the noun phrase becomes more important than the head of that phrase, the head normatively constituting the most important constituent of a phrase. By such linguistic devices Joyce is able to have his cake and eat it. He manages to stress both concepts: “woman” – gender – and “determined” – the socially ‘inappropriate’ character-feature. Clearly, the loss of the subject in Italian weakens this effect.

Instead, in I2, the deployment of ellipsis of the verb “era” enables the translator to place “abile” in thematic position. Since it constitutes a marked theme and is graphologically salient, the concept receives great emphasis. Thus, placing “abile” in thematic position and “risoluto” in end focus constitute compensatory strategies in which the two terms receive equal stress. I2 would thus seem to recover more of the ‘original meaning’ of the source text. However, the structure used eliminates one instance of “donna”.

From syntax we turn to lexis. The English lexeme “quite” can mean anything from ‘hardly’ (almost nil) to ‘extremely’ (almost all), depending on intonation, volume, pitch, collocation, co-text, context. Thus, depending on the way the linguistic devices are deployed in context, a teacher handing back an essay to a student and accompanying the action with the words and appropriate intonational pattern ‘That’s quite good’ might mean anything from ‘that’s not very good at all’, to ‘it’s alright’, to ‘it’s very good indeed’. In the target text, “quite” represents a very strong intensifier. Italian does not possess a satisfactory equivalent and we see the two translators struggling with the problem.

In I1 the translator has employed “*senza dubbio*”, but he has also moved the item from the first clause to the second. It thus appears to act as a compensatory strategy employed to reinforce the gender references lost in Italian due to the absence of the subject pronoun occupying informationally strong thematic position in the Joycean text. This hypothesis is bolstered by a second compensatory mechanism, the intensive play on alliteration: initial letter “d” in “*donna*”, “*donna*”, “*dubbio*”; and the “s” sound in “*sapeva*”, “*suo*” “*senza*”, “*risoluta*”. One imagines this device was opted for since alliteration is a foregrounding mechanism heavily deployed by Joyce to a variety of communicative ends, hence a ‘Joycean style’ is maintained.

However, moving the prepositional phrase “*senza dubbio*” to the second clause leaves the adjective phrase “*abile*” (“capable”) without its intensifying premodifier. Thus ellipsis to place “*abile*” in marked theme position may be seen as a strategy compensating the loss of the intensifier, weakening the subordinate clause and strengthening the main clause.

I2 ‘solves’ the problem of “quite” by simply ignoring its existence. However, Translator 2 also employs “*donna determinata*” thus exploiting both alliteration and end focus, though it is the adjective that is in end focus and not the head noun, given the syntax of Italian. Through the employment of such linguistic devices I2 manages to keep some of the strength of the original gender markers. However, this effect is weakened by the fact that I2 eliminates one of the instantiations of “*donna*”.

Before continuing, a word on loss and compensation. As the textbooks tell us, an attempt at getting across all the ‘meanings’ contained in a U by finding a perfect equivalent is generally impossible due to linguistic and cultural relativity. Hence the use of compensatory strategies. Given the complexity and multifunctionality of utterances, translation will naturally entail gains and losses. Since language is not a mathematical system, no objective weighting can be given to the constituent meaning components

of any given U in context in order to calculate in an 'objective', 'mechanical' or 'automatic' fashion which is the 'best' solution. Were this possible, one could envisage the machine taking over from the human translator. The solution to be adopted is thus up to the translator, and will depend, in the first instance on his interpretation of the ST which will guide him in deciding which aspects are more important than others and which must therefore be retained in translation when weighing up the gains and losses. As the old saying goes, 'ye pays ye money and ye takes ye choice', and I would add, you hope the critics do not go for their guns. When teaching translation, mistakes must, of course, be pointed out, but when actually evaluating translations, the impossibility of equivalence and the nature of communication mean that it is infrequent to be able to openly and bluntly declare that certain expressions are 'right' or 'wrong', unless the translator is incompetent, for generally, there are so many factors involved that what is 'right' becomes at times a moot point, as the preceding discussion on "risoluta" and "determinata" illustrates. What is therefore important is not whether my comments/interpretations are right or wrong, but bringing to light the entire cognitive process of identifying the message in the ST and the linguistic means deployed to convey that message and the considerations/evaluations involved in the process of converting the message and means into the target language.

Returning to a discussion of the translations, I2 opts for "le proprie faccende" ("her own business/affairs") for "things". The original expression is the embodiment of vagueness, whereas the Italian translation is decidedly specific, limiting Mrs Mooney's ability of self-control to her own affairs. Now, one might argue that a) if you can exercise self-control over your own affairs, you can exercise control over all affairs, and b) to be able to control you own affairs you have to know everybody's affairs. While these two arguments might be conceded, what I believe Joyce is implying by the use of a generic term is that Mrs Mooney keeps her mouth well and truly shut (to again put the matter bluntly), in contrast to the gossip who reveals nothing about his own affairs but who shouts everything he thinks he knows (or invents) about others from the rooftops. Again, this might be considered quibbling. What is at stake, however, is effect in text and context. A person like Mrs Mooney who keeps all her knowledge secret is less likely to make enemies than the gossip, and more likely to build herself (or himself) a solid reputation of strength and reliability. This has direct practical consequences (in the text and in real life). For instance, when Doran goes down to discuss "reparation" with Mrs Mooney on the fateful Sunday morning, this inadequate being

just doesn't stand a snowball in hell's chance against this truly formidable woman, for her ability "to keep things to herself" is one of those character traits that renders her so daunting.

(3) U3

E She had married her father's foreman and opened a butcher's shop near Spring Gardens.

I1 Aveva sposato il garzone del padre e messo su una macelleria dalle parti di Spring Gardens.

I2 Aveva sposato il capo lavorante di suo padre e aperto una macelleria nei pressi di Spring Gardens.

U3 provides further evidence of the need for prior stylistic analysis. The lexical verb 'to marry' in English and its equivalent 'sposare' in Italian used 'normally' carry the meaning that 'A got married to B' without implying agency, that is to say, without implying A is deliberately and consciously acting upon the world, which is the meaning that a material process generally carries, as in the expression 'A kicked B', where B is the goal acted upon by A and does not have the power/opportunity to affect A's action, (otherwise he would presumably have avoided the kick). Instead, the various linguistic and non-linguistic factors listed in 2.1 above when discussing this U signify that in this specific case, Joyce intended the use of the material process exactly as carrying out its prototypical functions. That is to say, the implicature is that Mrs Mooney was the agent, it was she who chose her future spouse. The latter is reduced simply to role of goal of the material process.

Further evidence in support of the interpretation comes from alliteration ("father's foreman) indicating that she selected her father's top man, namely the best, most skillful worker. Note the parallelism that Mooney too is introduced not by personal identity but by categorial, functional identity. The further implication is quite simple: since it is the male who is the bread-winner, Mrs Mooney chose not the most handsome or charming male available (to her), but, in obedience to the cultural norms of the time, the man who, in theory, represented the best bet for making a good income producer to protect the family.

Confirmation of this hypothesis is furnished immediately, (exploitation of the Gricean manner maxim, sub-maxim: be orderly), by "opened a butcher's shop" (exploitation of the Gricean maxim of relation). Had the man been a clerk, then it seems improbable that the couple would have opened a butcher's shop. One might also note the subtle point that, although

at a superficial reading one might not apply the prototypical Hallidayan analysis of the material process to “had married”, this fact – together with deletion through ellipsis (viz. “and [she had] opened a butcher’s shop” and NOT [“they had] opened”) – hides the further facts that the subject of “opened” is Mrs Mooney, and that in this case the lexical verb exhibits all the prototypical features of the material process: first and foremost that Mrs Mooney is the agent, and a very active one since she is the one who decides to open the shop. However, from this we further infer that Mrs Mooney’s father is the one who supplied the cash to open that shop! Again money, (cf. the surname “Mooney”), power and gender are to the forefront – the social picture is primary. This hypothesis takes us back to U1 where I hypothesised that the lexeme “butcher” would trigger the retrieval of the image of a big, strong man, one who protects his kin, which is precisely what he does in providing the money for his daughter and son-in-law to open a business. The final point is that my interpretation of U3 is also bolstered by co-text. Namely, we apply the Gricean maxim of manner, sub-maxim be orderly to interpret “marry” as a prototypical material process because it follows immediately on from “determined woman” in the previous sentence. U3 exemplifies one of Mrs Mooney’s ‘acts of determination’, so to speak.

Now the translational issue that arises is that a literal translation – “aveva sposato” and “e aperto una macelleria” – produce ‘perfect equivalents’, hence a translator who has not performed a prior stylistic analysis might miss the interpretative points that have just been made. One might object that this does not matter since the translation is perfect. This objection can be easily parried, since this argument entails forgetting co-text and context and the macro-interpretation of the story and its relationship to the other stories in *Dubliners*. If one overlooks certain constituents of a text because a literal translation produces a viable equivalent, then one might overlook those same features when they occur again in the text. Of this fact we have already had cogent proof – the inclusion of the definite article in U1 of I2 undermined the social nature of the story.

Although the literal translation is possible for significant parts of the U, there are nevertheless some instructive observations to make. The most important concerns the translation of the noun phrase “her father’s foreman”. The most important aspect is the translation of the possessive adjective “her”. I2 translates this literally with “suo”. Instead I1 eschews a literal translation with the rendering “del padre”, which is made possible by the absence of the Saxon genitive in Italian. This form has a distancing effect which produces a negative evaluation. Since the U is written as narration (see the modes

of speech and thought presentation in Semino and Short 2004), then the evaluator must be the heterodiegetic narrator (the default interpretation). Now although it cannot be denied that Mooney is a hapless male, so far Joyce's text has performed no evaluation of him. Indeed, as we have seen, the next U begins with contrastive "But" and introduces a concentration of negative value judgments on his person. However, it does so when Mooney is the theme (both Hallidayan and conceptual) of that part of the text. Hence, by employing a distancing mechanism, the translator is introducing a feature not present in the ST. Indeed, the value judgement would be ill-placed because the first section (Us 1-3) shows Mrs Mooney planning her future and taking the required action for her 'dreams to come true'. At that point in story time and in text time Mrs Mooney is unaware of her future husband's 'true character' and the game he is playing. Including the value judgement would therefore undermine Mrs Mooney's hopes by implicitly negating them (through the negative evaluation) and would consequently undermine the three-part structure of the opening: i) Mrs Mooney acting to further her future as best she can, ii) her husband ruining the business, iii) Mrs Mooney reacting to save her family from total disaster. The importance of stylistic analysis prior to translation emerges most forcefully yet again.

The translator of I1 exacerbates the situation by translating "foreman" with the term "garzone" ('butcher's boy'), which has two serious drawbacks. First, it downgrades Mooney's occupational status, demoting Mooney to the lowest of Mrs Mooney's father's workers, thereby vilifying both the man and the daughter. Second it eliminates the base 'man' in the ST lexeme "foreman", removing Joyce's subtle irony regarding Mooney's manliness. Instead, Joyce prefers Mooney to damn himself with his own hands in the second section, and for a very good reason, one which emerges forcefully, in *Dubliners*, the problem of drink (Douthwaite 2008; Lloyd 2000). Joyce highlights the problem by not 'contaminating' it with any other issue. This indicates just how serious he considers the problem to be, linked as it is to manhood (Valente 2004), personal independence and national independence, both political and economic, hence to Ireland's 'postcolonial' situation (Cheng 1995; Nolan 2000).

This tactic of demeaning the future Mr Mooney, and consequently Mrs Mooney too, is realised twice more in I1 through two informal lexical selections: "messo su" ('put up') for "opened" and "dalle parti di" for "near". Low (viz. informal) language equals low status (viz. a negative value judgement).

I2 avoids such negative evaluation by employing literal “aperto” for “opened” and the more formal expression “nei pressi di” for “near”. With regard to “foreman”, I2 employs “capo lavorante” (‘head worker’). While “capo” (‘head’, ‘boss’) does not diminish status, “lavorante” is a direct indicator of subordination which “foreman” has to a far lesser extent, since the root of the Italian lexeme (‘lavorare’) explicitly indicates that person works rather than just commanding. Instead, the main function of the ‘foreman’ is to oversee, to command.

This brings up a general translational point. If a foreignising strategy has been decided on, and the translation attempts to achieve the highest degree of equivalence possible, then this includes the reproduction of the rich implicational, indirect style deployed by Joyce. Hence, making explicit what is implicit in the ST is unacceptable.

And there is, of course, good reason to opt for respect of the ST. One of the functions of literature is social, namely developing the personality to the full by offering situations to the reader to which he must apply his critical faculties. The reader is invited to think, to think for himself and to evaluate. If, therefore, indirectness is of the essence to achieve this goal, then ‘normalising’, ‘domesticating’, ‘facilitating’, call it what you wish, goes against this function. It must therefore be avoided.

On a general level, both translations miss the alliteration (“father’s foreman”) (through no fault of their own) which together with the possessive adjective indirectly draws attention to the fact that the future husband is a subordinate, a possession of Mrs Mooney’s father, a condition which Mrs Mooney wishes to continue in the ways society permits, as is implied by Us 1-3. This again draws attention indirectly to the problem of subordination and more in general to postcolonialism<sup>4</sup>. The importance of intratextuality and culture again come to the fore.

One final point concerns the name of the area where the Mooneys open their new shop: “Spring Gardens”. In presumably an attempt at foreignising, both translators leave the name in the source language. Unfortunately, this does not help the Italian reader who does not know English or who simply believes the name has not been translated to give the impression of authenticity. Her/his expectations will lead him astray and s/he will investigate no further, a ‘mistake’ since both parts of the name are symbolic: “spring” symbolises birth or rebirth while “gardens” suggests flowering,

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, Farrington, another alcoholic, in “Counterparts” – Douthwaite (2008).

blooming, namely life reaching its culmination. Hence the name is, ironically again, one of hope for the life the newly-weds are about to embark on.

(4) U4

E But as soon as his father-in-law was dead Mr. Mooney began to go to the devil.

