Writing . . . in Stereo:

Bilingualism in the Text

Ralph Sarkonak and Richard Hodgson

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1

Theory and History

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Seeing in Depth:

the Practice of Bilingual Writing

Producing and reading a bilingual text, much like creating and viewing a stereoscopic image, involve a much more complex process of perception and decoding than do the writing and deciphering of a monolingual one. Working with bilingual texts creates both special problems and unique opportunities for the writer, the graphic designer, the reader and for those of us who are fascinated by visible language in all its forms. Most studies on bilingualism tend to neglect the written manifestations of the phenomenon in favor of the psychological, social and pedagogical dimensions of the problem as they appear in the spoken language. This issue explores the practice of bilingual writing in a wide variety of texts, from cuneiform tablets and bilingual dictionaries to contemporary fiction and bilingual editions of texts. "Texts" can be anything from polyglot Bibles to advertising slogans and brand names. The main objective of this issue devoted to writing "in stereo" is to bring together specialists in a wide range of fields, from graphic design and lexicography to text-linguistics and literary theory, to study the practice of bilingual writing at the level of the word (company logos and bilingual dictionaries), the sentence (code-switching) and the entire text. The examples chosen involve both visible and invisible bilingualism (depending on the reader/viewer's knowledge of the languages in question).

For a human being possessed of several native tongues and a sense of personal identity arrived at in the course of multilingual interior speech, the turn outward, the encounter of language with others and the world, would of necessity be very different, metaphysically, psychologically different, from that experienced by the user of a single mother tongue. [. . .]

In what language am I, *suis*-je, *bin*-ich, *when I am inmost?*

George Steiner [1]

Depth, or what is called in optics penetration effect, cannot be found in a single image, a single instantané [snapshot]. *The visible world reaches us through a double take based on the stereoscopic principle. Two slightly different versions of the same "object" from our two eyes are combined subjectively with the effect of relief. The binocular nature of human vision is achieved through some of the most delicate adjustments of which our organism is capable.* [. . .] *Physiologically and psychologically and metaphysically,* to see *means to see with or against or beside something. The school of Gestalt psychology has long since developed this simple truth of the relativity of perception: we grasp things juxtaposed in clusters, framed by one another.*

Roger Shattuck [2]

This issue is not about memory, time or recognition, but the quotation from Roger Shattuck's classic work on Proust fittingly sets the stage for a volume devoted to the question of bilingualism. If like us you grew up in the fifties, you probably remember spending hours staring through the portholes of the family's viewfinder at a treasure trove of images brought back from visits to the Cliffhouse at San Francisco, the Statue of Liberty or the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. Ensconced in a circle of cardboard that you had to carefully, almost religiously, insert into this modern version of the stereoscope[3] were tiny photographic images or slides, two sets of them, so that when you squinted your eyes up tight against the binoculars-like instrument made of black celluloid ("For heaven's sake, don't drop it!"), you magically saw *in three dimensions* the sights that your parents and you had missed seeing on your last car trip because they'd been preoccupied with roadmaps and tripkits, while you had been too busy looking for the washrooms. Somehow with the advent of stereophonic recordings, whether those ancient 33's that some used to hoard or the new CD's we now prefer to collect, we have all but forgotten that "stereo," from the Greek word for "solid," also has a visual meaning, as in "stereograph," "stereo-camera," "stereo pair" and, of course, "stereoscope."

However, the stereographic effect need not be limited to optical instruments;[4] it serves here as a metaphor for the practice of bilingual writing, i.e., those texts, whether literary or not, whether as long as a novel or as short and succinct as a company logo, which in various ways and forms make use of two or more different languages, thereby giving readers the impression of "seeing in depth." The bilingual textual space allows, even obliges, the reader/spectator/viewer decoding a message encoded at one and the same time in more than one language to pass from one to another, to compare their similarities or their differences and their fundamentally complementary nature. Along the

way, what becomes even more apparent than the actual message is the process of language. In Russian Formalist terms, the laying bare of the device (*obnaženie priëma*) affects language itself.[5] For is it not true that language never becomes so apparent, so conspicuous and so blatant as when we are forced to see its multidimensional materiality due to the juxtaposition of one linguistic code with another? Then *language* is made truly *visible* for all to see and enjoy.

This issue will focus on written texts, something which is not common in the literature on bilingualism. In ***After Babel,*** George Steiner discerns two significant trends in the study of interlinguistic communication:

> *the theoretic discussion of multi- and pluri-lingualism in relation to a general understanding of human speech, and the study of actual cases of multilingual usage in polyglot communities.*[6]

It is interesting to note that he does not speak of bilingual texts, an area of study that overlaps but does not coincide with case studies of bilingual or multilingual speakers. Indeed, recent work on the subject of bilingualism tends to be about the psychology of the bilingual person, pedagogy and sociolinguistics. Unlike the focus in *Visible Language,* the emphasis in much of the research of the last twenty years has been on orality.[7] For our purposes, however, the focus is squarely on writing, from cuneiform tablets dating back to 2400 BC to postmodernist fiction. The texts studied in this issue come in various sizes, shapes, genres and writing systems. The simplest take the form of those modern "hieroglyphics" that surround us in our daily lives—trademarks and company logos. Then there are newspaper and dictionary articles, bilingual books such as editions and translations and, finally, bilingual literary works such as those by Rabelais, Nabokov and Chicano poets, to name but a few. The concept of the "text" has been left

deliberately loose in order to allow us to include such a wide array of writing practices.[8]

Regular readers of this journal may have the impression that they are seeing double, for this is our second issue devoted to the question of bilingualism.[9] Our ongoing interest in and fascination with the topic can no doubt be explained—at least in part—by the fact that as anglophone teachers of French and Québécois literature in a large English-Canadian university, both of us live and breathe in an essentially bilingual work environment, and are constantly compelled to ask ourselves Steiner's question: "In what language am *I* [. . .], when I am inmost?" The answer is neither simple nor self-evident and our colleagues—both Anglophones and Francophones—and our students, who are of many languages and cultures, could no doubt testify that there is more than one *I* involved, not just because there are two persons with two distinct personalities writing and editing the words that you see before you, but also because there are two languages involved, and the connection between each individual *I* and the codes leads to multiple and complex relationships. Psychologically, is one ever the same "I" when speaking—or even more so, when writing—in a language other than one's mother tongue? And, as Steiner asks so eloquently of his own situation, what happens if there is more than one "mother tongue"? Add to this already complex situation the fact that Canada is a bilingual country, officially and unhappily—indeed, to almost no one's satisfaction—and you have an even better measure of the problematic nature of bilingualism for us.[10]

To return to our readers' possible double vision: it is, in fact, an illusion. While both issues may at first appear to be on the same topic, the current one is an outgrowth of the second and third sections of our previous issue entitled, respectively, Bilingualism in Daily Life and Bilingualism and the Literary Text. The new emphasis will be on the historical dimensions of the problem, on

increased attention to actual texts and their various contexts—commercial, social, literary, even intertextual—and on some of the details of the practice of bilingual writing. Our scope has been both broadened and sharpened by the evolution of our own thinking on the question, as well as by that of the contributors to Writing in Stereo. . . Bilingualism in the Text.

A Complex Topic

Bilingualism is not an easy topic to get a purchase on due in part to its universality and in part to its multifarious manifestations. Two fundamental problems face anyone wishing to write on the subject: the difficulty of defining the topic and the interdisciplinarity of the field.

Let us begin with the second aspect of the question. As H. Baetens Beardsmore has pointed out,

> [o]*ne explanation for the difficulties in circumscribing the field of bilingualism is the multidisciplinary nature of the aspects involved. The various disciplines involved in analyzing the phenomenon, be they linguistic, psychology, sociology or pedagogy, approach it from their own particular vantage point.*[11]

Similarly, Suzanne Romaine has stated that

> [w]*hen we look at related disciplines which have an interest in aspects of language we can see that they, too, tend to focus on some aspects of bilingualism and neglect others.*[12]

Bilingualism is a complex topic with a vast bibliography. One can study it from points of view as diverse as jurisprudence and pedagogy, from disciplines as complementary as psychology and sociology, and from fields of research at once as divided and yet as close as linguistics and literature. Here, our approach will be resolutely interdisciplinary. Our contributors come from disciplines, fields

of enquiry or professions as diverse as Mideastern Studies and graphic design on the one hand, and as related as literary criticism and literary theory on the other. No single ideology, theory, methodology or point of view unites all the writers. Rather, it is from and through the basic differences that some common concerns become apparent and, as such, all the more striking. The very interdisciplinarity of bilingual studies is one of the aspects that makes it such an exciting field and the fact that no single approach can do the topic justice, far from impeding research in the area, should, we believe, provide a stimulus to all those interested in language and in its sometimes invisible materiality.

An even greater difficulty in approaching bilingualism concerns the actual definition of the subject.

> *It is not an easy task to start any discussion on bilingualism by positing a generally accepted definition of the phenomenon that will not meet with some sort of criticism.*[13]

One definition refers to the "state of an individual or a community characterized by the simultaneous use of two languages."[14] Since we shall be concentrating on texts rather than on societal bilingualism, we prefer a more general definition: "The capacity to make alternate (and sometimes mixed) use of two languages."[15] Although one should no doubt prefer the terms of multi- or plurilingualism for the use of more than two languages, we shall take the liberty of subsuming such polyglot usage under the general heading of bilingualism.[16]

An ancillary problem is raised by the use of the term "diglossia," which etymologically means bilingualism in Greek. Today the term has come to mean the functional distribution of languages and language varieties and, in particular,

a situation where two very different varieties of a language or two distinct languages co-occur throughout a speech community, each with a distinctive range of social functions.[17]

The term is used especially in sociolinguistics to describe the use within one community of two languages or dialects of one language—linguists have difficulty discerning a dialect from a language—in terms of function, prestige or literary usage. The theoretician of bilingualism William Mackey has divided bilingualism into individual and collective performances and the latter into political, psychosocial and social domains. Diglossia would figure as a subsection or a division of the latter.[18] *Literary diglossia* refers to a situation where one language, the vernacular, is reserved for everyday common usage including newspapers, and another, supposedly more sophisticated or more prestigious language is used for official written communication, e.g., for administrative or literary purposes. Such a situation exists in countries where Arabic is used. *Literary biculturalism* refers to a situation where writers are obliged to write in a foreign language and a culture not their own. Since we intend to aim at individual linguistic performance and, what is more, actual texts, it would seem that the term "bilingualism" is more appropriate than its more learned Greek cousin, although if within one text one language were systematically reserved for one type of usage, say reported dialogue, and another one for another type of discourse, say narration, one would be in the presence of a diglossic situation. Since our aim is neither to confuse the reader nor to build typologies for their own sake, we shall end this section here, for our purpose is to analyze the actual practice and modalities of the bilingual text *in situ*.

Different Levels

Part of the complexity inherent in the study of bilingualism is due to the different ways in which it manifests itself in relation to the written word, sentence, work or edition, as well as writers themselves.

Let us begin with basics, i.e., how actual words may be affected by the interlinguistic message. A text published in a foreign language that is destined for a student audience may include notes explaining the meanings of individual words in the learner's native language. Here bilingualism surfaces in the margins of the text, like so much flotsam and jetsam around the principal target language. Even when such notes are not included, students tend to write their own glosses in the margins, thereby transforming unilingual texts into bilingual ones. Sometimes the result is frightening for the instructor to see, as the text almost disappears beneath the commentary surrounding it. However, students have been doing it for centuries and as a learning tool it seems to work. Exactly where linguistic gloss leaves off and commentary, i.e., a new text, begins is often a good guess, as many a medieval manuscript or a postmodernist fiction will attest. Bilingual dictionaries inevitably concentrate on words, although, more and more, expressions and idioms tend to be included in the better lexicons. A learners' dictionary that includes explanations in the source language makes for an interesting case study of a bilingual text that combines lists of words with actual prose. In one space the two fundamental axes of language—the paradigmatic (or the vertical) and the syntagmatic (the horizontal)—crisscross over the linguistic barrier that at once divides and unites the pedagogical intent of such a work.

In the case of glosses and dictionaries, the bilingualism of the text is self-evident; however, there are other cases where it may be camouflaged, e.g., names of commercial products. Here the role of the reader/viewer is

crucial in discerning the bilingualism that is at stake. While it may be in the interests of those marketing a product to appeal simultaneously to two or more distinct linguistic groups, they may not wish to flaunt their bilingual market strategy. Market researchers and graphic designers have found many ingenious ways to exploit the interlinguistic nature of the messages that are transmitted to the general public. Sometimes the solution they come with is simply nonlinguistic, as in a company logo that makes use of a graphic symbol as opposed to actual words that inconveniently have to be rendered in two languages. The solutions are as diverse as they are creative.