I1 Ma quando morì il suocero, Mr Mooney cominciò ad andare a rotoli.

I2 Ma subito dopo la morte del suocero, Mr Mooney aveva iniziato a prendere una cattiva piega.

Hope is instantly dashed by contrastive “but” which takes us into the second section of the extract, where Mooney dominates, in all his negativity. We have seen that the deployment of the subordinating conjunction “as soon as” together with the two lexical verbs both in the past simple are intended to indicate almost simultaneity. Such simultaneity conveys and underlines the concept that Mooney had consciously acquiesced to the marriage and bided his time knowing that when his wife’s father died he would take over command of the family and the money and would be able to do as he wished, namely get drunk every day without giving a thought to anyone else. Note that despite the mode of presentation being narration and the sentence constituting an ‘external’ description on the part of the narrator, what is actually being investigated is Mooney’s internal train of thought. This interpretation is bolstered by Joyce having employed not the material process verb ‘to die’ (‘died’) indicating an ‘action’, but the intensive relational process ‘be’ (‘x was a’, ‘father was dead’) indicating a state, hence the inability to act brought about by death.

It might be objected that dying is not exactly a material process in the full Hallidayan sense of the term, i.e. one controlled by the agent to bring about some effect on the world. That is semantically true. However, the choice of a relational process *in lieu* of a material process, the standard choice, has to be accounted for. Hence I posit the symbolic difference between material and relational processes to explicate Joyce’s foregrounded expression. Socially speaking, Mooney has reflected on, (a thought process), and is consequently acting on his knowledge that the father is no longer there to protect the daughter.

Both translations fail to give the impression of simultaneity. In I1 “quando” (‘when’) is extremely weak. I2 does somewhat better because of its inclusion of the time expression “subito” (‘immediately’). However, the

function this expression is supposed to perform is dampened somewhat by the preposition “dopo” (‘after’) which explicitly negates simultaneity.

Before turning to the next point a crucial observation on language use is in order. Now it cannot be denied that in ‘real life’ the two actions would be temporally sequential and not simultaneous. However, by presenting them linguistically as ‘simultaneous’, Joyce is creating the series of implications listed above – calculation, prediction, biding time, acting when the opportunity presents itself.

Returning to the discussion of the translational solutions adopted, worse still, temporally sequential action is underscored by the contrast in verb tenses: implicit past simple (“dopo la morte” – ‘after the death’) and past perfect (“aveva iniziato” – ‘had begun’). Furthermore, both translations insert a comma to divide the two clauses where Joyce uses none in an attempt to reinforce the impression of simultaneity through syntactic unity. Both translations domesticate. In so doing, they fail to provide linguistic signals which help the reader identify the implicatures and implications which Joyce has built into his text.

The other interesting point is the translation of the metaphor “go to the devil”. The literal translation ‘andare al diavolo’ means something totally different in Italian: the expletive ‘go to hell’. Now the ST metaphor clearly belongs to the realm of morality. In English culture the devil and drink have long been associated, conceptually and linguistically. And the Catholic Church was very strong at the time in Ireland. Hence the metaphor has profound socio-cultural resonances.

The I1 metaphor “andare a rotoli” (‘be ruined’) loses the moral domain of the ST metaphor completely since it is highly generic and can be applied to any situation whatsoever of deterioration, including those situations where no moral judgment is incurred or implied. The great weakness of this solution can presumably be explained by the intense use of alliteration for which it was chosen: “mori il suocero, Mr Mooney cominciò ad andare a rotoli”. However, such alliteration provides the reader with no clues, as does the Joycean text, as to how to reach the implications inferable from the ST. Hence the compensatory strategy seems to fail in this case. I2 also employs a very weak metaphor (compared to the ST) – “prendere una cattiva piega” (‘take a bad fold’). Though generic too, this metaphor has the partially-redeeming grace of containing the lexeme “cattiva” (‘bad’) which evokes the moral domain. However, the metaphor “piega” (‘fold’) is so weak that the moral lexical item cannot really redress the situation. Its weakness may be ascribed to two main factors. First, the adjective “cattiva”

acts as a premodifier to the head noun “piega”, hence is flagged by the syntax as less important information. Second, “cattivo” is generic, in that it has great meaning potential, including connotations which are not morally unsound, such as “cattiva sorte” (“come to a bad end”). A different type of consideration is at the textual level. In U7, Joyce employs the adjective “bad” in the noun phrase “bad meat”. As we shall see shortly, both translators avoid using the equivalent adjective in Italian. For translator 2, one reason might well be that he has just used the lexeme in this previous U. One choice in a text affects other choices, a very important general translational principle.

(5) U5

E He drank, plundered the till, ran headlong into debt.

I1 Beveva, sgraffignava i soldi dalla cassa e s'ingolfava sempre più nei debiti.

I2 Bevendo e rubando soldi in cassa, era finito a capofitto in un mare di debiti.

This U again demonstrates the need for careful prior analysis. The most subtle play Joyce makes use of here is graphology. The sentence is realised by three main clauses, in which each successive clause is longer than the previous one by one word:

(6) He drank,  
plundered the till,  
ran headlong into debt.

In other terms, the increasing length, the consequent increasing spreading out of the words over the page, (exploiting the Gricean quantity maxim), mimics the increasing danger and approach of disaster as Mooney increasingly wastes more money. (Note again Mooney-money. To save this linguistic play, the surname would have to be translated into something like ‘Soldai’, where ‘soldi’ in Italian means ‘money’, or ‘Soldini’, the diminutive of ‘soldi’.) Stated differently, the increasing length leads to a climax in the ST.

Mimicry and its effect is lost in both translations. In I1, the first clause consists of a single word and the next two clauses are realised by five and six words respectively, but if one examines total graphological length, then the third clause is longer than the second by a mere three letters. In other words, the difference in length, especially when reading, is imperceptible. I2 fares

even worse, for the first two clauses exhibit the same syntactic structure (parallelism) and are coordinated by the conjunction “and” (“e”), hence form a unit, while the third clause differs totally, hence forms an independent unit, thereby eliminating the effect of a climax. In addition, when one links this syntactic fact to the semantics, then the resulting illocutionary force is that of cause and effect. Yet Joyce does his writer’s best to avoid producing such a pragmatic link between the three parts of his sentence. Indeed, unlike I1, which employs the lexeme “e” (‘and’) in place of the comma after “till” in the ST, Joyce even avoids employing a conjunction which would be standard in English (and Italian) in order to make the three clauses exactly parallel and consequently avoid the cause-effect link. Thus the Italian normalises.

Now there is no doubting that in the ‘real world’ the link is indeed one of cause-effect, nay of two cause-effect chains: Mooney needs to drink; this constitutes the cause of his robbing money from the till; this in its turn is the cause of his running into debt. The fact that reality consists of two cause-effect links in no way negates the WAY Joyce expounds these links. He ‘hides’ them linguistically (just as Mooney hides the truth of his own doings – drink will lead to ruin) a) so that the reader has to work out the implicatures himself and b) in order to create a climax, because what is important is not so much the cause-effect chain, but the final result. Indeed, the final effect is conveyed in the final clause: the clause is realised by two metaphors “run into debt” and “headlong”, both of which are communicatively powerful, and “debt” occupies informationally strong end focus position.

This brings us to the metaphors employed. “Plundered the till” is extremely powerful, conjuring up the picture of pirates attacking a town or ship with extreme violence, killing, looting and raping. It also implies taking all the valuable possessions, leaving the assailed who have survived destitute, a perfect rendering of Mrs Mooney’s situation after her husband’s pillage.

I1 maintains a metaphor, “sgraffignava” (‘pinched’), but this reduces the action to the pettiness of a boy pinching a few pennies, which makes the subsequent clause totally unrealistic, as the stark contrast with “s’ingolfava ...” (‘got up to his ears in debt’), illustrates, despite the fact that it is not as strong as the ST metaphor. While Mooney’s behaviour is indeed infantile, what is crucial here is the devastating effects of his infantile behaviour on his family, for the issue is not simply that of money, but also of the example he sets his children as a father. Thus his daughter Polly turns out a weakling and sexually depraved, and his son is violent and tends to alcoholism. Such socio-cultural facts help explain why drink as debilitation is such a major theme in Joyce. The solution offered by I2 is explicitation, “rubando soldi

in cassa" ('stealing money from the till'), thereby totally negating Joyce's indirect style and its brilliant and forceful implications.

Turning to "ran headlong into debt", I1 again produces a weaker solution. "Ingolfarsi" is employed, for instance, to refer to the flooding of a carburettor. Collocations of this nature reduce the physical dimensions, hence the importance this symbolises, of the phenomenon referred to. Furthermore, the reflexive verb form is the equivalent in English of a passive form or a form in which the grammatical subject is not necessarily the agent of the process or is the agent of a material process in which the grammatical subject is also the goal ('lavarsi' = 'to wash [oneself]'). Such a form thus diminishes or removes responsibility from the actor, or limits the effects to the actor himself, in contrast to the ST where running headlong into debt underscores the deliberateness as well as the frenzy or vehemence of the agent's action, and does not preclude the extension of the effects of the agent's actions to others. I2 tends even more to imply the passiveness or diminished responsibility of the actor by employing the expression "era finito" ('had ended up'). Worse still, the denotation of the lexical verb together with the tense of the lexical verb (past perfect) propels us forward to the end of the action, constituting an interruption of the 'smooth', continual progression of the action and its accumulative effect, thereby defeating the climax Joyce has so skilfully designed. It should be noted that the same stricture applies to I1. Indeed, this explains why I1 includes the temporal expression "sempre più" ('always more', i.e. 'increasingly'). It compensates for the absence of this concept from the denotation of the lexical verb "ingolfarsi" and the cumulative progression of the three clauses of the ST.

However, I2 attempts to compensate by deploying the felicitous visual metaphor "un mare di debiti" ('a sea of debts'), conveying the extensiveness of the damage done. It also manages to retain the metaphorical effect of "headlong" through the use of the equivalent term "a capofitto".

(7) U6

E It was no use making him take the pledge: he was sure to break out again a few days after.

I1 Non serviva a niente ottenere promesse, dopo qualche giorno avrebbe ricominciato da capo.

I2 Inutile fargli promettere di non bere più: tanto nel giro di pochi giorni ricominciava daccapo.

The crucial role played by culture emerges here with great force: culture-specific meaning not available in the target culture and referring to highly

significant aspects of the texts, the loss of which diminishes greatly the 'meaning' of the ST render the translator's task an overwhelming one. This is illustrated perfectly by "take the pledge" since this is an idiomatic expression which goes back to the nineteenth century anti-drinking campaigns generally run by religious institutions (e.g. the Temperance Movement) where people were encouraged to sign a paper taking a formal vow to abstain from alcohol. As such it has no direct equivalent in Italian. Furthermore, the translator cannot afford to employ the thirty-seven words I employed in my 'summary' explanation!

"Ottenere promesse" ('obtaining promises') in I1 is clearly inadequate as it violates the Gricean maxim of manner, since the meaning is not transparent (promises of what?) in addition to losing all the cultural information of the original (the religious content). "Ottenere" is also too formal compared to the ST. I2 is successful in getting the essential conceptual content across, but it, too, loses completely the cultural content, which is of prime importance to the ST for it evokes a precise socio-cultural phenomenon tied to the problem of drinking, which we have seen repeatedly is a central issue in *Dubliners*.

Joyce breaks the sentence into two main parts. Both translations respect this division. However, I2 is more accurate since it maintains the colon of the ST. The colon helps the reader uncover the pragmatic link between the two parts as negative evaluation and the explanation of that evaluation. The comma replacing the colon in I1 weakens this link for it fails to reproduce the break represented by the colon in the ST and so makes the sentence appear to be conveying one basic idea while the ST conveys two basic ideas. In conveying two basic ideas, the reader is encouraged to reconsider his interpretation. This should lead to the discovery that the first clause in the ST also conveys frustration and anger (hence criticism) towards the concept expressed, a sensation which is greatly reduced by the use of the comma in I1. Instead, retaining the colon in I2 means retaining the force of the attitude expressed towards the content conveyed. However, the use of "tanto" in I2, which is an addition to the ST, communicates more a sense of resignation than frustration and anger. The ST emotional content is further weakened in both translations by having dislocated left the time expression ("dopo qualche giorno" and "nel giro di pochi giorni"). Indeed, the dislocation destroys the parallelism in the Joycean text: A was B ("it was no use" and "he was sure"). Parallelism serves to place the focus on the subject attribute ("no use" and "sure") since the subject in the first clause is a dummy subject and constitutes given information in the second clause and therefore conveys

virtually no information, as does the lexical verb since it is a copula. Hence “use” (strongly negated by “no” if the appropriate phonological pattern is employed) and “sure” (which can also be highlighted by phonology) come to be the focal points in their respective clauses despite being in the middle of the sentence and not in thematic position or in end focus, the standard locations where stress falls. Both translations lose all of this linguistic play.

Another point of major interest lies in syntax. The first clause in I2 is verbless, and so grammatically imperfect, while the ST employs a finite clause, hence a *bona fide* main clause. Through ellipsis of the verb, the Italian thematises “inutile” (‘useless’) thereby increasing its value as information. However, this gain in emphasis is minimal, since English standardly requires a subject and a verb. However, we have seen that “it” is a dummy subject and “was” is a copula, hence they convey virtually no information. Furthermore, Joyce could have written “no use making him take the pledge’. This form, both in English and Italian, would have rendered the sentence more conversational, whereas the Joycean text at this point, though informal, is pure narrative description (hence focalised through the narrator and/or society). Hence the form selected by I2 changes the style of the text. Since the text is complex and all signals, starting from humble punctuation and articles, are significant, the reader is obliged to try to account for the change in style.

Perhaps the most significant difference is the treatment of “break out”. This is yet another extremely powerful metaphor, on a par with “plundered the till” and perhaps also “ran headlong into debt”. What should also be noted is that in the second part of this extract, where Mooney is the theme and dominant actor, metaphors abound (“go to the devil”, “fighting”, “bad meat”). There is no sentence where a metaphor is not used, in contrast to the non-metaphorical style of the first and third parts where Mrs Mooney is the theme. The intensiveness together with the brilliance of the metaphors help account for the intensity of the second part, which naturally evokes a powerful (negative) reaction in the reader. Though the target language might not be able to provide equally effective metaphors as the original, employing direct language in place of metaphors is best avoided where possible. Thus the literal “ricominciava” (‘began again’) falls stone flat compared to the original metaphorical expression which oozes violence and uncontrollable behaviour, for what Joyce is trying to do through his rich implicational style is to describe, analyse and seek the cause of the behaviour described. All this is lost if some adequate metaphor is not found in the target text.

## (8) U7

E By fighting his wife in the presence of customers and by buying bad meat he ruined his business.

I1 A furia di litigare con la moglie in presenza dei clienti e di vendere carne scadente, aveva finito per mandare il negozio in malora.

I2 A furia di litigare con la moglie in presenza dei clienti e di comprar carne di pessima qualità, aveva mandato in rovina il negozio.

What is interesting about U7 is that both translators add to the ST. Where Joyce opts for the 'simple' metaphor "fighting", the translators use an idiomatic metaphorical expression, ("a furia di", translatable as 'so much', but consisting of 'furiously' and 'repeatedly'), together with a lexical verb which expresses the concept literally, "litigare" ('quarrel'). The same analysis applies to "mandato in malora" ('sent to the dogs/to hell') and "mandato in rovina" (literally, 'sent to ruin'). Furthermore, I1 also exploits alliterative "m" and the moral sphere with "malora". One might hypothesise that having failed to reproduce the metaphorical power of the text in previous Us here the translators try to recoup. This strategy is, however, questionable, because Joyce here is relatively flat. The metaphor "fighting" rather than literal 'quarrelling' is a dead metaphor and is required by semantics in order to give the impression of violence, which the two translators upstage with the expression "a furia di".

Joyce also deploys style to imply violence in a highly indirect way. The importance of the formal expression "in the presence of" is to imply that the relationship between husband and wife is so bad that they also argued in public. (Note how Joyce heaps the blame on the husband by assigning him the role of theme and grammatical subject of the three clauses, with his wife performing the role of goal in the first clause.) This phenomenon was serious because it lost them their clientele, since customers do not wish to see the family proprietors quarrelling in the shop while being served. The formality of the context (business), conveyed by the formal expression "in the presence of", should have induced Mooney to more socially appropriate behaviour, but he was unable to control himself. Please note my use of the lexeme 'control', which I employed above to help explicate the metaphor "break out". Joyce's texts are tightly knit, full of intratextual 'references' and resonances. But indirect. Joyce's deployment of "buying" will seal the point.

While I2 translates literally ("comprar"), I1 uses the 'opposite' expression, "vendere". Now, it might be justifiably argued that it is the selling of a bad product that actually loses the customer. So the question becomes

why Joyce employed “buying”. The implication is that Mooney’s policy is both deliberate and systematic. While one might sell bad meat because it has gone bad, and the event is therefore occasional and unplanned, buying bad meat signifies that Mooney is out to make as much money as he can, as quickly as he can. In other words, the use of the lexical verb “buy” conveys the intensity and uncontrollability of his habit, as well as the intentionality of the act. These implications would not have been so forceful had Joyce employed the verb “sell”. Note however, that “buy” has none of the evocative, emotive power of the language (especially the metaphors), employed in the preceding Us. The sense of flatness is reinforced by the deployment of verb tenses. As in U4, (parallelism), Joyce deploys simultaneity of tenses (“by fighting ... he ruined” may be taken as the equivalent of ‘since he bought ... he ruined’). Again, both translators opt for a contrast in tenses, using the past perfect in the third clause (for the Italian too, uses a syntactic construction which is akin to the past simple). Thus the translations imply that gradually Mooney lost his customers as they became increasingly dissatisfied, while the ST provides an ‘instantaneous’ account of cause-effect. Indeed, I1 increases the sense of the passing of time by the use of “aveva finito per ...” (‘he had ended up ...’). Thus, it might be highly significant that neither of the translators reproduced the parallelism in the Joycean text, but normalised. Either it was not detected or it was deliberately ignored.

One might also note the play on the evaluative moral domain. Joyce uses the adjective “bad” with its explicitly moral overtones. Instead I1 employs the adjective “scadente”, which may be translated as ‘cheap’, poor’ or ‘bad’, hence a word with a wider range of semantic meanings and fewer moral connotations, and I2 employs a noun phrase (“di pessima qualità”) in which the evaluative adjective is the premodifier (hence less important than the head) and which can be translated as (‘awful’, ‘dreadful’, ‘foul’, ‘terrible’, as well as ‘bad’), and in which the head noun places the emphasis on business rather than on morality, thereby weakening the already weaker adjective, (weaker compared to the ST).

One final issue here is alliteration, which is abundant in this U: “f” in “fighting” and “wife”, the “s” sound in “his”, “presence”, “customers” and “business”. Alliteration performs its standard task of drawing readers’ attention to words which are connected in some significant, non-literal fashion and/or which play an important role in conveying the message conveyed by the U. Thus, Joyce repeats the preposition “by” in “by buying bad meat” to increase the intensity of alliteration of the letter “b”, (a harsh-sounding voiced plosive), in order to draw attention to the adjective “bad”

("meat" being, in one sense, given information, unless one goes to a butcher's to buy clothes, of course). I2 is fortunate because alliteration is maintained in part: "di comprar carne". I1 is doubly unfortunate, since in addition to obliterating the implications Joyce creates through the use of "buy", it also loses the play on alliteration. Alliteration, together with compensation, may also account for I2's deployment of the metaphor "mandare ... in malora".

## (9) U8

E One night he went for his wife with the cleaver and she had to sleep at a neighbour's house.

I1 Una sera arrivò al punto di correre appresso alla moglie con una mannaia e lei dovette andare a dormire in casa dei vicini.

I2 Una sera l'aveva persino inseguita con una mannaia, e lei aveva dovuto passar la notte in casa di una vicina.

U8 offers further cogent illustrations of non-isomorphism making the translator's task at times thankless. The first is "went for his wife (with the cleaver)". The metaphor evokes a sudden lunge or run quickly forward in the act of aggression, with the features of the physical movement embodying the intensity of the extreme violence of the action, given the embodied intention to cause great harm. The concept is underscored by alliteration: "went" and "wife". Note that "wife" was also the object of alliteration in the preceding U.

Both translators attempt compensatory strategies. In I1 "arrivò al punto" ('went so far as to ...') is a relatively tame attempt to mimic the extremity of the action since it has no connotations of violence and speed, and "correre appresso" ('run after') is decidedly weak. The expression "arrivò al punto" is also formal, contrasting with the stark informality of "went for". The expression "arrivò al punto" also reiterates the feature of the passing of time which characterises the translations of Us 4, 6 and 7, where Joyce on the contrary focuses on 'simultaneity'. I2 employs "persino" ('even') to try to mimic the degree of violence, but with similar results to I1. The choice of the lexical verb, "inseguire" ('run after', 'chase') is, like "correre appresso", lifeless compared to the ST "went for", and it, too, is formal. "Inseguire" is also slightly different semantically from "went for". Indeed, the two Italian translations seem to evoke the scene in Vittorio De Sica's film *I Vitelloni* where the mother chases the wayward son round the table brandishing a carpet beater – more comedy than tragedy (culture and intertextuality). Significantly, neither translator opts for a verb denoting greater violence such as 'aggredire' or 'attaccare', both of which may be translated by 'attack'.

Both translators entrust the brunt of the job of conveying violence to the instrument – “*mannaia*” (‘cleaver’) – compared to the greater violence communicated by the ST.

Joyce is again shorter than the two translations. He is pithy, flat in his style, but devastating in his implications. The translations are both longer, which together with the lower degree of violence denoted or connoted by lexical choice, weaken the translations.

With regard to flatness of style, it should further be noted that “*arrivò al punto di*” and “*persino*” express emotion; in this case we can hypothesise surprise at the action described. Hence, the translations add an evaluation, one which conveys narratorial attitude, both components which are missing from the Joycean original. This does not mean the Joycean U does not express a value judgment. The metaphor “*went for his wife*” should evoke a negative value judgment on the part of the reader. The origin of this value judgement is a cultural, moral one: one should not hit or try to kill one’s wife. Hence the Italian translations “*correre appresso*” and “*inseguita*” will evoke a similar reaction in the Italian public, since both cultures condemn violence to women. However, the two units not present in Joyce’s text – “*arrivò al punto di*” and “*persino*” – are linguistically marked as evaluators, and reinforce the implicit cultural value judgment expressed by the lexical verb.

It may be noted that I1 translates “*his wife*” with the definite article “*la moglie*”, creating a sense of distance and therefore an evaluation which the ST does not have, as occurred in U3. I2 fares even worse, since the lexeme “*wife*” is eliminated totally, transformed, as it is, into a pronoun, “*la*” (‘her’: “*l’aveva ... inseguita*”). Now one might plausibly argue that the translator is mimicking the husband’s intention to murder by suppressing the lexeme “*wife*”. If so, that is not Joyce’s intention. As we saw in the pre-translation stylistic analysis, Joyce is careful to include character/gender markers in order to underline the messages he is trying to convey with regard to the issues of the family, gender, money and power he is dealing with in this story. Hence I2 adds something which is not ‘present’ in the ST and in so doing manages to remove an essential component of the ST that was identified during the pre-translation analysis.

At this point, one might note the presence of the subject pronoun “*lei*” (‘she’) in both translations. One might be tempted to hypothesise that the translators have now employed the pronoun in order to respect Joyce’s play on gender. Unfortunately, this hypothesis cannot be sustained. Since Italian is a pro-drop language, if “*lei*” were not to be included here, then, by ellipsis, the subject of the second clause would have to be taken to be identical to that of the first clause, namely the husband! Since the subject pronoun

has become in this case a mandatory constituent, then it will be taken as 'normal', unmarked. Consequently, no special attention will be devoted to it when parsing the sentence. That is to say, it will not be taken as significant, as an example of foregrounding evoking the gender issue.

The second instantiation of non-isomorphism is illustrated by "A neighbour's house". Here the problem is that English does not mark gender differences as extensively as does Italian. Hence, while we have no way of knowing whether the neighbour is male or female from the syntax, Italian is obliged to make a choice (as in I2, which opts for a female neighbour), or, if neutrality is to be maintained, to opt for the plural, as in I1, since the form "dei vicini" covers both the masculine case and the gender neutral case. Now given the social reality of the time, it is unlikely that Mrs Mooney will have chosen to go to a male neighbour's house. The possible consequences are more than obvious. Equally obviously, female solidarity will have been at work. But Joyce never mentions, describes or refers to the socio-cultural context explicitly. The issues he is dealing with are all investigated in an indirect fashion, beneath the literal meaning of the language and of the unfolding of the story. Hence the lower degree of specificity of the English language in the identification of gender serves Joyce's purpose well. Which leaves the poor translator of a language like Italian in a quandary when it comes to finding an equivalent. Loss or gain there must be.

### 3. Conclusion

Even the simplest acts of communication are highly complex phenomena, with each utterance conveying a myriad of messages and these messages being linked to each other and to other texts in a given culture in a given period. Since the first stage in translation is comprehension of a ST, then an analytical method is required which enables the researcher to identify as many of the messages as possible ("full" comprehension not being humanly possible) and the linguistic means by which these messages are conveyed before he begins his translation. The best method to achieve this, I would argue, is stylistics. Learning consists of the acquisition of the analytical skills of the type identified in the course of this article and their application to the source and target languages. Hence getting students to first analyse the text to be translated, then critically examining translations already carried out to see how much equivalence has been achieved and by what means, and finally offering their own solutions (which they prepare beforehand, when they first analyse and then translate, before coming to the class discussion) so

that they also learn to apply the skills they are acquiring, may be suggested as representing an optimal approach to teaching/learning translation. It also helps to evaluate translations, identifying how the translator approached the specific text. Further analysis would, for instance, have revealed that I1 has a tendency to use language which is a shade more formal than the ST while I2 manifests the opposite tendency.

The text employed for illustrative purposes does not appear to be difficult, since despite the number of creative metaphors employed, the concepts are transparent, syntax is not complex and lexis falls within the realm of the 'average' speaker's knowledge store. Yet it illustrates complexity perfectly, showing how a text is embedded in the society of its time, thus making a vast knowledge base a mandatory requirement to comprehend it, the subtlety of the linguistic means deployed despite their surface simplicity and the complex processing required to unpack the text, all of which are prior requisites before attempting to produce a translation. The text also illustrates the dangers of 'literal' translation and how easy it is to miss important meanings and devices if one has not analysed the text prior to translating it. This, of course, has deep implications for translation teaching and practice. Perhaps the main lesson to be learnt, is that sectorial teaching, (teaching one specialised domain in order to produce 'experts' in that sector), might not be the best teaching strategy. Medical texts, to return to an initial example, do not usually exhibit the breadth and depth of the type of text examined here. Furthermore, to teach only one domain is based on the presupposition that the student will find employment in that sector, for the rest of his life. This not being the case, then the objective, as in all teaching, should be that of providing the student with transversal skills which can be applied to all domains. Since stylistics adopts all the approaches available (linguistic theories, literary theories, sociology, anthropology, psychology), depending on the text to be dealt with, it fits this bill perfectly.

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Address: JOHN DOUTHWAITE, Dipartimento di Lingue e Culture Moderne, Università degli Studi di Genova. Piazza Santa Sabina 2, 16124 Genova (Italy).

ORCID code: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-6750-2991>.