Another creative use of bilingualism as it affects words is in the use of names in a novel or play. A character's name may involve a bilingual pun or another play on words. Nabokov was an expert in simultaneously evoking more than one language and culture in the naming of his characters. However, there are other cases where an actual foreign word may be used within a text written in another language. As pointed out in the introduction to our previous issue, Graphic Collisions: Languages in Contact, there are various degrees of such foreignness, of the measure of the integration into the new (con)text, ranging all the way from outright code-switching[19]—where italics would normally be used to underscore the change in code—to more subtle cases of linguistic "interference."[20]

On a somewhat more complicated plane, one finds bilingualism working at the level of sentences. Here the process of including utterances in a second language, e.g., as in the case of dialogue spoken by a character in a fictional text, may be used to add an element of exoticism or verisimilitude in realist fiction. In ***War and Peace,*** for example, code-switching (Russian-French) is a result of Tolstoy's depiction of characters and events in a particular setting, since

> *the nature of the bilingualism of some members of the Russian aristocracy* [. . .] [was] *that certain of them felt more confident in what was for several years the language of the country's military enemy than in their mother tongue.*[21]

However, there is also another more modern use of bilingualism that is to be found in avant-garde texts of contemporary fiction where kernels of foreign-language writing are to be found within the overall work; such extracts often have an intertextual function in that they openly parade the *collage* technique of writing.

The question of bilingual utterances leads us to the case of the bilingual literary work in which the presence of two or more languages is an integral part of the text's overall significance. While in linguistic terms, it might be considered as a mere case of code-switching,[22] albeit extreme, for the student of literature the presence of various languages in the actual verbal fabric of the text means that one is dealing with a kind of hybrid. In a Dadaist poem co-authored by Hans Arp (1887-1966) and Tristan Tzara (1896-1963), each poet contributed lines in German and French respectively. Despite its obvious lack of meaning on one level, the resulting poem, *Balsam cartouche,* is a striking example of a bilingual text where two languages interact and contrast with each other:

> *Kocht der Adam seine maus zu mus*
> *blättern leicht steinvögler in granit*
> *kratzt das milde gnu die geigennuss*
> *le gendarme amour qui pisse si vite.*
> *wattehufe tragen dornenmann*
> *esel treibt in sonnenschwamm am tor*
> *coq et glace se couchent sous l'oeil galant*
> *träumern kommt der cactus seltsam vor.*
> *grande lampe est claire vierge marie*
> *wassersattel trägt den schatten fort*
> *rue saint-jacques s'en vont les petits jolis*
> *vers les timbres de l'aurore marine morte*

purgatoire annonce la grande saison
hat sie je mit katzenleim gebuhlt
l'eau de diable pleure sur ta raison
pfau und stern signieren "katapult."[23]

Two further examples, one a poem by the Chicano poet Tino Villanueva (b. 1941), the other a bilingual page from a novel by the French writer Claude Simon (b. 1913), illustrate other ways in which literary texts make use of bilingualism.

In Tino Villanueva's poem, illustrated in *figure 1, Que hay otra voz,* the poet uses code-switching to underscore the cultural, linquistic and social differences between the Mexican-American migrant workers who pick produce in Texas, Colorado and California, and the English-speaking owners of the fields in which they work.[24] Throughout the poem, Villanueva uses the refrain that among these oppressed people, there is "another voice that wants to speak" ["*otra voz que quiere hablar*"], although it is condemned to silence. The frequent use of English words throughout a poem written primarily in Spanish illustrates the bilingual character of American society in the Southwest and at the same time emphasizes the cultural differences that separate the workers from both the consumers of the produce they pick and the farm owners for whom they work. In a passage that graphically illustrates the bilingual character of Chicano poetry, Villanueva plays with various terms used in both languages to refer to Mexican-Americans as a distinct ethnic group: "*mexicano, latino, Meskin, skin, Mex-guy, Mex-Am, Latin-American, Mexican-American, Chicano.*" As in much of Chicano poetry, cultural identity is closely linked to linguistic identity.

The winner of the 1985 Nobel Prize for Literature, Claude Simon, has often made use of different languages and in one of his most intertextual of novels, ***La Bataille de Pharsale*** (1969), he juxtaposes words and sentences in

QUE HAY OTRA VOZ

God prepares those who have to
suffer and take punishment.
Otherwise, how could we exist?
César Chávez
TIME, July 4, 1969

...que hay otra voz que quiere hablar;
que hay un perfil de tez bronceada
que de rodillas
arrastrándose camina por los
Cotton-fields de *El Campo* y *Lubbock, Texas.*
—¿A dónde voy?—, pregunta.
¿A los *cucumber patches* de *Joliet,*
a las *vineyards* de *San Fernando Valley,*
a los *beet fields* de *Colorado?*
Hay ciertas incertidumbres ciertas:
lo amargo de piscar naranjas
lo lloroso de cortar cebollas.

* * *

Horarios inalterables:
la madrugada mecánicamente despierta el
reloj de timbre (¿de qué tamaño es el tiempo?)
Viene el desayuno: huevos rancheros,
tortillas de harina,
un cafecito.

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¡Y éntrale otra vez con la frescura!
Entrale a los surcos agridulces más largos
que la vida misma:

plums *beans*
grapes *cotton*
betabel pepinos
pruning *leafing*
potatoes *apricots*
chopping *plucking*
soybeans cebollas

no importa,
hay que comer, hacer pagos, sacar la ropa
del *Lay-Away*; '55 *Chevy engine tune-up*;
los niños en *seventh-grade* piden lápices
con futuro. Hay otra voz que quiere hablar.

* * *

Tú,
cómotellamas, mexicano, latino, *Meskin,*
skin, Mex-guy, Mex-Am, Latin-American,
Mexican-American, Chicano,

tú,
de los ojos tibios como el color de la
tierra,

tú,
de las sudadas coyunturas hechas sal por
el solazo desgraciado,

tú,
de las manos diestras, y la espalda
empapada desde que cruzó tu abuelo el Río,

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An extract of the Chicano poet Tino Villanueva's poem "Que hay otra voz" (1968) that illustrates the use of code-switching in a bilingual literary text. Italics are used to accentuate the differences between the Spanish in which most of the poem is written and the English placenames and terms that are an integral part of the life of the Hispanic farmworkers Villanueva describes. *figure 1*

Italian, English, Latin and Greek with his own French. In some cases, as with the use of Greek words and characters, there is a definite graphic dimension to such playful use of language. The example included here (*figure 2*) is taken from Simon's novel ***La Route des Flandres.***[25] The page in question is supposed to be the reproduction of a text written by one of the character's eighteenth century ancestors and takes the form of a translation, complete with marginalia, of a work written in Italian about an engraving.

The text, which includes archaic language and spelling practices, eventually gives way to the original Italian as if Georges's ancestor, tiring of translating, ended up by simply transcribing the original text. The fragment quoted, not by chance, is about a female centaur, surely as hybrid a creature as one could find.[26] And just as subtle as the transition from the human to the animal in the engraving that the text purports to describe is the passage from one language to the other. Here content and form mirror each other—on the one hand, the half human, half animal creature described by words that are translated and then transcribed, and, on the other, the juxtaposition of French and Italian both in the column of gloss in the left hand margin of the text that Simon's own page seeks to replicate as well as in the prose text itself—thereby making this magnificent bilingual page a truly hybrid text.

Next one must consider the bilingual edition, which presents similarities with the bilingual dictionary. In both cases, all the writing in one language, whether words or, as in this case, facing texts, is rendered in the second or target language. The bilingualism is thus not of the original author but of the editor, the translator and, of course, the eventual reader. How the primary text and the translation are set, in what size fonts, how the notes if any are integrated on the page pose problems that overlap considerations of graphic design with larger questions of linguistic and literary interpretation.

Finally, there is the question of actual bilingual writers, whether or not they wrote texts that might be considered as examples of interlinguistic communication. Joseph Conrad (1857-1924) with Polish and English, Vladimir Nabokov (1899-1977) with Russian and English and Samuel Beckett (1906-1989) with English and French come to mind immediately. The crossover from one language to the other may reveal a definite break as in the case of Conrad; however, in the case of Nabokov or Beckett, the change in language of preference does not

LA ROUTE DES FLANDRES

attegiamento geste attitude	confond ensuite en voulant déterminer les Confins L'attitude de la main gauche avec laquelle elle touche les cordes de la lire est agréable il en est de même pour celle où
carnagione carnation	Elle Semble vouloir frapper avec une partie de cimbale quelle tient dans la main droite et l'autre partie que le pintre par
ottimo très bon	une idée vraiment noble de peinture (*ces deux mots barrés*) et pittoresque a placé dans la main droite Du jeune homme qui l'embrafse étroittement en pafsant fous le
otremodo autrement	bras droit de cette femme fa main gauche qui Refsort fous fon épaule la robe du jeunhomme est violette et l'habit qui flotte pendant fur le bras de la femme Centaure
controverfia dispute	est jaune : il est bon D'obferver encore la Coifure, les bracellets et le Colier nottapoi l'attenenza che hanno i centauri con Bacco equilimente, et con Venere...

Georges pensant : « Oui, il n'y a qu'un cheval qui a pu écrire ça », répétant : « Bon. Très bien. Etalons », pensant à tous ces morts énigmatiques, figés et solennels qui dans leurs cadres dorés fixaient leurs descendants d'un regard pensif, distant, et parmi lesquels figurait en bonne place ce portrait que pendant toute son enfance il avait contemplé avec une sorte de malaise, de frayeur, parce qu'il (ce lointain géniteur) portait au front un trou rouge dont le sang dégoulinait en une longue rigole serpentine partie de la tempe, suivant la courbe de la joue et dégouttant sur le revers de l'habit de chasse bleu roi comme si — pour illustrer, perpétuer la trouble légende dont le personnage

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A page from Claude Simon's novel* La Route des Flandres *(1960) illustrating the use of more than one language in contemporary fiction. The subject matter, the description of a female centaur, involves the process of hybridization. A similar process is at work at the level of language. Here the bilingual dimension of the text reflects the aesthetic concerns of the novelist, rather than the reality of life in a bicultural society.

figure 2

---

exclude, on the contrary, the presence of the mother tongue. Nabokov's novels, for example, are chock-full of bilingual wordplay. And as with Nabokov but to a much greater extent, Beckett's fame rests partly on his talents as his own translator.[27] Initially, he wrote texts in English before translating them into French; he later adopted a different strategy, first writing in French, and then translating into English. The case is unusual and it has been

argued that to fully appreciate Beckett as a bilingual writer, one would have to read both language versions simultaneously if that were possible. At that point, the bilingual writer will have been transformed into a truly bilingual work, even if such a bilingual text exists only in the reader's mind.

From words to sentences to entire works and editions, bilingualism can affect every level of writing. As we have seen, the processes and the stakes go beyond the purely linguistic, for they extend to the textual and, what is more, to the literary.

Visible and Invisible Varieties

Among the many examples of bilingualism in the text are some that pose the problem of visibility, the degree to which the reader or observer looking at the message is aware of the existence of more than one language within the space of the text. In many cases, of course, the visibility involved is directly related to the number of languages that the reader or observer understands. In a text in which code-switching is used, the bilingual nature of the text is reinforced every time a switch occurs. A similarly high degree of visibility is achieved in a wide range of bilingual texts in which the two languages confront each other in parallel columns down the page, as in the case of Sumerian cuneiforms, or across facing pages, as in the bilingual edition of a text. On a bilingual sign or product label, the two languages clash even more directly, especially if the strategy employed by the sign painter or the label designer is to play up the difference(s) between the two languages.

Directly related to the question of visibility is the problem of the degree to which the presence of more than one language in a text performs an important *function* in that text. In other words, there are forms of discourse in which the bilingual nature of the text is exploited for some specific purpose, as in Joyce's ***Finnegans Wake***, or in the

novels of contemporary writers such as Jacques Godbout (b. 1933) and Jacques Poulin (b. 1937).[28] In such cases, the bilingualism of the text can be used to reflect the cultural reality of a bilingual community, as in the plays of Michel Tremblay (b. 1942), for example, or in order to parody the stylistic excesses of an entire tradition, as in Rabelais.

When two languages have coexisted in a given society over a long period of time or when the close contact between two neighboring cultures has led to words being borrowed by one language from the other, the "foreign" origin of the word, expression or grammatical structure often becomes obscured, as in the process which linguists call "integration." In many instances, this is a gradual and to some extent natural process. However, in the novels of Nabokov, one often finds bi- and even trilingual puns which are invisible to the reader who knows only one of the languages involved. As mentioned, in the case of bilingual writers such as Beckett, "invisible" bilingualism would become visible, if the two versions of the text were ever published side by side in a bilingual edition.

Working With the Text

Bilingualism does not just affect the text *qua* product, for it is an integral part of the actual writing/reading process. Bilingualism's many workers are almost too numerous to mention, for they include translators, lexicographers, legal experts, literary critics and theorists, hermeneuticians and market researchers and, in all probability, a fair share of frauds and criminals. Here we shall concentrate on the most important of workers of the bilingual text: the writer, the designer and the reader.

Without the writer, there could be no bilingual text of whatever length, form or genre, for it is the writer who encodes the message in more than one language at the source. However, since studies of bilingualism have tended

to emphasize theoretical questions or, in the case of more practical applications, examined how bilingualism affects children—pedagogy, psychology on the one hand, and language laws on the other—we seem to have lost sight of the importance of the writer. This is not to diminish the importance of the impact of bilingualism upon schooling or other societal concerns such as minority linguistic rights, but surely the bilingual writer also merits close study. As for the reasons why a writer might want to switch codes in midstream, they are many and various. Let us review two of them here.