## **Museum communication: The role of translation in disseminating culture**

Judith Turnbull

*Sapienza University of Rome*

### ABSTRACT

This article examines the English translation of Italian museum website pages as vehicles of cultural dissemination. Museum communication aims to make information about exhibits accessible to the wider public who will come from different cultural and educational backgrounds and age groups, with different learning styles and interests. The complexity of Museum Communication is compounded by the internationalisation of museum audiences where the use of English as a target language in translation will serve a dual purpose – firstly, to address native speakers and secondly, to act as a lingua franca for many other readers. Not only must the translation deal with textual difficulties (terminology, systemic and rhetorical differences between languages), but also culture-specific pragmatics and contextual factors, especially about readers' expectations. The analysis has been made drawing on Juliane House's Recontextualization Model of Translation (2006) and highlights three areas of interest: the lexicon, 'foreignness', and cross-cultural pragmatics.

Keywords: museum communication, translation, English as lingua franca, culture, context, pragmatics.

### **1. Introduction**

Museums have traditionally been conceived as repositories of knowledge and culture, collecting, preserving, interpreting and displaying items of artistic, cultural or scientific significance. As such, they may be considered as ambassadors of culture. Indeed, a fundamental function of museums is education and the dissemination of knowledge from one generation to the next. As the Directorate General of Museums of the Italian Ministry of

Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism says in its Mission Statement, it aims “to favour research and the dissemination of knowledge on the Italian cultural heritage kept in museums and presented in cultural places, in order to share their values and originality with the rest of the world” (<http://musei.beniculturali.it/en/structure>). To guarantee transmission to as wide an audience as possible, the most representative channel of communication in this day and age of technology and globalisation is the Internet; its power and reach give it a potential for disseminating culture at an unparalleled level. And translation will necessarily play a fundamental role in this process. This contribution will therefore combine these three elements, museums, translation and the Internet, by analysing the English versions of Italian museum websites in relation to the source texts that present and describe their cultural treasures and milieu.

As Blum-Kulka (2000: 291) says, translation should be viewed as an act of communication and therefore must “relate to [...] the linguistic, discursual and social systems holding for the two languages and cultures involved”. Similarly, Hatim – Mason (2005: 1) define translation as “an act of communication which attempts to relay, across cultural and linguistic boundaries, another act of communication (which may have been intended for different purposes and different readers/hearers)”. In the virtual world of the Internet, as indeed in the real world, English frequently becomes the lingua franca, a vehicular language in its broadest sense, the language of all, therefore making it necessary to simultaneously cross multiple linguistic and cultural boundaries, thus amplifying the inherent difficulties of translation. This study aims to investigate how translations deal with this challenging task.

## **2. Museum communication**

The history of the modern museum is marked by a gradual and progressive opening up to a wider, socially broader audience. The forerunners of the modern museum were the private collections of ruling families and distinguished scholars, which were jealously guarded as symbols of social prestige and power. Later, even with the first public museums of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, access to the exhibits was strictly limited to a close-knit circle of ‘respectable’ visitors; the attitude of museum directors was that “visitors were admitted as a privilege, not as a right”

(Hudson 1975: 6). Economic, political and social changes in the twentieth century led to a further democratization of museums, which nowadays have become educational facilities, sources of leisure activity, and a medium of communication. "There was a perceptible shift from serving the scholar, as befits an institution holding much of the primary evidence of the material world, to providing for a lay public as well. As a result of such innovations, museums found a new popularity and attracted an increasing number of visitors" (Lewis 2000), so much so that today museum policy aims, for obvious commercial reasons but not only those, to attract visitors from all walks of life and from all over the world, "which might be best described as total inclusion" (Fleming 2005).

Although museums are obviously embedded in the buildings they occupy, the need to expand and deepen audience engagement, perhaps to encourage people to actually visit them, has led museums to develop their online presence (<http://musei.beniculturali.it/en/structure>; Aquilino 2017; Johnson 2015; Serota 2009). It may be argued that the Internet provides so many sources of information that an extensive online presence of museums is not necessary. However, Nicholas Serota, former director of the Tate Modern in London, says it is the duty of a museum to act as guarantor of information about its exhibits (2009). Furthermore, it offers the opportunity to share knowledge with those people who are unable, for whatever reason, to visit the museums in person.

This change in approach has also impacted museum communication which was traditionally viewed as the transmission of knowledge from expert to non-expert, the authoritative voice of the museums interpreting the exhibits for visitors. Nowadays museum communication aims to make information about exhibits more accessible to the wider public. Hooper-Greenhill (1999) talks about the gap between the level of academic knowledge used to write texts and the level of knowledge visitors bring with them. People can only see and interpret what they can go some way towards understanding based on their personal background knowledge (Hooper-Greenhill 1999: 13). Visitors construct meaning using a variety of interpretative strategies based on their prior knowledge, beliefs and values. As a result, a more participatory, interactive approach is being adopted, so that it is not so much museum education as 'learning in museums' (Hooper-Greenhill 1999). It is possible, therefore, that museum discourse will involve a degree of 'popularisation', perhaps lowering the common denominator of knowledge, with a possible subsequent risk of dumbing down.

## 2.1 Italian museum communication

According to the Italian Guidelines for Communication in Museums, the language of museum discourse is characterized by specialised terminology, complex syntactic structure and high lexical density (Da Milano – Sciacchitano 2015: 56). It therefore strongly recommends avoiding an academic, formal and impersonal style of writing and advocates the use of a conversational mode to help engage with visitors (Da Milano – Sciacchitano 2015: 50). This requires a simplification of the texts, which, among other organizational and typographical strategies, involves avoiding nominalisation where possible, using the active form of verbs, expressing the subject at the beginning of the sentence, conveying one concept per sentence and explaining technical terms (Da Milano – Sciacchitano 2015: 58).

However, a formal and impersonal communication style, which the Guidelines explicitly discourage, is the cultural norm in Italy. Comparative analyses of Italian and British discourse have shown this to be true in a number of different contexts, as for example in the fields of business (Vergaro 2005; Salvi et al. 2007), law (Scarpa – Riley 2000; Turnbull 2010) and public administration (Ciliberti 1997; Turnbull 2012). All concur on the fact that Italian texts tend to be formal, impersonal and obscure, whilst the British tend to be more informal, clear and friendly. Each culture organizes discourse in a specific way and produces texts that differ at a rhetorical level, and therefore, even within the same professional community, different writing conventions and rhetoric will be used (Vergaro 2005: 11). This different approach is confirmed also within the museum context by Sabatini (2015), who made a comparative study of the British Tate and the Italian GAM. Both are modern and contemporary art galleries and both have made the shift in museum practices from the traditional asymmetrical construction and distribution of knowledge to a more participatory, symmetrical knowledge construction model. Nevertheless, he concludes that the Italian art gallery has not adapted its communication to visitors, maintaining a complex, heavily nominalized style. He suggests that “the writing protocols and degrees of formality are regulated by a different socio-cognitive mapping of cultural institutions and of their role in the arena of public communication” (Sabatini 2015: 124).

The complexity of museum communication is compounded by the internationalisation of museum audiences where the use of English as a target language in translation will serve a dual purpose – firstly, to address

native speakers and secondly, to act as a lingua franca for many other readers. The complications are not simply linguistic and terminological, but also contextual, cultural and pragmatic. As Guillot (2014: 74) has observed, visitor expectations may vary. She gives an example from her own experience with students who were on a work experience module and expressed a very negative perception of museum texts. Native German speaking students found that the source texts in English were not explicit enough, whereas native English-speaking students found texts in French and Spanish museums “formal, specialised and distant”. To the best of my knowledge, no studies of this kind have been made in the Italian context, but differing approaches may well be expected. In any case, the ‘wider public’, especially in a global context, will include a very heterogeneous group of people, probably from very different cultural and educational backgrounds and age groups, with different learning styles, personal objectives and interests, multiplying the possible visitor expectations.

### 3. Theoretical background

The analysis of the translations will be made by referring first and foremost to the Recontextualization Model of Translation (House 2006). This model follows a linguistic approach based on Halliday’s systemic-functional theory and considers the ideational, interpersonal and textual aspects of the translations, but it “is also eclectically informed by discourse analytic and functional-pragmatic approaches” (House 2006: 344). It takes in a number of issues raised in translation studies that are particularly relevant to the context of museum websites.

House picks up on Malinowski’s observation that the meaning of a linguistic unit cannot be captured unless the interrelationship between linguistic units and the context of the situation is taken into account. He describes translation as “rather the placing of linguistic symbols against the cultural background of a society than the rendering of words by their equivalents in another language” (Malinowski 1935: 18, cited in House 2006: 343). House certainly views text as “contextually embedded language” (2006: 344), but in her Recontextualization Model of Translation she seems to be proposing a solution more radical than one which involves merely “placing linguistic symbols against the cultural background” or “relaying across cultural and linguistic boundaries” as Hatim – Mason propose (2005: 1).

She explains *recontextualization* as “taking a text out of its original frame and context and placing it within a new set of relationships and culturally-conditioned expectations” (House 2006: 356), perhaps suggesting the need for what we might call ‘rewriting’.

Underpinning her model is the fundamental and much discussed notion of equivalence (Salvi 2012), which is a relative concept depending on a number of linguistic and contextual factors. She believes that a translation should be semantically and pragmatically equivalent, with the use of language appropriate to the context of the target language. In other words, it should have a function equivalent to the original, in our case the dissemination of knowledge.

There is another issue of fundamental importance in translation studies closely connected with equivalence, namely the degree to which translators make a text conform to the target culture, to what degree the translation is perceived as a translation, what House calls overt and covert translations. An overt translation is, as the name suggests, clearly a translation and remains close to the source language and culture. A covert translation does not read as a translation and may “enjoy the status of an original text in the target culture” (House 2006: 347). As purely informative texts, the museum website texts do not have the aesthetic or formal interest of literary works or historical documents; their value lies in the veracity and accuracy of the information they provide. It can therefore be presumed that according to House’s model a covert translation is the preferred type in this context.

In order to achieve the functional equivalence between the source and target text in the context and discourse world of the target culture, a ‘cultural filter’ is necessary to account for the differences in expectations and discourse conventions between the two linguistic communities, such as ‘directness’ versus ‘indirectness’, ‘explicitness’ versus ‘implicitness’, ‘orientation towards content’ versus ‘orientation towards persons’ (House 2006: 34).

House herself gives a definition of translation which reads as follows: “Translation can then be defined as the replacement of a text in a source language by a semantically and pragmatically equivalent text in a target language” (House 2006: 345). Here she talks about “the replacement of text”, which should allow the translator a certain degree of freedom.

In the context of museum websites which invite a global audience, an English translation, even if not intentionally conceived as such, will in use become a translation into English as a *lingua franca*. The original definition of ELF as “a ‘contact language’ between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture and for whom English is

the chosen foreign language of communication” (Firth 1996: 240, cited in Hewson 2013: 258) has been revised to acknowledge the frequent presence of native speakers in ELF situations, even if they remain a minority in the population of English speakers in the world. This broader definition of ELF aptly reflects the context of museum communication. However, it also means that the concept of a target language and also a target culture, become an illusion. ELF speakers will cover an array of linguistic competence levels, as well as a wide range of knowledge and culture.

The implications of ELF for translation today may be far reaching, as more and more ELF speakers translate into English (Taviano 2013). ELF is characterised by great variability and creativity, but its main aim is “mutual intelligibility in efficient and easy processes of communication” (House 2013: 281). Efficiency is not associated with grammatical correctness measured against native speaker standards, but is rather the result of participants’ efforts to “work out some sort of joint linguistic, intercultural and behavioural basis for communication to be smoothly effective” (House 2013: 282). Indeed, most ELF research has centred on spoken rather than written discourse and the pragmatic adjustments made to overcome difficulties in communication. Clearly this collaboration is not possible in written language and the focus of this study is on the target text and how it may succeed or fail to meet the needs of a wide spectrum of receivers, each of whom will read and interpret it using his/her own linguistic and cultural resources.

#### **4. Corpus**

The corpus on which this study is based is composed of pages from the websites of eighteen Italian museums. Only the official websites of the museums were included as they focus on the description and explanation of the exhibits, whilst information about museums in tourist websites may use more promotional and commercial discourse. The selection of websites was made on the basis of a very broad interpretation of the terms ‘culture’ and ‘museums’. Consequently, culture includes art, architecture, history, literature, music, science and way of life, and museums include institutions, organizations or foundations that collect artefacts of one kind or another or watch over some historically significant buildings or sites. The result is that the museums included in the corpus represent different aspects of Italian national culture which have been divided into five general categories, as can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. Corpus structure: list of museums and relevant tokens

Museum	Italian (words)	English (words)
<b>Art</b>		
Vatican Museums	10,447	12,272
Brera Pinacoteca	2,556	2,894
Borghese Gallery	7,050	7,569
Palazzo Dora Pamphilj	6,524	7,369
<b>Palaces of historical interest</b>		
Palace of Venaria, Turin	6,646	4,314
Royal Palace of Caserta	5,223	4,502
Doge's Palace	9,465	9,556
<b>Archeological heritage</b>		
Pompeii	9,406	5,757
Riace Bronzes	8,420	8,417
Ostia Antica	3,285	3,586
<b>Literature</b>		
Dante's House	7,981	8,467
House of Manzoni	9,784	10,763
<b>Miscellaneous</b>		
Puccini Museum	9,344	9,334
Museum of Science and Technology, Milan	6,635	5,490
Wine and Oil Museum, Torgiano	3,012	3,097
Burano Lace Museum	2,829	3,084
<b>Total</b>	<b>108,607</b>	<b>106,471</b>

The choice of museums, however, was necessarily limited by the availability of an English version, a fact which seems very surprising in view of the importance of museums in tourism. Some websites included only general information, such as opening times, tickets and directions to the museum, in English. Others do not always have all the pages about the collections translated into English, and the English pages of the Vatican Museums website are just a small sample from its vast website.

## 5. Analysis

The analysis is not intended to highlight the errors of various kinds that appear in the translations, which unfortunately include some rather amusing howlers, but rather to capture the common characteristics of the translations. Three areas of interest emerged from the corpus-driven analysis, namely the

lexicon, foreignness, that is the perception of something strange in the target text, and, lastly, the cross-cultural pragmatics of the translations. Following Baker's approach (1992) they will be presented in a bottom-up order, starting with the word, then the sentence level, even though this paper focuses on context and recontextualization. However, as Baker explains, meaning is realized through words and "the individual words, phrases and grammatical structures control and shape overall meaning of the text" (1992: 6).