First, a writer of fiction may wish to make use of more than one language because the fictive universe portrayed is that of a bilingual social milieu. Recent Québécois fiction often includes reported dialogue or other "texts" such as signs in English because the francophone characters come into daily contact with the other language. Here bilingualism serves the purpose of literary realism. Second, a writer may write bilingually for the pure pleasure of playing with more than one language. If the joy of writing is anchored in experimentation with language, why not increase the possibilities, the variables, by raising the linguistic stakes? James Joyce's prose is ample testimony to the almost limitless possibilities afforded by language. If for some writers, such as authors of textbooks, a second language is a *utilitarian* necessity, then for writers of fiction, drama or poetry, it may become a *creative* necessity. As Brian Fitch has noted,

> *the bilingual writer is not merely* **aware** *of the existence of a multiplicity of tongues but lives in the continual presence of this awareness during the very act of writing.*[29]

What is especially fascinating is that bilingualism is not in and of itself any simple measure by which writers or their writing can be judged. Both fiction and nonfiction writers may be bilingual and in fact both sorts of writers regularly produce bilingual texts. Ancient and modern writers have

indulged in bilingual writing. Nor can one deduce a creative writer's aesthetic values from the fact that bilingualism is exploited for, as we have seen, bilingualism may be a part of realist and postmodernist writing alike. Such a wide range of styles, as well as the genres and the graphic systems that have been used—everything from cuneiforms to computer "hypertexts"[30]—demonstrate not that bilingualism is insignificant as a distinguishing factor, but rather that it is so intimately linked to writing above and beyond all the possible variables and vagaries attending the process that one could almost say that writing is by definition bilingual.

Between the writer and the reader/viewer/consumer figures the graphic designer. If this truism applies to all printing, how much more crucial is design when more than one language must be set within a single textual space. How to design bilingually? In his article Bilingual Typography, which was included in our earlier issue, Alistair Crawford makes the argument for language-based design, in particular as it applies to the case of the English/Welsh confrontation.[31] However, each linguistic contact will raise new questions pertinent to the languages juxtaposed. Let us not forget the actual problems involved in concretizing different languages in a specific context where aesthetic and, no doubt, commercial concerns will determine just how the languages are played off against each other. As the typographer and poet Robert Bringhurst has written, "[t]o the marriage of type and text, both parties bring their cultural presumptions, dreams and family obligations."[32] He also reminds us, in case we had forgotten, that "[t]ypography was once a fluently multilingual and multicultural calling."[33] Indeed, it still ought to be.

Finally, in the process and production of bilingual texts, there is the role of readers as they try to make sense of the characters, words, text and layout set before them. How is the bilingual text perceived? One can imagine a whole spectrum of responses varying from readers who

deliberately skip the foreign words, sentences or passages that upset their reading patterns to more perverse readers who might read only those words, sentences or passages written in the second but not for them secondary language. In between, one could find the reader who, engaged in the very bilinguality of the text deciphered, takes the time and the trouble to confront the bilingual message in detail. Are we dealing then with an essentially redundant message encoded in two languages, and if so what is the significance of this linguistic duality? If there is a difference and if new information is indeed conveyed, what has been added? What is the significance of the fact that a particular code has been switched to? What are the connotations not just of the overall message in two or more codes, but also of the actual codes that have been used? What similarities and/or differences exist between the two linguistic codes? And, finally, how do the two languages interact with each other linguistically, aesthetically and typographically? Extra effort, even change in directionality, may be required, not to mention recourse to dictionaries, grammars or that encyclopedia of literature that sits upon our library shelf and, to a lesser extent, within the mind of every reader. It would be an understatement to argue, as we would, that bilingual writing makes the reader work harder than monolingual writing. Bilingual reading is, by its very nature, an active, dynamic and vibrant process. And just as one can speak of the poetics of bilingualism, one could speak of its energetics.

Organization of the Issue

Although there are probably as many ways of organizing the various issues pertaining to the question of bilingual writing as there are potential editors of *VL,* the articles that we solicited and the points they raise seem to group themselves around three main themes or rubrics. The first section, Theory and History, gives the background, both

synchronic and historical, to bilingual texts and writers. Bilingualism exists in a host of different written forms, from cuneiforms to flashing neon lights, and literary genres as diverse as the aphorism and the multivolumed novel. If this section gives the reader even a small idea of the normality, the necessity, the history and, yes, the beauty of the bilingual text, it will have served its purpose. We have entitled the second section Telltale Signs, but we could have called it Town and Gown, for the articles grouped here treat the bilingual "texts" of everyday life—logos, signs, newspapers—and the academic applications that must of necessity exploit more than one linguistic code. From polyglot Bibles to multilingual prayer books and bilingual editions of famous literary works, languages have coexisted for centuries and indeed millennia within the confines of a single textual space so that students might learn to read and appreciate texts written in languages other than their own. The third section, Textual Pleasure, takes bilingualism to another level, beyond the merely utilitarian, quotidian or even academic. It becomes a sophisticated instrument in the writer's toolbox, somewhat like the stereoscope alluded to earlier. Texts are seen to play with language and, more importantly here, with *languages*. Roland Barthes called such writing "blissful texts,"[34] examples of which are legion whether they be signed Villanueva or Simon. If at first glance, this last section seems the least visual, we believe such an appearance to be deceptive since the actual extracts of prose should be considered as "illustrations"—figures of bilingual texts blown up for all to read and *see*. Together, the three sections demonstrate one way of cutting up the semantic and methodological field of the practice of bilingual writing. The first gives the point of view of the theorist and the historian, the second that of the graphic designer and the scholar, whose views are seen to be less at odds with each other than might be expected, and the third that of the linguist and the literary critic.

The Authors' Contributions

In his article, Literary Diglossia, Biculturalism, and Cosmopolitanism in Literature, William Mackey, one of the pioneers of research on bilingualism, presents an overview of

> *the effect of two languages and cultures on the creation of literature* [. . .], *the cosmopolitanism and bilingualism of writers and, in particular, the effects of the related phenomena of biculturalism and diglossia on the production of literary texts.*[35]

He surveys a wide range of bilingual texts from a broad cultural and historical perspective, and shows that bilingualism has been a feature of intellectual life throughout history, e.g., many Roman writers were not native speakers of Latin and all medieval scholars were of necessity bilingual. Interestingly, Mackey points out that in the history of European literatures, unilingualism comes *after* bilingualism, since the former was associated with the rise of nationalism during the Romantic period. Discussing authors who wrote in different languages at different times of their lives—Rilke, Iwan Goll, Beckett and Nabokov, as well as those who used more than one language in the same text—Mackey includes examples from Latin literature but also from contemporary Québécois theater. Clearly, the field of bilingual studies is a vast one, and a review of the literature turns up thousands of titles that cover

> *areas of study ranging from individual bilingualism to institutional bilingualism; they include special fields of study like the analysis of interference, bilingual writings, interlinguistics, language contact, linguistic borrowing, linguistic irredentism, bilingual education, multinational societies and bilingual language policy.*

For the purposes of this issue, what we have found most significant is the view that the cultural and linguistic

melting pot is a relatively recent and even atypical turn of events, for over the centuries and the millennia writers have tended to be bilingual creatures bent on playing with more than one tongue at a time. Mackey's happy prediction is that "[t]he nation-state of the future is destined to thrive in situations of literary diglossia, and its writers in contexts of literary biculturalism."

In Bilingual Babel: Cuneiform Texts in Two or More Languages from Ancient Mesopotamia and Beyond, Jerry Cooper demonstrates that bilingualism in written texts goes back to ancient Babylonia and Sumeria. Because of the confluence of peoples and cultures in ancient Mesopotamia, bilingual glossaries and translations were needed from the earliest stages of the development of writing.

Over the centuries, formats and techniques were developed that enabled two or more languages on a single document to co-exist as harmoniously and productively as the diverse inhabitants of ancient Mesopotamia themselves.

As soon as bilingual communities developed, bilingual texts appeared. In fact, the first bilingual literary text in Babylonia dates from the middle of the third millennium; it can be seen in one of Cooper's illustrations. Other examples include multicolumn bilingual word lists and grammatical paradigms. The harmonious coexistence of different languages in these cuneiform texts with their strong visual impact revealing the early writers' evident attention to formats, vertical and horizontal spacing, in short to questions of the graphic design of the cuneiform text, is there for all to see. One is impressed by the sheer materiality, the "weight" of the evidence. And, as demonstrated in the article by Lance Hewson, then as now the bilingual text often had a pedagogical purpose.

The first article in the second section, Telltale Signs, is Daniel Picard's study of bilingual logos in Québec, Jackhammers and Alarm Clocks: Perceptions in Stereo.

Anyone who has ever doubted that the designer can afford to ignore questions of language and culture has only to glance at a photo we recently came across of some products that are successfully marketed abroad but which would probably not sell very well at the local supermarket: they include Krapp toilet paper, Cock soup and Plopp chocolate![36] In a bilingual and linguistically sensitive society like Québec, one can imagine the pitfalls that would surely await a designer whose work was not language-based. Reading an airline logo or the label on a bottle of shampoo in Canada involves "perception in stereo," and creates major problems for those who must appeal to consumers in two languages simultaneously and within the space of the same sign or label. Picard has divided the various strategies adopted by Canadian designers into seven different ways of simultaneously identifying an item for two linguistic publics. (Readers will find it helpful to consult Picard's two tables.) One of our favorite naming strategies is that of the Canadian Airlines International company logo in which the last "a" of "Canadian" is replaced by a chevron, thereby effectively neutralizing the linguistic difference between the French and English versions of the word. However, the question is made more complex, as Picard's eloquent argument backed up by ample visual proof demonstrates, by the interface of languages in various contexts:

> *First, there is contact between the two languages interacting with each other. Second, there is contact of the two languages with a surface, plane, level or environment where they will interact. Third, there is the contact between that surface or place and the person involved. Consequently, there is contact between the different perceptions which the same information elicits.*

While the relationship between the two languages in the restricted and limiting space of a trademark or logo can recall some of the problems faced by writers of literary

texts as they come to grips with two linguistic codes within the space of a single poem, nevertheless, there is at least one essential difference: Whereas in the literary text, the bilingual text more often than not seeks to draw attention to its very bilinguality, the ideal logo is one that minimizes "the levels of mental activity in the act of recognition."

If bilingualism definitely has a commercial dimension to it, there is also another, more academic application in the bilingual edition of a literary work, as studied by Lance Hewson. Two versions of the same text face each other across the matching margins that once divide and unite them, since

the bilingual edition sits, as it were, boldly and simultaneously astride the two language-cultures, positively inviting the reader to go back and forth between the two linguistic and cultural worlds.

Hewson examines the special status of such texts and the specific reading strategies they call for. He stresses the various roles played in the process by the publisher, the translator and the reader. Especially interesting is his plotting of hypothetical eye movements in different types of readers' approaches to the bilingual page. For example, the beginning learner of English who is reading a bilingual (French/English) edition of Conrad's ***Heart of Darkness*** will not approach it in the same way as the more advanced student of literature. Hewson concludes by emphasizing that such editions give the reader "the chance of moving between the two [languages] and understanding the vast possibilities opened up by the translation operation."

Bilingualism in the Hebrew Text, Stephen Lubell's contribution to our issue, raises the problem of how bilingualism has affected and continues to affect one particular language, one moreover that uses a different writing system from those of the other languages with which it has found itself juxtaposed, in everything from sixteenth-century polyglot Bibles (Hebrew, Latin, Aramaic, Greek)

to prayer books (Hebrew, German) to contemporary newspapers (Hebrew, English). Lubell first traces the contact between Hebrew and other languages from Classical Hebrew through Mishnaic Hebrew to Modern Hebrew. Even though Israel is no longer the polyglot society it was in the 1950s, most speakers of modern Hebrew are also speakers of at least one other language.

> *This highly monolingual culture—bred of a fairly rigid theory of melting pot monoculturalism—contrasts sharply with an equally strong bilingual or even multilingual strain in Jewish history,*

for "a multilingual heritage [. . .] came to be part and parcel of the Jewish tradition." Discussing the problems presented by setting, on the same page, bilingual Hebrew and foreign language texts, Lubell provides a number of visually striking illustrations. The examples extend from the highly visible to (almost) invisible cases of interference, of which the author distinguishes five types. As in the Hewson article, the reader's eye movements come into question due to the difference in directionality of, say, English and Hebrew. Another interesting point is how to retain the essential foreignness of a literary text in translation and the various visual effects that can be obtained by keeping some of the original flavor.

The final section of the issue, Textual Pleasure, is opened by Rainier Grutman's challenging piece, Mono versus Stereo: Bilingualism's Double Face. Grutman has chosen to analyze such demanding examples as, on the one hand, a poem composed by Raimbaut de Vaqueiras around 1190 in which an amorous debate takes place between a Provençal minstrel and a Genose woman, and, on the other, a scene from Rabelais's ***Pantagruel*** (1532) that involves a large selection of languages. The argument presented is made all the more complex by the twists and turns taken in this dialogue with modern literary theory, in particular the ideas of the Russian critic Mikhail

Bakhtin. For Grutman, a bilingual author has a potential reading public in each of the languages he or she chooses to write, but a *text* can be bilingual only if it makes a "*relevant use* of other languages." It is precisely this relevant use that forms the central focus of the article, and for the purposes of analyzing such use, the author divides it into two different types. Grutman's first long example is of so-called stereo bilingualism, his second of mono bilingualism. What interests Grutman is not just the mere presence of two or more languages on the page—as in a facing translation to quote a familiar example—but rather the extent to which the languages interconnect and play with each other. He seeks to prove that stereo writing and bilingualism are not necessarily one and the same, for in some polyglot texts "languages are kept apart in order to give an impression of cosmopolitanism," whereas other stereographic effects can be obtained by playing upon various semiotic codes inherent in the literary text, for example those analyzed by the critic and theorist Roland Barthes. In the case of mere juxtaposition, bilingualism shows another side of itself and becomes a "kind of double monolingualism." Grutman's article uses the notion of stereo in our title and, taking it to the logical limit, tests it against actual textual practice; the result is an intellectual *tour de force,* a challenge to both readers and writers alike. Clearly, much remains to be done in the field of what this contributor calls the "poetics of bilingualism."

Phyllis Wrenn's article, A Case for Acadian—The Politics of Style, provides a detailed account of the stylistic strategies of one Marichette, the *nom de plume* of an Acadian woman who wrote witty letters about contemporary national, local and everyday household concerns in the newspaper *L'Evangeline* published in Weymouth, Nova Scotia at the end of the last century. Unlike other contributors to the newspaper, however, Marichette composed her letters in

the language of Acadia, a language reinvented by this witty and unconventional spokesperson for the common folk to serve as a kind of anti-model for a society that has always stubbornly maintained its individuality.

Wrenn's many examples include code-switching, pidginization and other forms of bilingual language usage, all of which anticipate by many years the linguistic experimentation of Québécois writers during the 1960s.

Marichette's letters are, in short, documentary evidence both of the state of a dialect at a specific point in time and of language usage in a specific socio-cultural context. And the systematic code-switching from French to English for items expressing the feelings of the writer intended to influence the feelings of the readers [. . .] *is indicative of the pervasive influence of English as the vernacular.*

Wrenn's article gives concrete proof of "bilingualism in action," for Marichette's linguistic performance is both a "visual shock" and a "linguistic rebellion" against the norms of standard French usage. The two languages comingle joyously across a linguistic and cultural divide in the narrow space of a newspaper column, thereby demonstrating that the "pleasure of the text" extends beyond the confines of the academy and the artifices once so dear to Parisian publishing houses.

The final article is Joseph Nassar's Transformations in Exile: The Multilingual Exploits of Nabokov's Pnin and Kinbote. Despite the famous novelist's writing shift from Russian to English, Nassar points out that Russian as well as several other languages continue to appear in Nabokov's works, however camouflaged they may have been by this astute connoisseur of chess and literature. In fact, to label Nabokov a bilingual writer who "changed languages" may well miss the mark, for his work is characterized by a plethora of puns, allusions, overdetermined names and code-switching.

With ***Pale Fire,*** *a polylinguistic, multi-cultural* tour de force, *Nabokov revealed in 1962 the immensity of his literary genius, his extraordinary ability to meld languages, literatures and histories: English, Russian, Finno-Ugric, Celtic and Germanic (West and North).*

Linked to, or thematized by, stories of oddball exiles forced to live and function in a language they "master" but imperfectly, these two "American" novels have "high visual impact, and therefore allow—as well as require—greater effort than ordinary reading." Here literary genius is clearly grounded in the absolute linguistic mastery of the writer and the overt display of textual pleasure at its ludic best.

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Clearly, there is much to think about here and, of course, much remains to be said about the subject of bilingualism. The implications for the bilingual text extend beyond any single writer, no matter how talented, spectacular, or virtuoso his or her performance may be upon the linguistic keyboard. The need for further research is evident whether in the area of graphic design or the poetics of the bilingual text. Indeed the wider implications of bilingual studies extend beyond the realm of the text into literary and cultural theory. If such endeavors are ever to prove fruitful, they will most certainly have to be grounded in actual linguistic and textual practice. Bilingualism, as we have seen and as will be demonstrated by the contributors to this issue of *Visible Language,* is a vibrant, dynamic area of research, one that interfaces with various disciplines and fields of enquiry—with many very different pursuits of knowledge—*and* all the languages ever written. That perspective would be daunting indeed if it were not also so exciting. Bilingual communication is not the subject and matter of redundant messages that overlap, or that cancel

each other out. Rather the bilingual text is a form of communication grounded in difference, and it is for this very reason that it is destined to endure, to prosper, to fascinate and to seduce—in a word, to communicate. For

> *the greatest threat to communication is not difference, but sameness. Communication ceases when one being is no different from another: when there is nothing strange to wonder at and no new information to exchange.*[37]

Notes

[1] Steiner, George. 1975. *After Babel. Aspects of Language and Translation.* London and New York: Oxford University Press, 120.

[2] Shattuck, Roger. 1963. *Proust's Binoculars. A Study of Memory, Time and Recognition in "A la recherche du temps perdu."* New York: Vintage, 42-44.

[3] Stereoscope. "An optical instrument through which two pictures of the same object, taken from slightly different points of view are viewed, one by each eye, producing the effect of a single picture of the object, with the appearance of depth or relief." (*Random House College Dictionary*).

[4] Roland Barthes already made use of the stereo metaphor in describing the literary text: "the convergence of the voices (of the codes) becomes *writing,* a stereographic space. . ." (Barthes. 1974. *S/Z,* trans. Richard Miller. New York: Hill and Wang, 21).

[5] Erlich, Victor. 1981. *Russian Formalism. History-Doctrine.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 190-193.

[6] Steiner. *After Babel,* 120n.

[7] Cf. Mackey, William. 1982. *International Bibliography on Bilingualism.* Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval. Some twenty thousand titles are listed, very few of which concern the question of bilingual writing. A notable exception is Leonard Forster's 1970 book *The Poet's Tongues: Multilingualism in Literature* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press] in which he sketches "the different ways poets have used languages other than their own for poetry from the Middle Ages down to our time." (1). Among recent publications devoted to the question of bilingualism but which have little to say about bilingual texts, one could cite the following: Hamers, Josiane and Michel Blanc. 1989.

Bilinguality and Bilingualism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; and Romaine, Suzanne. 1989. *Bilingualism.* Oxford: Blackwell.

[8] *Text.* "a wording of anything written or printed; the structure formed by the words in their order; the very words, phrases and sentences as written." (*Oxford English Dictionary* vol. 11, 238)

[9] Hodgson, Richard and Ralph Sarkonak. 1987. Bi-Graphic Differences: Languages in Con(tact)(flict). *Visible Language 21:1.*

[10] It could no doubt be safely said that for many of our Québécois friends and colleagues, bilingualism is not just intellectually invalid but politically incorrect in the Canadian sense of things, since it is taken as proof of the assimilation of the linguistic minority by the dominant, even colonizing force of the majority. No doubt readers in the United States will bring their own perspectives to an issue that remains so highly charged in North America, this despite the fact that the majority of the world's population live at least bilingually if not multilingually.

[11] Baetens Beardsmore, Hugo. 1982. *Bilingualism: Basic Principles.* Clevedon, Avon: Tieto, 3.

[12] Romaine, Suzanne. 1989. *Bilingualism.* Oxford: Blackwell, 7.

[13] Baetens Beardsmore. *Bilingualism: Basic Principles,* 1.

[14] Hamers and Blanc. *Bilinguality and Bilingualism,* 265.

[15] McArthur, Tom, ed. 1992. *The Oxford Companion to the English Language.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 126.

[16] Cf. Forster. *The Poet's Tongues,* 2.

[17] Hamers and Blanc. *Bilinguality and Bilingualism,* 267.

[18] Mackey, William. 1989. La genèse d'une typologie de la diglossie. *Revue québécoise de linguistique théorique et appliquée* 8:2, 11-28. See in particular the graph dividing the notional field on page 22.

[19] *Code-switching.* "a bilingual communication strategy consisting of the alternate use of two languages within the same utterance, even within the same sentence" (Hamers and Blanc. *Bilinguality and Bilingualism,* 266.)

[20] "The question of *words* in conflict poses the problem of interference and integration. Interference carries with it the negative connotation of perceived error or deviation from the linguistic norm of one language due to the influence of another language with which the speaker/writer of the first is in contact." (Hodgson and Sarkonak. 1987. Graphic Collisions: Languages in Contact. *Visible Language* 21:1, 30).

21 Timm, Leonora. 1978. Code-switching in *War and Peace,* in *Aspects of Bilingualism,* Michel Paradis, ed. Columbia, South Carolina: Hornbeam Press, 303.

22 Code-switching is used to refer "to the alternate use of two languages, including everything from the introduction of a single unassimilated word up to a complete sentence or more in the context of another language." (Haugen, Einar. 1978. Bilingualism, Language Contact, and Immigrant Languages in the United States: A Research Report 1956-1970, in *Advances in the Study of Societal Multilingualism,* ed. Fishman, J. The Hague: Mouton, 21).

23 Cited by Forster. *The Poet's Tongues,* 83. As he comments, "[h]ere the immediate object is not communication, but exploration of the expressive resources of language at a deep, subconscious, magical level." (83-84).

24 Villanueva, Tino. 1979. *Hay otra voz Poems* 1968-1971. Madrid-Nueva York: Mensaje, 34-35.

25 Simon, Claude. 1960. *La Route des Flandres.* Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 56.

26 "The twenty-eighth engraving and the three others like it are all equally beautiful and noble and seem to be from the same hand. Everything in the Centaurefs is graceful and delicate and all deserves to be considered with an especiall attencion The Node and juncture where the human part ends and the equine part begins is indeed admirable. The eye distinguishes the delicacie of the white flesh-tintes in the woman from the clarity of the brilliant fur in the animal of a light chestnut colour but one is then confused in attempting to determine the confines. The attitude of the left hand with which she is touching the strings of the lyre is agreeable as is that with which she appears to be striking a porcion of the cymbal she holds in her right hand against the other porcion which the paynter by a truly noble idea of paynting (*these two words crossed out*) and pittoresque has placed in the right hand of the young man who is embraycing her close while pafsing under the woman's right arm his own left hand which emerges from under her shoulder. The young man's gown is violet and the habit hanging from the arm of the Centaurefs is yellow: it is suitable to remark as well the coifure, the bracellets and the Collar nottapoi l'attenza che hann o i centauri con Bacco equilimente, et con Venere. . ." (Simon, Claude. 1985. *The Flanders Road,* trans. Richard Howard. London: Calder, 45).

27 "In whichever of the two languages Beckett happens to be writing at a given moment, there is always the presence of the other language with its wholly different expressive potential hovering at his shoulder, always at arm's reach and within earshot. What should be borne in mind here is that the language in which he writes

first (that it, his first version) is not always the same: sometimes it is English and sometimes it is French, with the predominance (chronologically speaking) of the first giving way to that of the second as his writing career has evolved." (Fitch, Brian T. 1988. *Beckett and Babel: An Investigation into the Status of the Bilingual Work.* Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 156-57.)

28 Hodgson, Richard and Ralph Sarkonak. 1989. Deux hors-la-loi québécois: Jacques Godbout et Jacques Poulin. *Québec Studies* 8, 27-36.

29 Fitch. *Beckett and Babel,* 158.

30 "*Hypertext,* a term coined by Theodor H. Nelson in the 1960s, refers [. . .] to a form of electronic text, a radically new information technology, and mode of publication. 'By "hypertext,"' Nelson writes, 'I mean *nonsequential* writing—text that branches and allows choices to the reader, best read at an interactive screen. As popularly conceived, this is a series of text chunks connected by links which offer the reader different pathways.' Hypertext [. . .] denotes text composed of blocks of text—what Barthes terms a *lexia*—and the electronic links that join them." (Landow, George P. 1992. *Hypertext. The Convergence of Contemporary Theory and Technology.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 4.) The sentence quoted by Landow is from Theodor H. Nelson. 1981. *Literary Machines.*

31 Crawford, Alistair. 1987. Bilingual Typography. *Visible Language* 21:1, 42-65.

32 Bringhurst, Robert. 1992. *The Elements of Typographic Style.* Point Roberts, Washington and Vancouver, British Columbia: Hartley and Marks, 50.

33 Bringhurst. *Elements of Typographic Style,* 85.

34 Barthes, Roland. 1975. *The Pleasure of the Text,* trans. Richard Miller. New York: Hill and Wang. In French, the expression used is "textes de jouissance."

35 Unless otherwise indicated, quotations in this section are from the articles in this issue.

36 Murphy, John and Michael Rowe. 1988. *How to Design Trademarks and Logos.* Cincinnati: North Light Books, 43. Forster discusses an example concerning the marketing of a brand of non-alcoholic beer called "Ex!" in the three official languages of Switzerland. In each language, the text accompanying the brand name is different (*The Poet's Tongues,* 22-23).

37 Bringhurst. *Elements of Typographic Style,* 85.

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Literary Diglossia,

Biculturalism and Cosmopolitanism in Literature

In areas where two written languages are used, each may be limited to its set of functions or literary genres. Some writers, by becoming masters of two languages and cultures succeed in overcoming both the pitfalls of cosmopolitan authors writing only in their second or acquired language and the difficulties of unilingual authors writing in or about a culture which is not their own. The latter and their cosmopolitan literature, once considered an oddity, have now become commonplace in Western Europe, North America and other areas of massive immigration. The literature produced in such contexts is sometimes characterized by special traits such as semantic shift, over-generalization, code-switching, avoidance strategies, interference and uncertainty. In balance, however, if we examine the production of bilingual and bicultural literature in our century, we could say that, far from impoverishing the literatures to which they contribute, they are more likely to enrich them.