## 5.1 Lexicon

The most noticeable feature of the lexicon is the use of some extremely 'technical' terminology, certainly appropriate to the subject matter, but dauntingly specialised at times. The following example is taken from the Doge's Palace Museum in Venice which fires a rapid sequence of architectural terms in a very short space, none of which are explained (the italics are mine, as in all the following examples).

- (1) Room V has 3 *shafts* of columns from the arcade; against the left-hand wall are a column and *foliated* capital of the upper loggia on the Piazzetta side corresponding to the *tondo* with Venice in the form of Justice on the *facade*. There are pieces of stonework from the *tracery* of the upper loggia with the capitals, *ogival* arches and intricately interweaving *quatrefoils*; above this is the *cornice* with rosettes. In the *spandrels* between the arches, one can see the lion heads that run all the way along both Gothic sides of the Palace. (Doge's Palace)

In fact, there is rarely any explanation of the words, even when they could be misunderstood by native speakers. For example, the Dante's House website narrates the different phases of Dante's life, one of which is 'Dante the prior' ([www.museocasadidante.it](http://www.museocasadidante.it)). However, it fails to indicate the historically and culturally specific meaning of *prior* as a magistrate in Renaissance Florence as opposed to its more common meaning as the head of an abbey or monastery. This may confuse the reader in the middle of a text describing the political situation or even tempt him/her to adopt a let-it-pass strategy considering the information as not necessary, at the risk of not fully understanding the text.

- (2) Dante was appointed ambassador to San Gimignano on 7 May 1300 and elected a prior from 15 June to 15 August of that same year.

During his time in office he devoted his efforts above all to having the commune pursue a policy of independence from the hegemonic aims of Pope Boniface VIII.

In the next example, it is interesting to see how the three 'technical' words are treated differently. The first two, *host* and *corporal*, are not explained, whilst the second, *transubstantiation*, comes with an explanation in brackets that was also present in the original.

- (3) La Messa di Bolsena rappresenta un episodio avvenuto nel 1263 a Bolsena, nei pressi di Orvieto, ove, durante la messa celebrata da un prete boemo, al momento della consecrazione stillò dall'ostia il sangue di Cristo, macchiando il *corporale* e fugando così i dubbi del celebrante sulla *transustanziazione* (vale a dire sul cambiamento della sostanza del pane e del vino in quella del corpo e del sangue di Cristo nell'Eucarestia).

The Mass of Bolsena depicts an episode that took place in 1263 in Bolsena, near Orvieto. During the Mass celebrated by a Bohemian priest, at the moment of consecration the blood of Christ trickled from the *host*, staining the *corporal* and thus dismissing the doubts of the celebrant on *transubstantiation* (that is to say the changing of the substance of the bread and wine into that of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist). (Vatican Museums)

*Host* and *corporal* are very specific terms. Like *prior*, they both have other meanings that will come more immediately to mind. Even within the context of the Church the words are very specialised, but no attempt is made in the translation to explain their specific sense, which will not necessarily be known to the potentially global audience formed by people of different beliefs who do not have a deep knowledge of the Christian religion. The use of highly technical language was found predominantly in the websites concerned with art, architecture, archeology, but the only website that provided a glossary to help the reader understand the technical terminology was the Burano Lace Museum.

In view of the fact that English will most probably serve as a lingua franca for many receivers, there are some unnecessarily difficult expressions for non-native speakers, some of which may remain obscure even to native speakers. These expressions are usually the result of 'literal' translations, staying very close to the original text and using English cognates. Although

the terms may be quite common in Italian, they do not correspond to 'normal', natural usage in English.

- (4) This space also provides a *conspectus* of early 16th century Ferrara art with the series of stylistically well matched panels painted by the most important painters of that period: Garofolo, Mazzolino, and Ortolano. (Dora Pamphilj)
- (5) In the 10th century, the Doge's Palace was partially destroyed by a fire, and subsequent reconstruction works were undertaken *at the behest of* Doge Sebastiano Ziani (1172-1178). (Doge's Palace)
- (6) The theory proves itself to be weak as it concerns the iconography of the Dioscuri, who are always portrayed as *glabrous* boys and never as bearded men. (Riace Bronzes)
- (7) The Oath of Leo III illustrates an episode that took place the day before the crowing of Charlemagne, when the Pope responded to the *calumnies* of the nephews of his predecessor Hadrian I by reaffirming the principle that the vicar of Christ is responsible to God alone for his actions. (Vatican Museums)

At the other extreme, we can find examples of over simplification or flattening of the language, making the translation rather bland. *Vicissitudini* translated by the neutral *events* seems to lose the negative connotations of its meaning:

- (8) La Storia  
Il Piano Seminterrato, con gli affascinanti locali un tempo adibiti alle attività di servizio alla vita della corte, è *concepito per far cogliere e riflettere su fatti storici, temi e vicissitudini* della dinastia sabauda dalle mitologiche origini dell'anno Mille fino alla prima metà dell'Ottocento, quando si estinse il ramo principale dei Savoia.

#### History

The basement level, characterized by the fascinating spaces that once housed the court's kitchen, storage and service rooms, *illustrates significant historical facts, themes and events* concerning the House of Savoy, from its mythological origins in the year 1000 to the early nineteenth century, when the main branch of the family went extinct. (Palace of Venaria, Turin)

Similarly, in the following example *unique* loses the idea of its ‘singularity’, of being the only one in the world as is intended in the source text. Although it appears to be the same word, in English it usually conveys the meaning of ‘special’ or ‘unusual’ and therefore it is ‘somehow tamer’ (Kenny 1998: 520).

- (9) Palazzo Doria Pamphilj ospita da secoli una collezione privata *unica al mondo*.

The Palazzo Doria Pamphilj has for centuries housed this *unique* private collection. (Doria Pamphilj)

## 5.2 Foreignness

As the translations tend to be quite literal, this often leads to a feeling of foreignness, of something strange or not quite right, even when there are no grammar mistakes. This section obviously deals with a matter which will be perceived most by native speakers and the more competent ELF speakers. The following example presents a number of problems.

- (10) Nell’ala sud-ovest del Palazzo era previsto l’Appartamento o “quarto” del Re, nell’attuale percorso di visita indicato come Appartamento dell’Ottocento.

Il “quarto” del Principe ereditario, nell’ala sud est del Palazzo – nel percorso di visita indicato come Appartamento del Settecento – fu in realtà l’unico ad essere abitato dai reali borbonici per più di mezzo secolo, non essendo terminata la costruzione del lato occidentale del piano nobile a seguito delle vicende storiche degli anni tra la fine Settecento e gli inizi Ottocento.

*In the south-west of the Palace was planned the Apartment or “quarter” of the King, in the current tour route designated as the XIX century Apartment.*

The “quarter” of the Crown Prince, *in the south east of the Palace – in the guide tour referred to as XVIII century Apartment – was really the only one to be inhabited by the royal Bourbon for more than half a century, not being completed the construction of the western side of the main floor as a result of the historical events of the years between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.* (Royal Palace of Caserta)

Firstly, the subject and verb have been inverted, *in the south-west of the Palace was planned the Apartment or "quarter" of the King*. Although subject-verb inversion is possible in English, it is used for emphasis and is marked, but there is no reason for this in (10). The second problem concerns the word order patterns, which are very different in Italian and English. Whereas Italian has a fairly elaborate system of inflections which allows it to have fewer restrictions, the word order in English is relatively fixed. In Italian the main clause may be split by parenthetical contextualizing elements, wherever the author desires. In English, this disturbs the sequential ordering of words and appears very unnatural, as in *in the south east of the Palace – in the guide tour referred to as XVIII century Apartment*. The third problem is the last part of the final sentence with the present participle being used in a passive form to give the explanation for the Crown Prince's quarter being the only one used. The negative form complicates the meaning and makes the structure heavy. In any case, the subject of the clause with the present participle (*the construction of the western side*) should be the same as that of the main clause, which of course it is not. These problems can be found in many of the target texts, and they may be considered as typical mistakes in translation from Italian to English.

In the following example there is a strong feeling of foreignness, because of a lack of concretization.

- (11) Invece il merletto ad ago che si sviluppa nella Venezia del Rinascimento, anche se nasce da tale incipit iniziale, è un diverso insieme complesso ed evoluto di molteplici punti e, come quello a fuselli, è espressione creativa e manuale di sensibilità femminile aristocratica, acculturata per stretta frequentazione con ambienti artistici e intellettuali raffinati.

Instead, the needle lace which developed in Renaissance Venice, even though stemming from that initial origin, is a different, complex and advanced ensemble of manifold stitches and, as in bobbin lace, it was *the creative and manual expression of aristocratic female sensitivity*, cultured thanks to close contact with refined artistic and intellectual circles. (Burano Lace Museum)

In the face of the elegant, but artificial language of the Italian text which is difficult to understand, the English version, especially with the abstract words *expression* and *sensitivity* and the lack of personalization, is a word-for-word translation and does not contribute in any way to clarifying its meaning.

So far, we have seen examples where the feeling of foreignness is felt, but there are occasions when the foreignness has been avoided successfully, especially when the method of transposition, the replacing of one word class for another, is adopted (Vinay – Darbelnet 2000: 132). In the following examples a noun is replaced by a verb and an adjective by a verb:

- (12) Nel 1773, *a seguito dello scioglimento dei Gesuiti*, il Collegio di Brera divenne proprietà dello Stato e l'Imperatrice Maria Teresa d'Austria volle farne sede di alcuni dei più avanzati istituti culturali della città

*When the Jesuits were disbanded in 1773*, the Collegio di Brera became state property and Empress Maria Theresa of Austria decided to use it to house several of the city's leading cultural institutes. (Brera Pinacoteca)

- (13) All'età di 56 anni il cardinale Scipione Borghese commissionò al giovane Bernini il suo busto ritratto. Filippo Baldinucci racconta *che a lavoro terminato*, lo scultore si accorse di un'imperfezione nel blocco di marmo, tale da provocare una crepa (detta anche pelo), tuttora visibile sulla fronte del cardinale.

When he was 56 years old, Cardinal Scipione Borghese commissioned his portrait bust from the young Bernini. Filippo Baldinucci tells that, *after he had finished the work*, the sculptor noticed a flaw in the block of granite had caused a crack that is still visible on the cardinal's head. (Borghese Gallery)

### 5.3 Cross-cultural pragmatics of the translations

The third and last aspect to be discussed is the cross-cultural pragmatics of the translation, which is concerned with the different cultural conventions in the two languages and the attempts to take account of them. This may lead to various modes of adaptation at a local level to achieve functional equivalence.

In (10) we saw that a sense of foreignness resulted from the lack of personalization. Indeed, one of the cultural conventions of English is that it tends to orient text towards people (House 2006: 352) rather than towards content, unlike Italian which tends to focus on things or processes.

- (14) *Incaricato della progettazione e prosecuzione dei lavori fu Giuseppe Piermarini*, uno dei protagonisti del Neoclassicismo in Italia. *A lui si*

*devono la sistemazione della biblioteca (un salone è visibile dalla sala I della Pinacoteca), il solenne portale di ingresso su via Brera, ed il completamento del cortile, al cui centro fu posta nel 1859 la statua bronzea che raffigura Napoleone in veste di Marte pacificatore, fusa a Roma su modello di Antonio Canova.*

*The man commissioned to design and execute the work was Giuseppe Piermarini, one of Italy's leading Neoclassical architects. He was responsible for renovating the library (one room of which can be seen in Room I in the Pinacoteca, or picture gallery), for building the solemn entrance on Via Brera and for completing the courtyard. (Borghese Gallery)*

In (14) the thing, in this case the responsibility of carrying out work, is in theme position *Incaricato della progettazione e prosecuzione dei lavori*, whereas in English the person, *the man* who takes that responsibility, is fronted and is also the subject, *He*, in the second sentence.

Another convention that may cause problems in translation is punctuation, whose rules may vary with language, location and register. It is used to signal information structure in written language and therefore it contributes to the cohesion of texts. Although the translation in (15) follows very closely the source text, it flows naturally and smoothly, especially with the slight adjustment of *più che sulla costruzione... sulla rappresentazione* to *not so much ... as*.

(15) L'esempio dell'artista padovano è ben visibile nell'incisività delle linee di contorno e nella plasticità scultorea delle figure, trascinate in primo piano a invadere lo spazio dello spettatore; tuttavia, Bellini immerge la scena entro un'atmosfera fatta di luce naturale, ammorbidendo i toni e concentrandosi, più che sulla costruzione di un rigoroso spazio prospettico, sulla rappresentazione della dolente umanità dei protagonisti; egli crea così un linguaggio nuovo che diverrà, negli anni successivi, la sua personale e inconfondibile cifra stilistica.

L'opera, che faceva parte della collezione Sampieri di Bologna, fu donata a Brera, nel 1811, dal viceré d'Italia Eugenio di Beauharnais.

The lesson of the Paduan artist is clearly visible in the incisiveness of the outlines and the sculptural plasticity of the figures, brought into the foreground to invade the space of the observer. Yet Bellini immerses the scene in an atmosphere of natural light, softening

the tones and concentrating not so much on the construction of a rigorous perspective as on conveying the sorrowful humanity of the protagonists.

In this way he creates a new language that will become, in the years to come, his personal and unmistakable stylistic mark. The work, which used to be in the Sampieri collection in Bologna, was donated to Brera in 1811 by the viceroy of Italy, Eugène de Beauharnais. (Brera Pinacoteca)

However, the target text shows a number of changes in punctuation and, as a consequence, changes in the relations between chunks of information. The first sentence, which is made up of three clauses joined by semicolons, is broken down into three sentences, but the various parts of the Italian seem to be linked much more closely than in the translation. In particular, the use of *yet* after a full stop instead of a semi-colon seems to create a greater contrast, as indeed a new paragraph for the third sentence which undermines the cohesion and also the coherence of the text. Whilst the first paragraph in Italian talks about the style of the painting and the painter, the last sentence, standing on its own, gives details about its provenance.