The concept of cosmopolitanism goes back to the creation of the nation-state in Europe between the sixteenth and the twentieth centuries. It was first understood as an opposition to nationalism and patriotism. Appearing in English before the middle of the seventeenth century, the terms *cosmopolitan* and *cosmopolite* acquired a connotation opposite to patriotism and nationalism. Cosmopolitanism has been associated both with the ideal of citizen-of-the-world and with the reality of émigré populations at home in two or more languages and cultures. It is especially the effect of two languages and cultures on the creation of literature which concerns us here: the cosmopolitanism and bilingualism of writers and, in particular, the effects of the related phenomena of biculturalism and diglossia on the production of literary texts.

Cosmopolitanism in literature, as it has been called by nationalists who find it unfitting, is by no means exceptional. Writers and artists and others of various skills and ambitions have always gravitated toward the centers of productivity, power and influence where they could find both uses for their talents and a public that permitted them to live by their pen or their brush. During the centuries of Roman supremacy, all roads led eventually to Rome.

It should not surprise us therefore if many of the masters of Latin literature were not Roman by birth.[1] In fact, the first known Latin author, Livius Andronicus, who composed a Latin version of the Odyssey, was a Greek slave. Even the earliest Roman writers were seldom of Roman birth. Seneca, Quintillian, Lucan and Martial were all from Spain; so were several of the later writers, like Orosius, Prudentius and, of course, Isidore of Seville. Even Virgil, Catullus, Livy and the two Plinys were not of Roman blood; they were reputedly of Celtic origin. Ovid and Horace were both Oscan. Cicero was Volscian, and Varro was from Gaul. And just as non-Romans wrote the classical literature that was the glory of Rome, non-Arabs

like the Persians, wrote great literature in Arabic at a time when that language was dominant over a wide area of the world.[2]

Native-born writers of national literatures have claimed to have been enriched by study of another tongue. Roman authors like Cicero and Caesar are known to have written in Greek, a foreign tongue which most patricians liked to acquire, sometimes even before their native Latin.[3] Many of the pioneers of the great vernacular literatures, the very makers of the written languages of Europe, chose to write some of their works in an acquired tongue. Chaucer, for example, produced some of his works in Italian, the leading literary language of his time. Milton wrote several of his sonnets in Italian; he was also fluent in three other written languages. Tolstoy wrote parts of his work in French. After attempting to write in Russian (possibly under the influence of Lou Salomé),[4] Rilke succeeded in writing poetry in French as Stefan George had done.

Until some time in the seventeenth century, most writers were, by definition, biliterate. Since they were schooled and had become literate within a classical tradition of learning, they wrote for a reading public who had been similarly educated. After the emergence of national vernacular languages, the European classical tradition looked to Latin and Greek models to imitate for form, style, content and even language. So much so, that many academics remained quite indifferent to their national vernacular, especially in smaller countries like Holland where academic life in the seventeenth century was lived jointly in Italian, Latin, French, Dutch and English. Even when their countries were at war with each other, this did not prevent writers from using the language of the enemy.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, such indifference was no longer tolerated. For a new idea had taken hold of Europe: the idea of national and linguistic allegiance. It had entered that complex of collective sentiments crystalized in the Romantic Movement whose

most militant form, political romanticism, was expressed in the dominant ideology of the period: one people, one nation, one culture and one language.

In this one language, the national tongue, the Romantics presumed to have discovered the soul of the nation. Love of the national language became identified with love of country as it did, for example, during the Magyar Revival of the 1840s, enkindled by great writers like Lajos Kossuth and Sandor Petöfi, and during the Italian Risorgimento by the Count Benso de Cavour, Alessandro Manzoni and his famous disciple, Giuseppe Verdi. It was in the national tongue that writers were supposed to express their innermost thoughts and feelings, to show their love of the language by the way they used it, thereby enriching and improving the language. It was on the basis of their works that standard dictionaries, grammars and guides to usage could be compiled. The writers of the nation were expected to write in the national language since it alone embodied the national "character." Never mind that within the boundaries of the nation and those of its ever expanding empire there were people who spoke other languages. It was up to the "lesser breeds within the law" to conform if they hoped to become civilized.

Within this new context of linguistic nationalism, bilingual writers had to decide to which nation they owed their allegiance, for they were put in the often difficult position of having to choose to write in one language rather than in the other. The decision often depended on the masters of their changing borderlands. In Alsace-Lorraine, for example, writers like René Schickele, Hans Arp and Iwan Goll switched their language allegiance from French to German to French according to the changing circumstances.[5] It is not surprising that one of Goll's masterpieces was entitled ***Jean sans Terre.*** Although Goll would have preferred to have been identified simply as a citizen of Europe, he was claimed by both France and Germany.

It is characteristic of nation-states to claim as their own all writers who were born within their borders. In 1909, France was proud to proclaim that one of its writers had won the Nobel Prize in literature, conveniently forgetting to mention that the texts for which the prize was awarded were not written in the official national language of France but in a tongue which at the time was systematically supressed, its use forbidden both in school and at play. This language was the Provençal of Frédéric Mistral.

At the height of European nationalism, it did not seem normal that a writer should produce work in any language other than that of the state in which he was a citizen. As George Steiner has pointed out,

until very recently, a writer has been almost by definition a being rooted in his native idiom, a sensibility housed more closely than ordinary men and women in the skill of one language.[6]

Today, however, with a few notable exceptions, it has become increasingly difficult for the nation-state to impose linguistic and cultural hegemony without engendering interethnic conflict or civil strife. One need only reflect on the demise of the Soviet Union and the rise of the notion of "ethnic cleansing" in parts of Europe where irredental nationalism has prevailed over a moribund economic ideology. In the rest of Europe, linguistic chauvinism had become less fashionable. As a result, Steiner continues,

the conditions of language stability, of local national self-consciousness in which literature flourished between the Renaissance and say the 1950s are now under extreme stress.[6]

The changes have affected, not only the choice of language but also its forms as an examination of contemporary English will attest. Dominated by a youth unschooled in the classical tradition of neologism, the

unbridling of English in the 1960s, as well as its expanded use as a world idiom have accelerated the evolution of its traditional Germanic morpho-syntax into one of juxtaposition.[7] As our century draws to its close, we are witnessing the beginning of what has been called "the breakdown of nation." The expression is that of Leopold Kohr, who predicted the phenomenon.[8] As a result, if the number and importance of supra-national commonwealths like the Council of Europe are increasing, there are likely to be within them more not fewer nations and states, many of them, like those of the Basques and the Catalans in Spain, the result of linguistic irredentism or of language revivals such as experienced by writers in Israel and the Irish Republic.

As a consequence of the very linguistic nationalism that most of these future writers must now transform, they will not have been trained to write in their ancestral tongues. They will have to repeat the story of the rise of the very European national languages that stunted the growth of their own national vernaculars. Some of these literary movements will succeed while others will fail. Nevertheless, because of the geolinguistic importance of supra-national languages like English, French, Spanish, Russian, Arabic and Chinese, it is doubtful that all of these local tongues will be able to assume all the functions of society, especially those related to technology and scientific research.[9] The nation-state of the future is destined to thrive in situations of literary diglossia, and its writers in contexts of literary biculturalism.

Let us first take a look at some contemporary states which have developed plurilingual societies (the context of the writers) before going on to the examples themselves. The term "plurilingual" refers to bilingual and trilingual writers, or to those possessing competence in any number of languages that can be found within a given society. The term "society" is appropriate since it is less restrictive than the term "state." For plurilingual societies are found not

only in the bilingual state, where two or more languages are given juridical status—often in order to enable each language group to live and function in one language. There are, therefore, many more plurilingual societies than there are bilingual or plurilingual states. Luxembourg, for example, is a plurilingual society with a national official language, Luxembourgeois, the home language of nearly all its citizens, and two foreign languages, German and French, in constant use and indeed dominant in many of the essential functions of society. The situation in Switzerland is very different. In that plurilingual state, German and French along with Italian are national official languages, with Rhaeto-Romance as a national language. But the cantonal varieties of speech used by seventy percent of the population are not official written languages like German and French.

Yet both Switzerland and Luxembourg house a large population of nationals from other lands, including many foreign workers. In both countries they account for almost twenty percent of the population, contributing to the plurilingual make-up of these countries. This proportion may seem unusual, but it is remarkable only because of the relatively small size of these countries. In an area where "everybody knows everybody," one is more likely to notice the presence of people from other lands. The actual percentage is no greater than in more highly populated centers like New York and Paris where, it has been said, one person in four is either an immigrant or of foreign ancestry.

If we cross the Channel to London, we get similar but much better documented figures. In the latest language survey (1987) of the Inner London Education Authority, we find a hundred and seventy-two languages spoken by students as mother-tongues in the schools of London.[10] This is more than twice the number of local and national languages in all the countries of the European Community. Of course, plurilingual societies can be found on all

continents. Another recent survey, this one from Los Angeles, counted more than a hundred mother-tongues in the primary schools of that city. Indeed, half of the kindergarten school population was unable to understand the language in which they were being taught.

Plurilingual societies are typical of our century—especially the second half. Never have so many people traveled so far and so fast to change residence. Since the end of the two world wars, there has been a veritable exodus of émigrés, displaced persons, boat people and foreign workers whose temporary residential status has served simply to confirm the French dictum that "*il n'y a rien de plus permanent que l'intérimaire.*" Not to speak of the thousands of refugees whose numbers have often transformed the language and ethnic make-up of entire cities. In the space of less than a decade, for example, some half million political refugees transformed Miami into the second largest Cuban city. The effects on the civic institutions and services were such that in 1974 Spanish was declared an official language of the municipality.[11]

With this great movement of peoples from all quarters of the globe, it is not surprising to find expatriate writers producing more of their works in one of the main languages of their adopted countries. Clearly, plurilingual societies are no longer exceptional. In the larger centers of population they are even becoming the norm. Much of the writing produced in the world today is done of necessity within the context of bilingualism. But what does this mean?

Since mid-century the notion of bilingualism has expanded from an either/or, all-or-nothing concept to one of wide-ranging relativity. So much so that it has become a field of study in which thousands of titles can now be found.[12] The works listed cover several different areas of study ranging from individual bilingualism to institutional bilingualism; they include special fields of study like the analysis of interference, bilingual writings, interlinguistics,

language contact, linguistic borrowing, linguistic irredentism, bilingual education, multinational societies and bilingual language policy.

Several of these distinctive areas are important for the study of literature. They include the differences between individual and collective bilingualism, which relate to content and context, to form and meaning in the literary text. Then, there is the further distinction between the bilingualism of the text and the bilingualism of the writer. Some authors with low bilinguality (the nature, quality and degree of personal bilingualism)[13] produce highly bilingualized texts in a single language, e.g., Loranger. Others of a high degree of bilingualism produce entirely unilingual texts, but in two languages, e.g., Beckett. In plurilingual societies, differences between the bilinguality of the authors and the bilingualism of their writings can produce a literature of remarkable variety.

Comparing these literatures of plurilingual societies can supply insights into the relation between language, culture and society. For no two plurilingual societies are likely to be identical; their differences may be considerable, especially in the uses to which they put their constituent languages, and in the degree in which these uses are structured. In some plurilingual societies, each language has its specific set of functions—in which case we have a situation of diglossia. This is a common situation in societies with stable ethnic minorities who use their ancestral tongues in speaking and the national or official language for writing, since it is in that language that they have been schooled. Quite often their spoken tongue is actually a dialect of their national language. This difference is common, for example in countries like Switzerland, Austria and Germany, where German is one of the official languages. In some cases, however, both languages are used for writing but not for the same purposes. Official, academic and scientific writing may be done in one language; literature, drama and journalism may be the

functions of the other language. This type of functional distribution has been called "literary diglossia."[14]

The term *diglossia* is the Greek word for bilingualism. Toward the end of the last century, French Hellenists used the term to describe the functional distribution of the classical and the vernacular in Greek society. In this century it was not until the mid-fifties that the notion began to expand to mean what it does today—the functional distribution of languages and language varieties.[15] A growing realization of the importance of the functional distribution of language in society (including its literature) has given rise to a wide range of descriptive studies on the great variety of diglossic situations to be found in different quarters of the globe.[16]

Although the term *diglossia* may not be as well-known as the term *bilingualism,* the idea of different languages for different purposes has been around for a long time. It used to be thought that certain languages were needed for certain purposes. These functional attributes of language appear in diglossia folklore, which changes however from age to age. The language of love, for example, has changed from Occitan to Italian to Spanish to French. For Marguerite of Navarre, author of the ***Heptaméron,*** it was Castilian. For Charles V, however, this noble tongue was the language of God. French was the language of ambassadors and mistresses, while Italian was reserved for ladies of the court and German for the driving of horses. Some centuries later, this Germanic dialect had acquired more noble functions. The Austrian writer Grillparzer, for whom German was a mothertongue, reserved that language for the highest of functions. While he considered French to be the language of conversation and Italian the language of song, it was Greek for philosophy, Latin for rhetoric and English for the exchange of platitudes.

But the functional distribution of languages is not limited to the folklore of diglossia. In some societies it is of most vital importance.[17] For more than a millennium,

for example, the only appropriate language for Roman Catholic services all over the world was Latin or, in the case of the Eastern rites, a language of comparable antiquity.

Another example of literary diglossia is the language of commemorative inscriptions on monuments such as the Wolfe-Montcalm monument in Quebec City, which Governor Dalhousie had erected in 1827. England at the time had many other such monuments with Latin inscriptions, for the classical tradition was still strong in Europe. So much so that even that ardent Anglophile and "harmless drudge," Samuel Johnson declared (in 1776) that he would not tolerate seeing the sacred walls of Westminster Abbey desecrated with inscriptions in English. This was perhaps understandable when we consider that, for many centuries in Europe, Latin had been reserved for writings that were supposed to endure; since the form and meanings of a classical language remained unchanged, it could supposedly be understood by the literate anywhere and at any time. While vernaculars were considered unstable and dialectal, Latin was seen as permanent and universal. It was believed that Latin would outlast all of the national vernaculars. Even the erudite Francis Bacon was to declare in his ***Novum Organum*** that when people were better educated, Latin would become universal thereby making English obsolete. At that time, most scientific writings in Europe, whether originating in Paris, Prague or Berlin, were written in Latin, which was also the language of all academic writing. Latin was also the medium of instruction in many European universities well into the last century.

In plurilingual societies today, it is rather the national tongue—often along with an international language like French or English—which has assumed the functions formerly reserved for Latin. The same functions normally attributed to the national languages are now being assumed by local vernaculars. But this type of diglossia has not yet stabilized, since the dynamics of irredentism moves

more and more functions to the side of re-emergent national languages.

The process is, of course, nothing new. It occurred during the Reformation and the Renaissance, and again during the nationalist revolutions of mid-nineteenth century especially in Eastern Europe during the rise of new national languages like Hungarian and Czech. It emerged once again with the movements of national self-determination that redrew the map of Europe after World War I, supposedly along ethno-linguistic lines, but at the same time creating new plurilingual states like Yugoslavia, a country left with two alphabets, five official languages, three religious traditions, eight nationalities, all of which have again become forces in the creation of more nation-states.[18]

In each of these changing political and social upheavals bilingual writers are caught in the cross-fire. For writers of this sort, and indeed for any bilingual author who must write down in one language what is perceived in another, there are problems deeper than the choice of language, the greatest being those of literary biculturalism. Most of the difficulties of bicultural writers stem from the need to express in one language concepts that come to them from another—difficulties not only in expressing them, but even in thinking about them. At times, polyglottism has been associated with the behavior of multiple personalities. For example, while living as one of his twenty-five personalities, Billy Milligan spoke Serbian during moments of aggression.[19] Such situations have created fundamental problems through the inextricable relationship between thought, language and culture.[20]

Bilingual writers caught in a social or radical transition period are often unsure which language to use. In the Prague of the early twentiethth century writers like Kafka and Rilke were at times linguistically ill at ease. Kafka, for example, had Czech, Yiddish and German, a language in which he was not entirely at home but felt obliged to use.

Sometimes this linguistic uncertainty leads to a creative paralysis, as it once did in the case of the German poet Stefan George who at one time wrote better in French than in German, or at least felt he did. After returning to Germany, there was a period in which he wrote nothing at all, because, as he said "*Ich weiss einfach nicht in welcher Sprache ich schreiben soll.*" He simply didn't know which language to use. But it may not have been only the second tongue that made him hesitate. He had some knowledge of eight.[21]

This problem of language choice is now becoming widespread, not only in the re-emerging regional languages of Europe, but also in the developing vernaculars of the Third World, scheduled to replace the imperial languages of Europe as the vehicles of new national literatures.[22] Yet since most potential readers in the Third World will have been educated in French or English, many writers may hesitate to write in the vernacular.[23] The Caribbean is a good example of the gap between policy and practice. For half a century there has been talk of producing a literature in the creole vernaculars of some five million people. Yet the leading writers like Césaire, Roumain, Schwartz-Bart and Patrick Chamoiseau continued writing in French, albeit with increased interlarding of local idiom.[24] For such writers, the problems of bilingualism are compounded by those of biculturalism.

The notion of biculturalism or multiculturalism is, of course, dependent on the meaning of culture. With some hundred attested definitions of culture, some of them mutually exclusive, it is not surprising that biculturalism has meant different things to different people. What concerns the literary text, however, are the meanings which relate to the two conceptual universes of the writer.

Since languages are both the products and the constituents of cultures, different cultures will make use of the elements of language in a different way, selecting what is important for the culture and ignoring the rest. Some

cultures may represent one area of the physical environment by making numerous functional distinctions in the conceptual categories and the language elements standing for them. Others may make few such distinctions.

The subtleties are not always obvious, especially to émigré writers, who sometimes find themselves in the position of the educated foreigner, as illustrated by this passage from an English novel of the mid-twenties. The context is that of an agency in London. Leonard has just been interviewed by Dr Stack, the headmaster of a grammar school in the south of England. After the interview, Leonard is told to check with the clerk on his way out and report on the results.

> *Leonard was endeavouring to formulate the results of his parley with Dr. Stack.* I've got the job.—*No, that would do for at home.* I've been taken on. *Sounded like a dock-labourer.* I've been engaged.—*That was not quite the thing either. The clerk came to his rescue, and made further verbal experiments unnecessary.* Did Dr Stack offer you the post? What figure did he mention?
>
> Paul Selver. 1927. *Schooling.*
> London: Jarrolds, 20-21

Although the basic relations in language are those that exist between linguistic forms and the extra-linguistic settings in the contexts of situation and communication and culture, the most operable relations are those that are found between the elements themselves as they change values according to the context of other elements with which they associate.

No two languages are likely to group referents in the same way. The hundred or more meanings of *run* in English are not those of its usual French equivalent, *courir.* Compare:

Run a car	*Conduire une auto*
Run away	*Partir à la course*
Run for election	*Présenter sa candidature*
Run a shop	*Tenir un magasin*

The meaning of each word or other element is not only affected by those with which it occurs; it also has an effect upon them. Linking *run* with *fast* gives a meaning to *fast* quite different from what it would be if the same word were linked with *stand,* for example. *Run fast* implies movement; *stand fast,* implies the opposite. Even with the aid of verbal context, however, there is room for much ambiguity. It is the situational context that helps to reduce this.

In the transmission and understanding of meaning, all contexts act and interact at once. Where one language may respond grammatically to a change in context, another may do so by altering a word or even by calling for an entirely different sentence. Where the same change of context may affect a single word in one language, it may call for the formulation of an entirely different sentence in another language. If the English *Hello, Mr. Martin* is equivalent to the French *Bonjour, Monsieur,* it does not hold that *Hello, stranger* can be rendered as *Bonjour l'étranger.* French requires a different approach to the situation as expressed in the sentence *On ne vous voit plus.* (Literally: *One does not see you.*)

The languages of the bilingual writer may react differently to changes in different types of context. Yet each language is the prisoner of the wider context in which it is used, that is, the context of culture within which the entire hierarchy of all other contexts can have meaning—verbal and non-verbal.

In Canada and the United States, authors writing in French, Italian and German and other languages are faced with North American concepts categorized in English and with English labels.[25] In none of the "foreign" languages of these authors are there exact equivalents of such everyday North American concepts as "job," "boss," "gang," "tough," "cute." Although such notions may be quite usual in the everyday speech of their North American readers, often with such adaptations of the English origi-

nal form as *une jobbe* or *la giobba,* writers who wish to avoid such forms are faced with a real dilemma. If they elect to use only the forms of the standard language in which they are writing—not *une jobbe* but rather *un emploi, un métier, un travail,* or *une profession;* not *la giobba* but rather *il empiego, il mestiere, il lavoro* or *la profezione*—then they are unlikely to convey the North American idea of work found without obligation of attachment or interest, including the product of such work (*il m'a fait une bonne jobbe*). And if, in spite of this, writers still decide to stick to the standard forms, they may unwittingly fall into another trap, making use of the standard form in a borrowed phrase, pattern or collocation, as indeed some Canadian novelists have done.[26] Emile Gagnon, for example, in his novel ***Une fille est venue*** writes *"Il avait de l'emploi dans un magasin"* following the pattern of *He had a job in a store.*

The influence, however, goes far beyond the words of the language in which the author is writing. It may penetrate the style and even the grammar. When it does, the influence is more subtle and much more likely to escape notice. It would lead us too far afield to go into this matter here. One could supply from the works of North American writers, quotations in the use of prepositions, gerunds, participles, infinitives, structural adverbs, compound adjectives, agreement of tenses and collocations to illustrate the subtle influence of one language on the other. As a consequence, some bilingual writers suffer from an ill-defined feeling of linguistic insecurity—at least in one of their languages. Unexpectedly, surprising gaps may be found in the vocabulary of one of their languages, as illustrated in the amazement voiced by G.K. Chesterton when he realized that Joseph Conrad, at the height of his literary fame, did not know the English word *cad*—although he could have found a seemingly suitable equivalent in the word *scoundrel.*

This feeling of uncertainty is akin to what has been called "schizoglossia," a sort of paralysis before the unforgiving norm of one of the writer's languages, especially if it happens to be one with a low degree of tolerance for deviation.[27] Schizoglossia is not to be confused, however, with language schizophrenia where the bilingual writer rejects all further contact with the mother-tongue because it is so emotionally associated with some profoundly detested personal experience.[28]

Some bilingual writers get out of the dilemma by playing a foxy game where the stakes are always kept low. The game consists of conveying a well-known borrowed cultural notion belonging to what will later be included in the concepts of high intensity, not by the foreign word usual in the speech of the readers, but by a term which is completely acceptable in the standard language. The catch is that this term is not a very well-known word, either in the standard language or in the speech of the readers; it can therefore be easily tampered with. What the bilingual writer does is simply to make an imperceptible extension of the accepted meaning of the word. For example, in North America it has been said that you have to have push to get by, but without getting too pushy—especially if you don't have any pull. It is almost impossible to convey this notion of push and pushy in standard French, since any word in the usual repertoire, whether it be *dynamisme* or *débrouillardise,* just does not cover the subject. How did the Canadian novelist Ringuet (pen name of Philippe Panneton) get out of this dilemma in his novel, ***Le Poids du jour***?[29] The author solved his problem by enlisting the rather rare French word, *entregent,* not really meaning "push" or "pushy," but with the accepted sense of "worldly wisdom." His readers, however, gathered from the context that it meant something akin to the American "to have plenty of push"—and no one was any the worse for this slight extension in meaning.[30]

If, however, bilingual writers refuse to revive a dying vocabulary in order to save their reputation, and limit themselves to simple, usual words, they may then fall into still another trap. The catch here is that the simple word may cover much more ground than does the concept one is trying to convey. In the language of the North American superhighway, for example, no matter how you pass someone on the road, you simply pass him—on the left, head-on or far beyond. In French, however, the way you pass him makes an obligatory difference, depending on whether you are passing on one side (*doubler*), passing head-on (*croiser*) or going beyond (*dépasser*). Not one of these terms covers the ground of the English word pass. The French cognate of this form, the verb *passer,* also covers a lot of ground, but it does not cover the same ground. By making it cover the same ground, the writer may well be using an equally simple and usual word to convey the concept he has in mind, as does Roger Lemelin in ***Au pied de la pente douce***; but he may not convey the precision that some readers of the European standard language might expect. Some sentences may even be ambiguous to these readers. Other bilingual writers solve this problem by using two terms—one from each language. For example, in Germaine Guèvremont's novel ***Marie-Didace***[31] the borrowed word *peddleur* is followed by a standard equivalent *colporteur.*

This device is of great antiquity: it was well known in England during the Middle Ages.[32] And examples of such French-English bilingual doublets can be found in the English literature of the period from the ***Ancren Riwle*** of the year 1225 or thereabouts, where we find such phrases as *ignoraunce, that is, unwisdom,* through Chaucer, right up to the time of Caxton (*glasse or mirrour*). On the whole, the evidence seems to indicate that literary biculturalism can exert a subtle influence upon a writer's choice of words, including those borrowed from the other language.

In some plurilingual societies, the incorporation of elements from the other language is tolerated and sometimes even welcomed, especially if the effect hits home.[33] The practice often simply conforms to what writers see and hear in the context about which they write. For example, a bicultural writer describing a bicultural milieu to a bilingual audience cannot afford to ignore the bilingual nature of either, for to do so is to risk irrelevance. If the audience itself is in the habit of switching from one language to the other, so must the characters.

If the action of a play, for example, takes place in the city hall of a bilingual town it is likely that both languages will be heard. For example, in a Quebec play called ***Medium Saignant***[34] in which there is a meeting of the town council, Françoise Loranger serves us scenes like this: Ouellet, arriving late at the council meeting apologizes and takes his place, while some of the local ratepayers in the sidelines make the following remarks:

Ouellette	*Je m'excuse. . .*
Citoyen II	*Aie,c'est Ouellette qui arrive!*
Une Citoyenne	*Ouellet, le roi des grosses aubaines!*
Alice	*Ouellette, lui, y en fait de 'argent!*
Tonio	*That's Ouellette, the richest man in town!*
Pinkerton	*Wallet, Hey? I didn't know we had an English counselor*
Tonio	*I said—Ouellette, not Wallet*
Pinkerton	*Wallet, that's what I said*

And later on, as the meeting heats up, we hear this:

Animateur (enchaînant)

Allez-y M. le Maire. Il nous faut immigration massive. And you too, Mister Ouellette. We need plenty of mighty men to build this nation! Here's the country for you!