Other examples of adaptation found in the corpus are the result of the search for cultural adequacy (Bastin 2011: 4) or appropriateness in the target context. In (16) the cloud from the eruption of Vesuvius appears 'like a pine tree' in the sky.

- (16) La mattina del 24 agosto del 79 d.C., si sentì un boato nella regione vesuviana. Dal vulcano una nube di gas e pomici si proiettò in alto, *simile ad un pino*, ed oscurò il cielo.

On the morning of August 24, A.D. 79, a great noise was heard in the area around Vesuvius. *A mushroom shaped cloud* of gas and volcanic rock rose high in the air, darkening the sky. (Pompeii)

The shape of a Mediterranean pine tree will certainly be familiar to Italians, but the term is more likely to conjure up the image of a Christmas tree shape for Northern Europeans. 'A mushroom-shaped cloud' is a less culture-specific, more universal expression and therefore may be considered a more appropriate, explicit and comprehensible translation.

Idioms may or may not have equivalents in another language. The following example shows how the idiom, *vero e proprio fiore all'occhio*, has been translated by using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form

(Baker 1992: 74) and then integrating it to include the emphasis *true* and the specification *in the collection's cap*. Although this may be considered very successful from the perspective of a native speaker, it does raise the question of whether it is appropriate in ELF and for an international community.

- (17) Tra questi, oltre ad artisti italiani conosciuti in tutto il mondo quali Caravaggio, Tiziano, Raffaello, troverai anche moltissimi maestri fiamminghi di epoca barocca, *vero e proprio fiore all'occhiello* della collezione.

Amongst these, as well as the Italian artists of world renown such as Caravaggio, Tiziano, and Raffaello, you will also find many Flemish Old Masters from the baroque era, *true feathers in the collection's cap*. (Doria Pamphilj)

Adaptation may also take the form of explicitation, by which information that is implicit in the source text is made explicit in the target text. It can take many forms, linguistic and cultural, obligatory and optional. Here is an example of linguistic explicitation.

- (18) Comunque solo alla fine del secolo venne costruito un fortilizio (castrum) a pianta rettangolare, circondato da possenti mura in tufo e con gli assi viari principali, *decumano e cardo, disposti secondo i punti cardinali*.

Only at the end of that century a squared fortified post (castrum) was built. This castrum was surrounded by strong tufa walls and *its main road axes – the Cardus and the Decumanus – were north-south oriented and east-west oriented, respectively*. (Ostia Antica)

Here the explicitation is necessary in English because the expression 'cardinal points' suggests a static, precise place, and would not have conveyed the sense of direction.

However, it seems more relevant to extend the term to include cultural pragmatic explicitation (Pym 2005), which is of specific interest in this study because of the presumed lack of shared general knowledge between source and target language communities. Blum-Kulka refers to this as 'reader-focused shifts of coherence' (2000: 296). An example is in the Pompeii website where the technical word *testudinate* is explained very explicitly, albeit still in technical language and in a close translation.

- (19) A seconda del tipo di copertura l'atrio poteva essere:
- tuscanico, privo di colonne a sostegno delle falde inclinate del tetto;
  - tetrastilo, con quattro colonne di sostegno agli angoli della vasca;
  - corinzio, con la vasca circondata da più colonne;
  - *testudinato*, chiuso al centro.

According to the type of roof it had, the atrium could be one of the following:

- Tuscanic, without columns to hold up the sloping sides of the roof;
- Tetrastyle, with four columns supporting the roof, placed at the corners of the pool;
- Corinthian, with the pool surrounded by a larger number of columns;
- *Testudinate*, which means arched or vaulted like a tortoise shell and here means closed in the center, i.e., without a compluvium. (Pompeii)

Often, however, there is no explanation given. The historical, political and/or social background and setting of events and lives in the relevant period and place are essential for a proper understanding of the information that is being transferred. In the following example where the description of Manzoni's family tragedies is mixed with a general observation about the historical period in which he was living, a non-Italian reader is left wondering what laws and injustice of the times are being referred to and in what way they affected Manzoni himself. The text seems to unreasonably presume a knowledge of the 'local' history.

- (20) An unexpected outcome of this by no means infelicitous union was the birth of twin baby girls, one stillborn, the other surviving her by only a few hours. Donna Teresa's grief and her age (by now she was 46) allowed illness and fatigue to enter those no longer happy rooms. The laws and injustice of the times, his marriages and the premature deaths of his sons and daughters (only Enrico and Vittoria survived him) were perhaps intended to create a silence around Manzoni, in which he would await his last visitor alone: his own death, which came on 22 May 1873. (House of Manzoni)

The most extreme example of adaptation can be found in the Milan Science and Technology Museum website where there was an actual rewriting of the text. It shows clearly how due consideration has been given to what a non-Italian visitor might expect.

## (21) Carro Armato

## DESCRIZIONE

Il modello rappresenta un carro armato a forma di testuggine, rinforzato con piastre metalliche e aperto da un lato per poter vedere l'interno. E' sormontato da una torretta interna di avvistamento e armato di cannoni. Il movimento del carro è garantito da otto uomini che azionavano dall'interno un sistema di ingranaggi collegato alle quattro ruote.

## FUNZIONE

Il carro è pensato per portare panico e distruzione tra i nemici.

## MODALITA' D'USO

La direzione del fuoco poteva essere decisa dagli uomini posti nella parte alta del carro, da dove, attraverso delle strette fessure, potevano vedere il campo di battaglia.

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## ARMOURED CAR

*"I shall make covered chariots, that are safe and cannot be assaulted; cars which fear no great numbers when breaking through the ranks of the enemy and its artillery. Behind them, the infantrymen shall follow, without fearing injury or other impediments".*

Leonardo's idea of sowing panic and destruction among the enemy troops was embodied in his design of a tortoise-shaped car, reinforced with metal plates, with an inner turret and armed with guns. The car was to be operated from inside by 8 men, who would turn the cranks to move the wheels. The notes on the drawing show that Leonardo had thought of replacing the men with horses, although he was soon turned off the idea by the thought that the animals might become restive in such a narrow and noisy environment. The firing direction would be decided by the men in the upper part of the car, from where they could see the battlefield through slits or portholes. *Codex Arundel, sheet 1030* (Museum of Science and Technology, Milan)

The original Italian version describing a model of Leonardo da Vinci's armoured car first gives information about its size, weight, differential gear

system, inventory number, material, etc. and is followed by a very schematic description, as appropriate for the classification and cataloguing of objects in a museum. In contrast, the English version is presented in a discursive style saying what it was, how it worked and the purpose it served, responding to the curiosity of visitors. It is also characterized by personalization, first with the quotation from Leonardo himself and then when he and his idea become the subjects of the sentences and the topic of the paragraph, rather than the armoured car. It is interesting to note that the website has changed its format since this analysis was made and the Italian text follows exactly the same content and wording as the English, a reflection of the changing attitudes to museum communication in Italy rather than the translation itself.

## 6. Concluding remarks

The website texts are informative and therefore, according to House's Recontextualization Model of Translation, suitable for a covert type of translation. The analysis, however, has shown that the translations of the museum websites tend to be literal, close to the source text and at times even word-for-word. They also show features, such as explicitation, transposition and modulation, that are common translation strategies, but nevertheless a feeling of foreignness frequently seems to permeate the translations. As English most probably is being used here as a *lingua franca*, this 'foreignized' English translation may not appear so foreign to the less competent ELF speakers.

However, the main issue with the translations is the question of culture. A large part of the ideational content of museum websites is inevitably culture specific, culture meant as the body of knowledge acquired socially and through education in a national context. Most of the museums use a highly technical and specialized vocabulary, and there are very few signs of popularisation or attempts to simplify the information. On the one hand, this could stimulate interest and curiosity in readers and give greater understanding of the specific topic or exhibit, encouraging them to investigate the subject further. On the other hand, it makes heavy demands on the level of knowledge required to understand and appreciate fully the content of the texts, which many visitors to the museums are unlikely to have. This is a consequence of the approach adopted by Italian museums and local visitors' expectations.

Amore frequent application of House's 'cultural filter' would, therefore, seem an appropriate solution to the problems of text comprehension.

Mediterranean culture, history and artistic heritage, obviously well known to Italians, will not necessarily be familiar to all British or European visitors, not to mention visitors from other continents. Neil McGregor (2009), former Director of the British Museum, has expressed the need to ‘de-Europeanise info’ to make it clearer to people from outside Europe. It seems more consideration should be given to the pragmatic aspects, whether in the form of de-Europeanization or greater explicitation but, in any case, those related to greater contextualisation. The translations should start from a lower common denominator of knowledge about history, art and culture, especially in the Italian context, in order to achieve close functional equivalence between translations and source texts. If a high level of equivalence were achieved, the purposes of disseminating cultural knowledge to as wide a public as possible would be better served. House’s proposal to place text “within a new set of relationships and culturally-conditioned expectations” seems to find corroboration in these translations.

The findings of the study raise the question of whether ELF can satisfactorily and successfully be used in translation. The use of English as a lingua franca certainly creates many challenges for the translator. How ‘franca’ can a lingua actually be? It has to take into account such a wide variety of speakers that the task of meeting all their needs, both linguistic and cultural, is formidable. Extract (3) with its religious references is a clear example; explanations would be superfluous for native speakers, Europeans and some speakers from Latin America, Africa and Asia, but they would probably be necessary for many global readers. Even accommodating numerous linguistic nuances and creative variations, the pragmatic cultural differences among speakers frequently defy acceptable levels of comprehension, and will continue to do so until, perhaps, a greater ‘cultura franca’ may somehow be formed. Translation is always a compromise between various options, never more so than when the target language is a lingua franca.

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Address: JUDITH TURNBULL, Dipartimento di MEMOTEF, Facoltà di Economia, Sapienza University of Rome, Via Castro Laurenziano 9, 00161 Rome, Italy.

ORCID code: <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1651-4922>.

## **Translating cultural references in the Italian dubbing and re-dubbing of *E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial***

Larissa D'Angelo

*Università degli Studi di Bergamo*

### ABSTRACT

By adopting a comparative perspective, the present paper aims to investigate how and why differences are found in the dubbing and redubbing of the major motion picture *E.T. The Extraterrestrial* by Steven Spielberg. In particular, the analysis focuses on the translation and retranslation of culture-specific references (CSRs). The study is based on three different versions of the movie script: the original version in English (1982), the dubbed version in Italian (1982) and the redubbed version, still in Italian (2002). After an initial quantitative analysis of the three different scripts, a qualitative analysis was carried out adopting Vinay – Darbelnet's (2000) taxonomy to categorize the translations of CSRs, as cases of Direct Translations or Oblique Translations. The study confirms Berman's (1990) Retranslation Hypothesis on literary retransmissions and indicates that the two decades that divide the first and second dubbing of the movie have been culturally and linguistically crucial, widening the cultural and linguistic horizons of contemporary Italian viewers.

Keywords: dubbing, redubbing, culture-specific references, CSRs, Retranslation Hypothesis.

### **1. Introduction**

Film redubbing, a term that refers to the retranslation into the same target language of the same audio-visual text, has become standard procedure in the Italian film industry. So much so that the redubbing activity and the existence of different dubbed versions of the same movies have attracted the attention of various scholars (Chaume 2007; Khreis 2006; Maraschio 1982; Nornes 2007; Paolinelli 2004; Valoroso 2000; Wehn 1998). This interest

is not surprising, because film retranslations allow scholars to “investigate the evolution of translational norms and practices in the audio-visual field” (Zanotti 2015: 110) and at the same time, they provide evidence of new forms audio-visual translations due to changes in viewers’ habits and cultural expectations (Zanotti 2015: 110). Our cultural expectations and the way we utilise language and perceive foreign linguistic elements do change over time, calling for a constant redefinition of the audio-visual material. Redubbing also complies with the so-called ‘retranslation hypothesis’ (Berman 1990; Gambier 1994) that justifies a retranslation of texts (mostly canonical) because the text has aged and needs to be updated and therefore improved. This hypothesis explains why in most cases the analysis of a first translation is found to be more target-oriented, whereas the retranslation provides a more accurate product that is source-oriented and manages culture-specific references differently. This said, the present paper focuses on the culture-specific references (CSRs) found within the translation and retranslation of a major motion picture, *E.T. the Extraterrestrial*, a movie that abounds with cultural elements that have proven to be a challenge for the translators that worked on its initial dubbing in 1982 and the following redubbing in 2002.

Since the 1950s, dubbing has become Italy’s favoured form of audio-visual translation (AVT), confirmed by the substantial presence of movies and TV programs imported from abroad, mostly from the US, but also from other English-speaking countries where the film industry thrives. Today, although for other purposes, the dubbing and redubbing of foreign material still allows producers to control language and modify content for target users, whenever deemed necessary.

Although the Italian dubbing industry is always in need of translators, this professional role carried out within the film industry has never been clearly defined and the work itself is more the result of teamwork than the effort of a single translator. An audio-visual translator must cooperate with adapters, dialogue writers, dubbing actors and directors so it is hard to define to what extent the dubbing of a film is carried out by the translator. Because of this passage between translators and adapters, Díaz Cintas – Remael (2007) have noted that AVT has long been considered a form of ‘adaptation’ rather than a real translation: audio-visual translators do translate the dialogues as needed but adapters have the authority to modify the translation to comply with the spatial and temporal constraints of AVT (Pavesi – Perego 2006). The end product, therefore, can be far from the actual translation provided by the audio-visual translator, so much so that the role of the adapter has

gained more prestige than the role of the translator (Pavesi – Perego 2006). It is undeniable, however, that the adaptation process calls for creative work on the one hand and a significant degree of freedom on the other.

## **2. The classification and translation of culture-specific references (CSRs)**

CSRs have always represented a problematic issue in translation studies both in literary translations as well as in audio-visual material (Leppihalme 1994, 1997, 2011; Toury 1980, 1995; Pedersen 2005, 2011). Although a systematic definition and classification of CSRs does not exist yet, a number of scholars have defined these culture-specific elements as elements that “stand out from the common lexical context, they distinguish themselves for their heterogeneity, and consequently they require a reinforcement of attention in order to be decoded” (Finkel 1962, cited and translated in Ranzato 2010: 85). Vlahov – Florin (1969, cited and translated in Ranzato 2010: 85) proposed a more precise definition of CSRs, renamed as *realia*:

[...] words (and composed locutions) of popular language which constitute denominations of objects, concepts, which are typical of a geographical environment, of a culture, of the material life or of historical-social peculiarities of a people, a nation, a country, a tribe, and which thus carry a national, local or historical colouring; these words have not precise equivalents in other languages.

The fact that CSRs raise numerous problems for the translator is inferred clearly by a number of scholars such as Leemets (1992), who deems CSRs so problematic as to be untranslatable due to cultural, geographical and historical differences producing words reflecting concepts that may not be represented in another language.

Mailhac (1996), as Ranzato (2010, 2014) also underlines, has emphasized the existence of a cultural gap between source culture and target culture, so that foreign references introduced in a receiving culture are inevitably characterized ‘by a degree of opacity’, rendering the interpretation of the text highly subjective. Descriptive Translation Studies consider translation the result of an activity that is first of all embedded within a specific social context and, secondly, an activity that respects a set of norms. Toury (1980: 51) defines these norms as “the translation of general values or ideas

shared by a certain community – as to what is right and wrong, adequate and inadequate – into specific performance-instructions appropriate for and applicable to specific situations”. Toury’s studies have helped to change the translators’ attitudes toward what Lefevere (1992) has defined as the universe of discourse (objects, customs and beliefs) found in a source text in relation to the universe of discourse of a target society, rendering the final product more target-oriented, i.e. focusing on the needs of the receiving culture. However, Toury (1980), like Even-Zohar (1990), also believes that a source text inevitably changes when introduced into a new cultural system and, even more importantly, that the target culture itself changes when exposed to foreign material. The way the Italian language has modified itself in the last few decades, acquiring an increasing number of foreign words, expressions and calques, is evidence of how the introduction of foreign texts, especially Anglo-American ones, has modified the receiving language as well as its culture (Pavesi 2006).

If defining CSRs is not a straightforward process, neither is classifying them, as numerous scholars have noted (Nida 1945; Newmark 1988; Ramière 2006; Rantanen 1990; Ranzato 2010; Mailhac 1996; Kwiecinski 2001). Newmark (1988: 95), in particular, suggests five cultural categories adapted from Nida (1945), relating to different lexical fields pertaining to a culture-specific lexicon:

- 1) Ecology (terms relating to flora, fauna, winds, plains, hills);
- 2) Material culture (artefacts, such as food, clothes, houses and towns, transport);
- 3) Social culture (work and leisure);
- 4) Organisations, customs, activities, procedures and customs (political and administrative, religious, artistic);
- 5) Gestures and habits.

Just as Ranzato (2010) has noted, Gottlieb (1992), Ivarsson – Crofts (1992), Kovacic (1996) and Lomheim (1999) have also provided interesting classifications, but for the present analysis, Vinay – Darbelnet’s (2000) taxonomy was preferred, as explained in the following section.

### **3. Methodology and corpus data**

By adopting a comparative perspective, the present paper aims to investigate how and why differences are found in the dubbing and redubbing of the

1982 major motion picture *E.T. The Extraterrestrial* by Steven Spielberg. The twentieth-anniversary edition of 2002, in fact, offered the public an extended version of the film with altered, special effects, computer-generated images and a meticulous revision of the original dialogues. The data under discussion here comprise three different versions of the movie script: the original version in English (1982), the dubbed version in Italian (1982) and the redubbed version, once again, in Italian (2002). As can be seen in Table 1, the total number of words found in the corpus is 11,974 and the wordiest script in the corpus is the 1982 version in English, with 4,501 words.

Table 1. Number of words per subcorpus

Total n. of words in the 1982 script (English)	4,501
Total n. of words in the 1982 script (Italian)	3,575
Total n. of words in the 2002 script (Italian)	3,898
Total n. of words in the corpus	11,974

Although a word count already shows in which script version Italian translators and dubbers were more or less prolific, indicating that the two translations display different vocabulary and pragmatic choices, the present analysis also considers how many lines are in the script and, most of all, how many script lines show differences between the 1982 and the 2002 dubbings (see Table 2). The total number of lines constituting the original script is 808. Comparing the 1982 and 2002 translations of the script, it can be noted that 194 lines show notable differences in translation. In reviewing this set of lines, it was found that 166 lines show variation that is presumably not attributable solely to the different interpretative styles the dubbing actors employed in the two versions. Indeed, the 2002 dubbing sees an increase of 11% in the number of words compared to the 1982 version, due to a faster speech delivery in the redubbed version. In the second version, actors tend to speak faster, using more fillers and a more spontaneous style. This figure is confirmed by the fact that 171 lines are longer in the second dubbing than in the first, whereas in the 1982 version only four lines are longer than in the previous version. The longer lines in the 2002 version show frequent use of fillers that are typical of contemporary Italian speech, such as *'beh'*, *'allora'*, *'ehi'*, or colloquialisms such as *'amico'* or *'senti'*.

Once the quantitative data were generated, Vinay-Darbelnet's (2000: 84-94) taxonomy, which has often been applied to culture-specific elements found in texts, was employed here to categorize the translations of CSRs, as cases of Direct Translations or Oblique Translations (see Table 3).

Table 2. Quantitative data in the corpus under study

Corpus data	
Total n. of lines found in all three scripts	808
Lines that are different in the dubbed (1982) and redubbed (2002) version	194
Lines that present differences in the dubbed (1982) and redubbed (2002) version (not due to differences in acting styles)	166
N. of lines that are longer than in the 2002 script (compared to the 1982 script)	171
N. of lines that are longer than in the 1982 script (compared to the 2002 script)	4

Table 3. Vinay – Darbelnet's (2000: 84-94) taxonomy

Direct Translation (DT)	Oblique Translation (OT)
Borrowing	Transposition
Calque	Modulation
Literal Translation	Equivalence
	Adaptation

Listed under Direct Translations (DT), are Borrowing, Calque and Literal Translation. Borrowing is a stylistic device that leaves foreign and exotic elements unaltered so that the target text becomes 'foreignized'. Calque instead consists in the translation of a word or of the components of a phrase from a source language into a target language to create a new lexeme in the target language, whereas literal translation is applied to an expression or a phrase, maintaining the grammatical structure of the source text. Among Oblique Translation (OT) techniques, we have Transposition, Modulation, Equivalence and Adaptation. Transposition allows parts of the speech to change their sequence when they are translated (*red pen* becomes *pennarossain* Italian). In a sense it is a shift of word class due to different grammatical structures. Modulation is defined by Hardin – Picot (1990: 21) as "a change in point of view that allows us to express the same phenomenon in a different way" and, one could add, through a more idiomatic expression. Equivalence attempts to find equivalent idiomatic expressions in a target language so that the original meaning in the source text is not changed during the translation process. It is a technique commonly used with clichés, proverbs and idioms. Finally, Adaptation is used when the source language content is unknown to the target community, in which case translators have to create

a new, equivalent situation, using linguistic elements with which the target community is familiar. Because of its accuracy, Vinay – Darbelnet's (2000) taxonomy will be applied to the present research and each difference found in the translation and retranslation of CSRs will be categorized following this taxonomy.

#### 4. Comparing the 1982 and 2002 dubbing of *E.T. The Extraterrestrial*

By applying Vinay – Darbelnet's (2000) taxonomy to the analysis of the 166 lines that differ linguistically, an array of OT and DT are seen to occur, very often within the same line, as in (1).

Original version	Dubbing (1982)	Redubbing (2002)
(1) Michael: How about throwing a spell over the pizza man?	(1a) Michael: Perché non lanci un incantesimo alla pizzeria?	(1b) Michael: Perché non fai un incantesimo al fattorino della pizza?

This first example, which is just one of the many found in the analysis, shows three different techniques employed in the 1982 translation. Modulation is used to render '*How about ...*' into '*Perché non ...?*', thus changing the original point of view slightly, but maintaining the same meaning. A Literal Translation is applied to the words that follow, rendering '*throwing a spell*' into '*lanci un incantesimo*', whereas in the 2002 version, we see that the translator has opted for Modulation, using '*fai un incantesimo*'. Finally, in 1982 having a pizza delivered by a pizza man was not a common occurrence in Italy, though it was in the United States; therefore, the Italian translator had to apply Adaptation to make Italian viewers understand the line. In the 1982 version, '*pizza man*' became simply '*pizzeria*', whereas in 2002, when pizza delivery was finally common in Italy too, the translator was able to use '*fattorinodella pizza*', i.e. we no longer see a source culture reference but an intercultural reference, therefore Modulation was possible, rather than Adaptation.

Example (2) is another clear demonstration of how the second dubbing is a careful revision of the first one. In both translations, the Italian preposition '*con*' has been added to Modulate the original meaning and render Greg's telephone conversation more comprehensible for Italian viewers. The 1982 translation of the word '*pepperoni*' into '*peperonata*' is an example of Adaptation due to a cultural reference that is not actually missing

in the target culture (spicy salami is a product imported from Italy, brought to the US by the Italian-American community), but in the 1980s, in Italy, spicy salami was not usually found on pizza. By 2002 that cultural (and culinary) gap had been filled, and the line reads '*salamepiccante*', rendered through Equivalence.

Original version	Dubbing (1982)	Redubbing (2002)
(2) Greg: Plenty of sausage and pepperonis. Everything but the little fishies.	(2a) Greg: Con molta salsiccia, e peperonata. Con tutto tranne le acciughine.	(2b) Greg: Con molta salsiccia, e salame piccante. Con tutto tranne i pesciolini.

The final part of the line that initially reads '*Everything but the little fishies*' sees two different approaches: in 1982, the translator understood that Greg was referring to anchovies but decided not to translate it literally, employing the correct terminology (anchovies - acciughe) instead, but keeping the diminutive of the original translated in Italian with the suffix '*-ine*'; the 2002 version instead opts for a Literal Translation ('*pesciolini*').

In (3) Elliott tries to attract his mother's attention because he heard something in the garden toolshed. In (3b), the term '*toolshed*' was translated with '*rimessa*', whereas in (3a) it is omitted, producing a translation shorter and less detailed than the original line. The classic American toolsheds were still a distant reality for the Italian public of the early 1980s, so the translator might not have found an equivalent term at that time. Twenty years later instead, the product appeared on the Italian market as well, and the translator was probably sure that the average viewer would understand what Elliott was referring to, thus opting for Adaptation (3b). Another advantage of using Adaptation in (3b) is that the speech delivery needs to be faster, as in the original version (3). Although the meaning does not change from one dubbing to another, the interpretation in (3b) renders the original more faithfully, adding a nuance of impatience that was missing in (3a).

Original version	Dubbing (1982)	Redubbing (2002)
(3) Elliott: There's something out there! In the toolshed. It threw the ball at me.	(3a) Elliott: Mamma, c'è qualcosa là fuori! E mi ha tirato la palla.	(3b) Elliott: Mamma, mamma, fuori c'è qualcosa! È nella rimessa e mi ha tirato la palla.

Another example of Modulation and Adaptation being employed in the dubbing and redubbing of the movie is the following example, where we see the first translation of the directive *'Go as a goblin'* rendered by a conditional (4a) while we find a negative query in (4b), a solution that indeed maintains the same overall meaning but makes the second translation less incisive.

Also interesting in (4) is the translation provided for *'goblin'*. In 1982 it was translated as *'folletto'*, whereas in 2002 the translator opted for *'gnomo'*, both examples of Adaptation. Today if a third redubbing were proposed, we would probably see *'goblin'* used in Italian as well, through the Borrowing technique, but in the early 1980s and early 2000s *'folletto'* and *'gnomo'* were functional analogues of a third culture reference coming from northern Europe. Translators have probably opted for two Italian words able to recreate the idea of fantasy creatures.

In (5) we see a similar case: both the fantastic creatures present in the original are translated, but if a Calque is available for *'elf'* (*'elfo'* in Italian), in the first dubbing, *'leprechaun'* posed a problem for the translator, because it was a third culture reference that did not have an equivalent or a Calque in the target language. *'Leprechaun'* was therefore first Adapted with the expression *'orconano'* (5a), whereas in the redubbing the term was deleted (5b), and the translator inserted the adverb *semplicemente*, 'simply', to cover for the time taken by the articulation of the word *'leprechaun'*. The choice of this adverb may be motivated by articulation compatibility with the name *'leprechaun'*, given the similarity between vowel sounds [e] and [ɛ] and the presence of the plosive [p] in both words.

Original version	Dubbing (1982)	Redubbing (2002)
(4) Michael: Go as a goblin.	(4a) Michael: Ti potresti vestire da folletto.	(4b) Michael: Perché non ti mascheri da gnomo?
(5) Michael: Maybe an elf or a leprechaun.	(5a) Michael: Magari era un elfo, o un orco nano.	(5b) Michael: Magari era semplicemente un folletto.

In (6), instead, we do see Borrowing utilized, but only in the redubbing of the movie. In 1982, the source culture reference *'cowgirl'* did not have a direct equivalent in Italian, therefore *'cowboy'* was preferred (see 6a). In 2002, instead, we see that the SCR *'cowgirl'* had fully entered the Italian vocabulary through Borrowing (6b).

Original version	Dubbing (1982)	Redubbing (2002)
(6) Gert: I'm going as a cowgirl.	(6a) Gert: Io voglio vestirmi da cowboy.	(6b) Gert: Io volevo vestirmi da cowgirl.