Cinquième et dernier tableau, 20e siècle. Suffocation progressive des Québécois par l'immigration. Come on, come on, all of you!

Françoise Loranger. 1990.
Medium Saignant, 67

If the writer places the action in the context of a work situation where the dominant language of management is not that of the work-force, this will also have to be taken into account if the audience is to recognize the situation for what it is. In a play entitled in the crazy style of the sixties ***Tiens-toi bien après les oreilles à Papa,***[35] Gilles Richer has the Anglo boss's halting bilingualism counter the insistent French of an employee (Suzanne) asking him (Thompson) for a raise.

Thompson	*Come in, Miss David, come in. What can we do for you?*
Suzanne	*C'est pour une augmentation, Monsieur Thompson. Vous aviez promis. . .*
T	(comme s'il ne comprenait pas) *What?*
S	*Une augmentation. . . A raise. . . Dix dollars d'augmentation. A ten dollar raise.*
T	*Oh? that. . . Of course. . . Suzanne. . . Yes. . .* (Se levant) *You see, my dear Suzanne, tous nous autres ici, grande famille, you know what I mean.*

Gilles Richer. 1971. *Tien-toi bien après les oreilles à Papa*

Even in the interpersonal relationships within a bilingual community, the role of differences in culture and language cannot be entirely ignored. If an author chooses to write about a relationship between people from two

different cultures, then typical language behavior must be reflected in the text if is to be recognized as typical and appropriate. For example, in the novel ***Le Couteau sur la table*** by Jacques Godbout,[36] we find exchanges between the spoiled anglophone girl and the militant francophone boy—both of them more or less bilingual—like this:

> *Ça ne t'emmerde pas chéri de porter comme ça le monde entier sur tes épaules? I mean come on, get that chip off your shoulder! Je ne suis pas une raciste moi, mais les seuls nègres que j'ai connus étaient porteurs à bord des trains, I can't get upset like you. . . ça te coupe vraiment l'appétit?* (Godbout, 1965, 29)

Better still, we can take the case of that celebrated Russian émigré Vladimir Nabokov, who was equally at home in French and English as well as, of course, in his native Russian, a genius at translating any one of his literary languages into the other: both the French and English versions of Russian classics, Russian versions of English and French classics, English versions of his French writings and Russian versions of his French and English works, including a famous Russian version of ***Lolita.*** Clearly, Nabokov had many strings to his bow, but that does not mean that all of them were slack. In fact, some specialists of English literature stated shortly after Nabokov's death that this Russian émigré may well be considered as one of the great English stylists of our century.

In conclusion, bilingual expatriate writers have indeed been a blessing to the literatures to which they have contributed. English literature has profited by the contributions of Hungarians like Arthur Koestler and George Mikes, of Spanish writers like Santayana and Salvador de Madariaga, of Bengalis like Tagore, of Poles like Joseph Conrad—to name only a few. French literature has also been enriched by Rumanians like Ionesco and Tzara, by Americans like Julian Green and Stuart Merrill,

by Cubans like Hérédia, by Flemings like Maeterlinck, Greeks like Moréas and more. As many examples could be given for writings in German, Italian, Spanish and other literatures, both present and past.

Some critics are now asking whether for the literature of any country this sort of writing is a curse or a blessing. Is the burden of bilingualism a hindrance or a help for the writers themselves? Does their bilingualism limit their horizons? The belief, for many years, has been that bilingualism is a drawback.[37] And the eminent creolist Hugo Schuschardt suggested that if a bilingual has two strings to his bow, both are rather slack.[38]

I would argue the opposite view and contend that bilingualism can be an asset to the creative writer, even the writer who learns a second language as an adult. It is possible to demonstrate that a person can study a foreign language as a school subject, and in this new language obtain a Nobel Prize. Take the 1969 Nobel Prize, for example, awarded to an Irishman, Samuel Beckett, who studied French at Trinity College in Dublin, wrote about half his work in French and the other half in English, and translated most of it himself into the other language. Some works, like ***Malone Dies*** and ***Waiting for Godot*** first appeared in French, while others like ***Happy Days*** and ***After the Fall*** were first written in English. Yet, if we examine Beckett's translation of any of these, it is impossible to say which one was the original.[39] This demonstrates an exceptional mastery of two literary languages in their written forms.[40]

Many writers like Beckett and Nabokov, by becoming masters of two languages and cultures, have succeeded in avoiding both the pitfalls of cosmopolitan authors writing only in their second or acquired language, and the difficulties of unilingual authors writing in or about a culture which is not theirs. Such writers and their cosmopolitan literature once considered an oddity, have become commonplace, expecially in Western Europe, North America and other areas of massive immigration. If we examine the

productions of cosmopolitan bilingual and bicultural writers in our century, we can say that, far from impoverishing the literatures and languages to which they contribute, they are much more likely to enrich them.

Notes

1 Campanile, Enrico and Giorgio R. Cardona, Eds. 1988. *Bilinguismo e biculturalismo nel mondo antico.* Pisa: Giardini.

2 Woolner, A.C. 1938. *Languages in History and Politics.* London: Oxford University Press, 131-132; 159-160.

3 Dubuisson, Michel. 1981. Problèmes du bilinguisme romain. *Les études classiques* 49: 27-45. See also his 1985. *Le latin de Polybe. Les implications historiques d'un cas de bilinguisme.* Paris: Klincksieck.

4 Schmidt-Mackey, I. 1956. *Lou Salomé: Inspiratrice et interprète de Nietzsche, Rilke et Freud.* Paris: Nizet.

5 Phillips, James. 1984. *Yvan Goll and Bilingual Poetry.* Stuttgart: Heinz. See also: Kushner, Eva. 1966. Yvan Goll: deux langues, une âme. *Actes du IVe Congrès de l'AILC,* The Hague: Mouton, 576-588.

6 Steiner, George. 1971. *Extraterritorial.* New York: Atheneum.

7 When this influence becomes long-lasting and widespread, it can modify the very nature of the language. Three centuries of contact with Viking Norse on the one hand and Norman French on the other, transformed Anglo-Saxon from an inflecting Indo-European language to an analytic structure loaded with French and classical vocabulary. As this cosmopolitan tongue developed into the written language of millions in all quarters of the globe, devoid of classical culture, it began to slow down its classical intake. Especially since mid-century the practice of open-ended basic English word formation (*walkman, input, up-scale*) has added new words to the language at an ever accelerating speed. These words were sometimes invented and propagated by writers from all over the globe many of whom spoke tongues far removed from the classical sources on which English had so long depended. As a cosmopolitan language, English is now beyond the control of any sovereign state or national academy. See Mackey, W.F. 1992. The Re-Anglicisation of English. *Homage to W.R. Lee.* (ed. by A. van Essen and E.L. Burkart) Berlin and New York: Foris Publications, 243-247. See also Mackey, W.F. 1991. Language Diversity, Language Policy and the Sovereign State. *Journal of the History of European Ideas* 13:1/2, 51-62.

[8] Kohr, Leopold. 1957. *The Breakdown of Nations*. London: Routledge. In this context, March 16 of 1988 may be seen by historians as a memorable date. It was on that day in Strasbourg that the Standing Committee on European Regions of the Council of Europe, after twenty-three attempts, finally passed the remarkable Charter of European Regional Languages, later incorporated into the Maastricht Treaty. This Charter accords quasi-official status, especially in areas of education and mass media, to many of the regional languages of Europe long suppressed by the unilingual language policies of the nation-state. As a result, there is bound to be a future demand for writers of languages like Breton, Occitan, Corsican, Frisian and Welsh. See W. F. Mackey. 1992. L'irrédentisme diglossique: potentiel et contraintes. *Plantejaments i processos de normalització lingüística. Lleida:* Institut d'Estudis ilerdencs, 91-96.

[9] Mackey, W.F. 1988. Geolinguistics: Its Scope and Principles. C. Williams, ed. *Language in its Geographic Context.* Cleveland and Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, 19-46.

[10] ILEA. 1988. *Language in the Schools of the Inner London Education Authority: The 1987 Language Census.* Preprint for the International Conference on Minority Language Rights. Ithaca: Cornell University Center for International Studies.

[11] Mackey, W. F. and Von N. Beebe. 1977. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community: Miami's Adaptation to the Cuban Refugees.* New York: Harper and Row.

[12] The second edition of the *International Bibliography on Bilingualism* classifies almost twenty thousand titles in some fifty languages. (W.F. Mackey. 1982. *Bibliographie internationale sur le bilinguisme.* Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval.)

[13] Hamers, J. and M. Blanc. 1989. *Bilinguality and Bilingualism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. For a structured and comprehensive definition of these fields, see W.F. Mackey, Bilingualism and Multilingualism in *The International Handbook of the Science of Language in Society-Sociolinguistics* (Volume 1: chapter 88). U. Ammon, N. Dittmar and K.J. Mattheier, eds. 1987. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 689-714.

[14] Mackey, W.F. 1976. Langue, dialecte et diglossie littéraire. H. Giordan and A. Ricard, eds. *Diglossie et littérature.* Bordeaux: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 19-50.

[15] For a more complete treatment of the notion of diglossia, see W.F. Mackey. 1989. La genèse d'une typologie de la diglossie. *Revue québécoise de linguistique théorique et appliquée* 2, 11-28.

[16] For a comprehensive analytic bibliography of cases of diglossia of over a hundred language groups, see the two thousand annotated titles of Mauro Fernandez in his forthcoming *Bibliography of Diglossia.* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

[17] Vallverdú, Francesc. 1971. *Sociologia y lengua en la literatura catalana.* Traducción por José Fortes. Madrid: Cuadernos para el Dialogo.

[18] Mackey, W. F. and A. Verdoodt, eds. 1975. *The Multinational Society.* New York: Harper and Row.

[19] Keys, Daniel. 1981. *The Minds of Billy Milligan.* New York: Bantam Books.

[20] Mackey, W.F. 1972. Concept Categories as Measures of Cultural Distance. S.K. Ghosh, ed. *Man, Language and Society.* The Hague: Mouton. See also Beatens Beardsmore, Hugo. 1978. Polyglot Literature and Linguistic Fiction. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 15, 91-102. See also Sternberg, Meir. 1981. Polylingualism as Reality and Translation as Mimesis. *Poetics Today,* 2:4, 221-239.

[21] Forster, L. 1970. *The Poet's Tongues.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[22] The Nigerian constitution which went into effect in 1992 recognizes three national languages, Hausa, Yoruba and Ibo—along with English and twelve regional tongues.

[23] Griffiths, Gareth. 1978. *A Double Exile: African and West Indian Writing Between Two Cultures.* London and Berkeley: University of California Press.

[24] It is only in 1976 that a major creole novel appeared, the *Dézafi* of Frankétienne. For such writers the problems of bilingualism are compounded by those of biculturalism. Mackey, W.F. 1980. The Creole Dilemma. E. Blansitt and R. Teschner, eds. *Studies in General Linguistics and Sociolinguistics.* Rowley: Newbury House, 182-188.

[25] Simon, Sherry. 1987. The Language of Difference: Minority Writers in Quebec. *Canadian Literature,* Supplement No 1, May, 1987: J.M. Bumsted, ed. *Papers from the 1984 Ottawa Conference on Language, Culture and Literary Identity in Canada,* 129-137.

[26] Pivato, Joseph. 1987. Constantly Translating, The Challenge for Italian-Canadian Writers. *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature,* 14:1, 60-76.

[27] Gobard, Henri. 1976. *L'aliénation linguistique. Analyse tétraglossique.* Paris: Flammarion. See also: Haugen, Einar. 1962. Schizoglossia and the Linguistic Norm. *Georgetown University Monographs on Languages and Linguistics* 15, 63-69.

[28] Wolfson, L. 1970. *Le schizo et les langues.* Paris: Gallimard.

[29] Panneton, P. 1947. ("Ringuet.") *Le Poids du jour.* Montreal: Varietés, 359

[30] Graham, R.S. 1956. Widespread Bilingualism and the Creative Writer. *Word* 12:3, 370-381.

[31] Guèvremont, G. 1947. *Marie-Didace.* Montreal: Beauchemin, 61.

[32] Brugnolo, Furio. 1983. *Plurilinguismo e lirica medievale. Da Raimbaut de Vaqueiras a Dante.* Rome: Bulzoni. See also Harvey, Carol J. Macaronic Techniques in Anglo-Norman Verse. *L'Esprit créateur* 18:1, 70-81.

[33] It is the source of much of the macaronic literature of the past. See Segre, Cesare. 1979. La tradizione macaronica da Folengo a Gadda. Ettore Bonora and Mario Chiesa, eds. *Cultura letteraria e tradizione popolare in Teofilo Folengo.* See also Spitzer, Leo. 1923. Sprachmischung als Stilmittel und als Ausdruck der Klangphantasie. *Germanistisches und Romanistiches Monatschrift,* XI, 193-217.

[34] Loranger, F. 1970. *Medium saignant.* Ottawa: Editions Leméac.

[35] Richer, G. 1971. *Tiens-toi bien après les oreilles à papa.* Ottawa: Editions Leméac.

[36] Godbout, J. 1965. *Le couteau sur la table.* Paris: Editions du Seuil.

[37] See, for example, G. Schmidt-Rohr. 1936. Zur Frage der Zweisprachigkeit. *Deutsche Arbeit* 36:82, 408-441. See also Izak Epstein. 1915. *La pensée et la polyglossie.* Paris: Payot.