The redubbing of E.T. saw the frequent use of Borrowing, but as mentioned above, only in the redubbed version, as can be seen in (7), where Elliott mentions a type of candy called Pez. The Italian translator had to rely on an invented brand, 'Spritz', in (7a) because Pez was not marketed in Italy before the 1990s, and nothing equivalent existed at the time. In 1982 the adapters had to find a clever solution to translating this source culture reference that had no correspondence in the Italian culture. Since the brand name Pez was distinguishable in the frame and also Elliott is framed in the foreground, it was probably necessary to invent a name whose articulation was similar to Pez, as 'Spritz'. In (7b), instead, the translators could use the original brand name 'Pez', because it was commonly found in Italy by then.

Original version	Dubbing (1982)	Redubbing (2002)
(7) Elliott: See? This is Pez. Candy.	(7a) Elliott: E questi sono Spritz. Dolci.	(7b) Elliott: Vedi? E questi sono i Pez. Dolci.

In (8) we see how the names of Elliott's toys are different in the two versions: in (8a) we find that the use of Adaptation and a set of invented words ('*Testa di Maglio*'; '*UomoTricheco*'; '*Denti in Fuori*') were utilized, whereas in (8b) the original English names were retained through Borrowing. The characters Elliott was indicating are action figures that in 1982 probably represented a source culture reference as they did not have a correspondence in Italian. In 2002, after the release of the second Star Wars trilogy (Lucas 1999-2005), the cultural reference was perceived as an intercultural reference and the translator opted for Borrowing the original action figures' names.

Original version	Dubbing (1982)	Redubbing (2002)
(8) Elliott: And then this is Hammerhead. You see? This is Walrus Man. And then this is Snaggletooth.	(8a) Elliott: E questo è Testa di Maglio. Vedi? Questo è l'Uomo Tricheco. E poi questo è Denti In Fuori.	(8b) Elliott: E questo è Hammerhead. Vedi? Questo è Walrus Man. E poi questo è Snaggletooth.

In (9) the word *popcorn* was initially Adapted to '*noccioline*' ('*peanuts*') – see (9a). At the time, although popcorn was already marketed in Italy, buying

peanuts was more common in cinemas; therefore, the first translator chose a product the public could recognize. By 2002, popcorn was commonly found in cinemas and was no longer a potential cause of referential opacity.

Original version	Dubbing (1982)	Redubbing (2002)
(9) Elliott: Remember when he used to take us out to the ball games and take us to the movies, and we had popcorn fights?	(9a) Elliott: Ricordi quando papà ci portava a vedere le partite? E ci portava al cinema e le battaglie con le noccioline?	(9b) Elliott: Ti ricordi quando papà ci portava a vedere le partite? E ci portava al cinema e facevamo le battaglie con i popcorn?

In (10), Elliott recognizes his father's aftershave on the shirt he found, but in (10a) the brand name '*Old Spice*' is replaced by the generic name of the product, '*dopobarba*' (aftershave), which renders the line comprehensible to Italian viewers. At the time of the second dubbing, '*Old Spice*' had entered the target culture and no longer needed Adaptation.

What happens in (11) is somewhat different but stems from another SCR. In correcting his brother, Michael mentions the name of another aftershave, '*Sea Breeze*', which is presumably the after-shave that he could smell on his father's shirt. In (11a) we see how, instead of correcting his brother with the name of the right aftershave, Michael makes it clear that the smell that he detects does not belong to his father, but to a certain Samantha who perhaps is the woman with whom their father went to Mexico, abandoning their mother. Given the foregrounding of the scene, it is conceivable that the choice of that name is driven by the will to match the two words on the isosynchronous plane.

Original version	Dubbing (1982)	Redubbing (2002)
(10) Elliott: Old Spice.	(10a) Elliott: Dopobarba.	(10b) Elliott: Old Spice.
(11) Michael: Sea Breeze.	(11a) Michael: Samantha.	(11b) Michael: Sea Breeze.

What is also interesting to note is that, unlike Zanotti (2015), who reported a toning down of the expletives that occasionally surface in Elliott's brother's speech, in the present analysis it has been noted that most of the expletives that were eliminated in the first dubbing of the movie were actually restored in the second dubbing, rendering the 2002 version more faithful to the original and therefore rich in strong language, as can be seen in the following example:

Original version	Dubbing (1982)	Redubbing (2002)
(12) Tyler: You geek, man.	(12a) Tyler: Hai dato i numeri.	(12b) Tyler: Hai dato i numeri. Imbranato.

In (12) we note that Modulation is followed by the Adaptation '*Hai dato i numeri*' in (12a) and (12b), but (12b) presents an addition: the statement is followed by '*Imbranato*' a more precise translation of '*geek*'. It is possible that, as a slang term, the 1982 adaptation did not find any correspondence in Italian and preferred to translate the expression into a periphrasis that would yield a more or less equivalent meaning.

The translation of (13) was left to the inventiveness of the adapters that in the two versions opted for different solutions. In (13a) the intent of mocking Elliott has been interpreted by translating the expressions '*creeps*' and '*creepy*' with a neutral '*pisciasotto*', that is however capable of rendering the illocutionary meaning of the original statement. In (13b), instead, the adaptation has tried to use an expression whose meaning is much closer to (13). The version proposed by (13b) recalls, as in (13), something that crawls and '*vermeverminoso*' manages to reproduce a word play in which the root '*creep*' has been declined in two ways, thus maintaining structure, alliteration and meaning.

Original version	Dubbing (1982)	Redubbing (2002)
(13) Greg: Creeps. Creepy.	(13a) Greg: Pisciasotto.	(13b) Greg: Sei un verme verminoso.

Example (14) introduces a form of colloquial speech, '*douchebag*', that is a slang expression commonly used as an insult, but that originally defined an intimate hygiene practice. Both adaptations have borrowed the association with intimate parts, but with different results: in (14a) the metaphor is replaced with '*anti-fecondativo*' (contraceptive), a word that is not part of a young person's world. In (14b) the line becomes an exhortation to get purged. Both lines show similarities to the original but with some significant differences. On the one hand, the first dubbing and the original express the same asseverated act represented by a nominal phrase, unlike (8b) where we see a directive realized through an imperative verb. On the other hand, the original and the second dubbing feature a lexicon more accessible to the type of character that speaks.

Original version	Dubbing (1982)	Redubbing (2002)
(14) Greg: Douchebag.	(14a) Greg: Anti fecondativo.	(14b) Greg: Fatti una purga, Elliott.

Finally, in (15), Michael dismisses his sister by referring to her as *'little twerp'*, a depreciative that does not appear in (15a) but only in (15b) (*'scema'*); in Italian both structures are rendered as questions, and not as affirmatives, thus employing Modulation. As in the previous examples, we see a toning down or an elimination of strong language in the first dubbing of the movie, perhaps because the original translators deemed these expressions inadequate for a family film. In the redubbing, instead, the original expletives are restored.

Original version	Dubbing (1982)	Redubbing (2002)
(15) Michael: They're only feet, you little twerp.	(15a) Michael: Sono piedi, che piedi vuoi?	(15b) Michael: Sono piedi, che piedi vuoi, scema?

Sometimes, however, the first dubbing proposes instances of *'dubbese'* (Antonini 2009), i.e. words that do not exist in everyday vocabulary and are invented on the spot by dubbing audio-visual translators. In (16a), for example, the word *'lame'* has been translated with *'spillato'*, a term not in use in contemporary Italian. Twenty years later, the translator opted to provide viewers with the actual translation of *'lame'* (16b) that reads *'poverofesso'*.

Original version	Dubbing (1982)	Redubbing (2002)
(16) Michael: You're so lame, Elliott.	(16a) Michael: Sei uno spillato, Elliott.	(16b) Michael: Elliott, sei un povero fesso.

Another type of Adaptation is found in (17), when Gerty refers to English. Here we see a SCR that raised a number of problems. Adopting a literal translation would not have made sense for Italian viewers, nor would substituting *'English'* for *'Italian'*, as in *'don't you understand Italian?'*, because Italian viewers are well aware that the story is not set in Italy. As a consequence, translators had to opt for an Adaptation, eliminating the reference to a specific language and using the Italian idiom *'Non tiseilavato le orecchiestamattina?'* (*'haven't you cleaned your ears this morning?'*) in (17a) and (17b).

Original version	Dubbing (1982)	Redubbing (2002)
(17) Gerty: Can't you understand English? He said "phone".	(17a) Gerty: Non ti sei lavato le orecchie stamattina? Ha detto "telefono".	(17b) Gerty: Non ti sei lavato le orecchie stamattina? Ha detto "telefono".

One of the few examples of Transpositions found in the dubbing and redubbing of the movie is in the memorable line proposed in (18). The 1982 translations opted for a Transposition and changed the speech sequence from *'home... phone'* to *'telefono... casa'* (*'phone... home'*). The 2002 version, as has been noted numerous times in the present analysis, renders a more faithful translation by applying a Literal Translation (see 18b).

Original version	Dubbing (1982)	Redubbing (2002)
(18) E.T.: E.T. Home, phone. E.T. phone home.	(18a) E.T.: E.T. Telefono, casa. E.T. Telefono casa.	(18b) E.T.: E.T. Casa, telefono. E.T. Telefono casa.

In addition, one of the many examples which demonstrate that the subsequent redubbing of this motion picture was carried out not only to modernize the translation but also to eliminate any inaccuracies is found in (19). Here the cultural reference to an urban myth that originated in the United States in the 1930s (New York Times 1935) was recognized in the 1982 version and a wrong subject was attributed to the verb – see (19a). Michael seems to refer to a particular person who may have reported this fact, unlike in (19b), where the character correctly uses a more generic third person plural pronoun.

Original version	Dubbing (1982)	Redubbing (2002)
(19) Michael: You know how they say there are alligators in the sewers? Maybe it was a pervert or a deformed kid.	(19a) Michael: Sai, dice che ci sono gli alligatori dentro le fogne. Forse era solo un ragazzino deforme, o simili.	(19b) Michael: Sai che dicono che ci sono gli alligatori dentro le fogne? Forse era solo un pervertito o un bambino deforme.

In the second part of the line instead, censorship surfaces again, and the word *'pervert'* is eliminated, as it has a negative sexual connotation that

was culturally unacceptable in Italy, in a family movie of the early 1980s. Differently, in (18b) we see how in the second adaptation the term is appropriately translated with *'pervertito'* (*'pervert'*), thus eliminating a taboo.

## 5. Conclusions

First of all, the present analysis has confirmed that, by applying Vinay – Darbelnet's (2000) taxonomy to the Italian dubbed and redubbed versions of *E.T. The Extraterrestrial*, a prominent use of Direct and Oblique translation techniques emerges. The varied use of Adaptation, Modulation, Calque, Borrowing and Literal Translation, for example, shows the careful editing the redubbed version of the movie has undergone, thus rendering the text more precise, accurate and authentic.

Berman's (1990) Retranslation Hypothesis on literary retransmissions has been confirmed, as the first translation of this famous motion picture has been found to be oriented more towards the target culture, while the latter is oriented more towards the source culture. SCRs, in particular, have often been perceived as intercultural references in the 2002 redubbed version and have been translated for the Italian public using Adaptation, Borrowing and Literal Translation. The two decades that divide the first and second dubbing of the movie have been culturally and linguistically crucial, widening the cultural and linguistic horizons of contemporary Italian viewers. If the first translation of the movie's SCRs started introducing source culture references in the Italian culture of the early 1980s, in the retranslation we find that a significant number of SCRs that were deemed problematic in the previous version had become part of the target culture and had been completely assimilated. Lefevere (1985) refers to the translation of cultural references as one of the ways through which the public can become more receptive to foreign elements. The first dubbing of *E.T.* has undoubtedly contributed to the expansion of cultural and linguistic horizons that have allowed the second translation to be oriented more towards the source text.

Besides being more accurate and receptive regarding the use of strong language, the second dubbing displays a high number of fillers and informal constructions typical of spontaneous speech. This analysis therefore also confirms what Freddi – Pavesi (2009) have noted, i.e. that Italian redubbed films of the last decades appear to be rich in colloquialisms and strong language. The characters of the first adaptation of *E.T. The Extraterrestrial* employ a more formal vocabulary than those of the second adaptation. This

formality makes the dialogues of the first version more artificial, a problem that has been successfully addressed in the redubbed version.

Although the beneficial results of a retranslation are clear, the public's reaction is often negative. This is necessarily related to other aspects that go beyond the technical parameters of a retranslation (Bakewell 1987). Like all great classics, *E.T. The Extraterrestrial* has become a generational cultural reference loved by the public, that deems it historically and culturally significant. The fame the film has acquired over the years implies that any change in detail and the inevitable use of different actors in its dubbed versions can be perceived as a potential threat that could compromise even a well-packaged product. Nonetheless, redubbing can provide a language that is more in line with the spontaneous speech of the linguistic community that it represents, and in particular with that of the new generations watching the film for the first time. In the new version this new generation of viewers will undoubtedly find a representation of reality with which they can identify more easily (Vanderschelden 2000).

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Address: LARISSA D'ANGELO, Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Culture Straniere, Università degli Studi di Bergamo, Piazza Rosate 2, 24129 Bergamo (Italy).

ORCID code: <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3565-6280>.

MARINA DOSSENA and POLINA SHVANYUKOVA, Introduction	5
NICHOLAS BROWNLEES, <i>The Gazette de Londres</i> : Disseminating news and exercising news management through translation	13
MASSIMO STURIALE, Late Modern newspapers as a mirror of linguistic (in)stability and change	35
MARINA DOSSENA, 'Sassenach', eh? Late Modern Scottish English on the borders of time and space	53
ELISABETTA LONATI, Words of religious dissent in eighteenth-century Italian translations of Chambers's <i>Cyclopaedia</i>	77
POLINA SHVANYUKOVA, Teaching Business English in nineteenth-century Italy	123
JOHN DOUTHWAITE, The method and practice of translational stylistics	159
JUDITH TURNBULL, Museum communication: The role of translation in disseminating culture	193
LARISSA D'ANGELO, Translating cultural references in the Italian dubbing and re-dubbing of <i>E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial</i>	219

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