[38] Spitzer, Leo. Ed. 1928. *Hugo Schuschardt-Brevier.* Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses: 151-169.

[39] Fitch, Brian T. 1987. *Beckett and Babel. An Investigation into the Status of the Bilingual Work.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. (Romance Series 57). See also Simpson, Edundayo. 1978. *Samuel Beckett traducteur de lui–même. Aspects du bilinguisme littéraire.* Quebec: Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme; De Clercq, Marine. 1980. Samuel Beckett as a bilingual writer: a test case. Peter Hans Nelde, ed. *Sprachkontakt und Sprachkonflikt.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 219-224; Hanna, Blake T. 1972. Samuel Beckett traducteur de lui–même. *Meta* 17:4, 220-224.

[40] But it does not mean, of course, that Beckett's spoken French was also comparable to his spoken English. For, like his fellow expatriate Dubliners James Joyce and Oscar Wilde who preceded him, he spoke English with a slight Dublin accent and French with a slight English accent.

Chronological Chart

Years BC		
		• first writing at Uruk
Years BC	3000	• phonetic rebus writing begins
	2500	• first Sumerian literary texts
		• Ebla tablets—first bilingual lists
		• Sargon of Akkad (ca. 2300)
	2000	
		• first bilingual lists and literary texts in Babylonia
		• Hammurabi of Babylon (ca. 1750)
	1500	
		• Akkadian is *lingua franca* of Near East; cuneiform texts at Hattusas, Ugarit, Emar and in Egypt
	1000	
		• Guzana statue
		• Ashurbanipal of Assyria (668-627)
		• Cyrus conquers Babylon (539)
	500	• Darius I (521-486)
		• Antiochus Soter (280-262)
		• Rosetta Stone (196)
	1	

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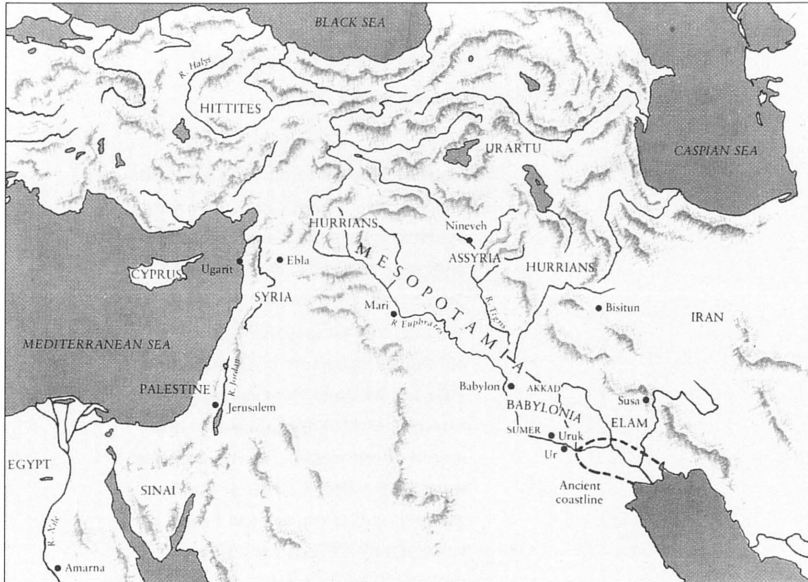
Bilingual Babel:

Cuneiform Texts in Two or More Languages from Ancient Mesopotamia and Beyond

Jerrold Cooper

Ancient Mesopotamia was the birthplace of the earliest known writing system. It was also a land of ethnolinguistic diversity, that included Sumerians, who invented cuneiform writing, and an increasingly large number of speakers of Semitic languages. As cuneiform spread throughout Mesopotamia and into neighboring regions, it was adapted to write Semitic and other languages, and bilingual and even trilingual cuneiform tablets were produced, containing Sumerian texts and their translations, usually into Semitic Akkadian. Various formats were developed to set off the translation from the original, and the practice, which began around 2400 BC, continued almost to the beginning of our own era.



Map of the Cuneiform World

Ancient Mesopotamia (present-day Iraq)[1] was a multilingual, multi-ethnic environment throughout its long history. Despite the cheek-by-jowl commingling of languages and cultures, there is virtually no evidence for ethno-linguistic conflict, and very little for ethno-linguistic prejudice, in the written records of three millennia.[2] Not every language used in Mesopotamia found written expression, and documents from Mesopotamia are overwhelmingly unilingual, but there were periods when it was deemed useful or necessary to produce texts in two (or even more) languages. Over the centuries, formats and techniques were developed that enabled two or more languages on a single document to co-exist as harmoniously and productively as the diverse inhabitants of ancient Mesopotamia themselves. After a brief consideration of writing's origin, the following discussion will illustrate the development of these formats and techniques, from their rather primitive beginnings at Ebla, just after the middle of the third millennium BC, to the trilingual inscriptions of the Achaemenid Persians from just after the middle of the first millennium BC.

Writing was invented at Uruk in southern Babylonia around 3100 BC. More precisely, the first system of notation that would develop, over several centuries, the capability to represent natural language, was invented there at that time. The choice of clay as a writing surface was felicitous both for the ancients—it was ubiquitous in a resource-poor land—and for us, since, unlike organic writing surfaces, clay tablets have survived the millennia very well. Early schematic pictographs quite soon evolved into abstract configurations of wedges (hence *cuneiform,* meaning wedge-shaped) formed by impressing a reed stylus on a wet clay tablet.

Multicolumn bilingual wordlist from Ebla in Syria, ca. 2400 BC. A Sumerian word in one case (the box around each group of signs) is followed by its Semitic equivalent in the case beneath it. Sometimes there is a pronunciation gloss for the Sumerian, added in a case between the Sumerian word and its translation. *figure 1*

Texts were first written from right to left, with small numbers of signs (names, words, short phrases) enclosed in cases (similar to *figure 1*); when the left edge of the tablet was reached, a new row of cases was begun at the right, just beneath the first row. At some point, certainly by 2000 BC but probably by 2500, scribes began turning the tablets ninety degrees counterclockwise, so that the rows of cases became vertical columns, and the signs themselves were carefully arranged within the individual cases from left to right in the order that they were to be read. The cases eventually elongated into lines. Smaller tablets had only one column of lines per side (e.g., *figure 9*); larger tablets might have two (e.g., *figure 12*) or more (e.g., *figure 3*) columns. By about 2900 BC, phonetic writing based on the rebus principle had developed. The sign for mouth, Sumerian *ka,* could be used to write the syllable /ka/, etc. Thus, it became possible not only to express grammatical elements and foreign names in cuneiform, but to write foreign languages as well. In the course of three millennia cuneiform would be used to write a variety of languages from the Persian Gulf to the Caucasus, from Anatolia and Egypt to Iran.[3]

Uruk was a Sumerian city, and the language of the first tablets was Sumerian. But Sumerian, a linguistic isolate, was not the only language of southern Mesopotamia. From very early times, eastern Semitic dialects were spoken in Babylonia, and geographical names betray the presence of other linguistic groups that probably predated both Sumerians and Semites in Mesopotamia. While Semitic speakers were dominant in northern Babylonia (Akkad) and Sumerian speakers in the south (Sumer), Semitic speech could be heard in the south and Sumerian in the north. Writing, however, seems to have been a Sumerian thing; when Babylonians of the mid-third millennium BC wrote, they almost always wrote in Sumerian, whatever their mother-tongue may have been. Our earliest Sumerian literary texts (as opposed to administrative or

legal documents), which date from about 2500 BC, were written by scribes with Semitic names.[4]

By that time, cuneiform writing had spread to Mari on the middle Euphrates, and beyond it to Ebla, forty miles south of Aleppo in Syria, less than one hundred miles from the Mediterranean. Living far from any Sumerian speech area, the scribes of Mari and Ebla adapted Sumerian cuneiform to write their own Semitic dialects, which were related to, but different from, the Semitic then spoken in Babylonia. The system that they developed was very complex. Most nouns and even verbs were written with Sumerian signs used as logograms, that is, the Sumerian word was read as its Semitic equivalent. Pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions and proper nouns were written phonetically in Semitic, using rebus-derived phonetic values of the Sumerian signs (e.g., Sumerian *si* "horn" followed by *in* "straw" used to write the Semitic preposition *sin* "toward"). Thus, scribal education in Semitic-speaking Syria entailed learning the Sumerian cuneiform system as well as the local adaptation of phonetic sign values for writing Semitic. The most important teaching tool was sign lists organized semantically or by sign form, which the students copied and learned by heart to master the repertoire of more than four hundred cuneiform signs.[5]

And so the first bilingual texts emerged. In mid-third millennium Babylonia, native Semitic speakers either lived in bilingual communities and knew Sumerian, or had sufficient access to Sumerian speakers and Sumerian traditions that learning the Sumerian language was not a major obstacle. They used the same Sumerian sign lists as native Sumerian speakers, not to learn the language, but to learn the writing system. But at distant Ebla, where Sumerian was an exotic tongue, students not only learned from imported Sumerian lists, but developed their own *bilingual* lists, adding a Semitic translation for each Sumerian word or phrase, and sometimes including a pronunciation gloss,

using simple phonetic signs to indicate how a Sumerian sign or group of signs was pronounced (*figure 1*). The entries were arranged vertically in columns: Sumerian sign(s)—(phonetic gloss)—translation—Sumerian sign(s) —(phonetic gloss)—translation—etc. In appearance, these bilingual lexical lists look very much like any other list or document from Ebla, that is, no effort was made to arrange the entries in such a way that the Sumerian and Semitic were clearly distinguished from one another, or that the tablets could be easily scanned for a particular Sumerian entry or Semitic entry. Some tablets distinguish the Semitic translation by following it with a single wedge, similar to the single, double and triple wedges used on later tablets to mark glosses or to separate Sumerian from Akkadian in bilingual texts (*figures 10* and *12*). But at Ebla this use of the wedge is quite inconsistent: Some tablets nearly always add it, whereas others use it only occasionally and, it seems, quite randomly.[6]

In Babylonia proper, it would be another five hundred years before pronunciation glosses and translations were added to Sumerian sign lists. Even as Sumerian began to die out as a spoken language there, the tradition of written Sumerian remained strong; much like Latin in Europe, it was retained for legal and administrative purposes until 1600 BC, and for religious and magical purposes Sumerian survived almost to the beginning of our own era.[7] Writing in Semitic in Babylonia began on a large scale with the dynasty founded by Sargon of Akkade (ca. 2300 BC); the dynasty's capital, Akkade, somewhere near Kish, gave the name Akkad to northern Babylonia (distinguishing it from southern Babylonia, Sumer) and the name Akkadian to the language group that subsumes the various Babylonian and Assyrian dialects that were used in Mesopotamia and beyond for the next two thousand years.[8] When, sometime after 2000 BC, Babylonian scribes began adding Akkadian translations to their lexical lists, they put them in a parallel column to the right of the

Sumerian (*figures* 2 and 3). Thus, Sumerian and Akkadian were clearly distinguished from one another, and the Sumerian column could easily be scanned to find a desired entry. The Akkadian column could even be covered so that ancient students could test themselves. Sumerian pronunciation glosses were put in a column to the left of the Sumerian entries, and native sign-names, when included, were put in yet another column between the Sumerian and the Akkadian (*figure* 4). An additional column could be

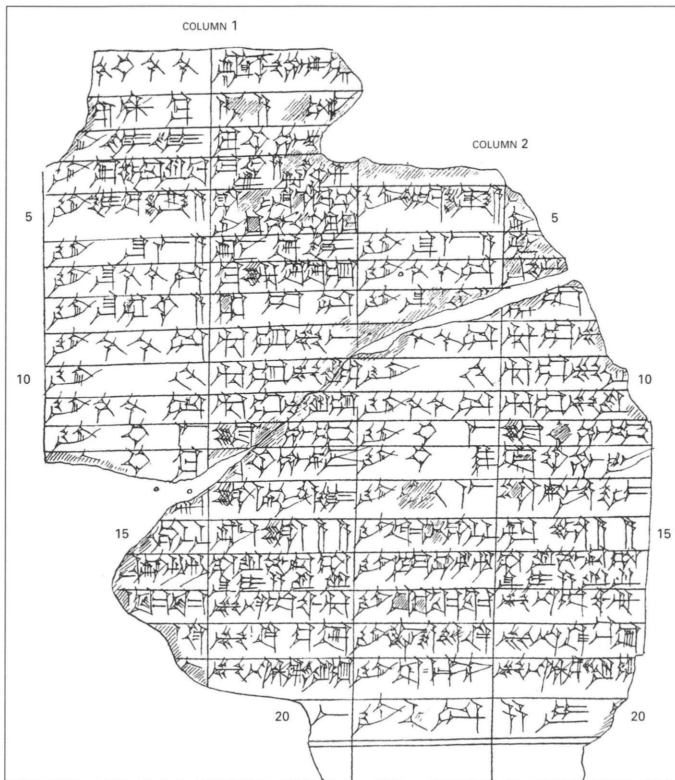


figure 2

Multicolumn bilingual wordlist from Nippur in Babylonia, ca. 1750 BC. Each column is subdivided by a vertical ruling into two sub-columns. Sumerian words and phrases describing various human characteristics are listed in the left sub-column, with Akkadian (Semitic) translations in the right sub-column.

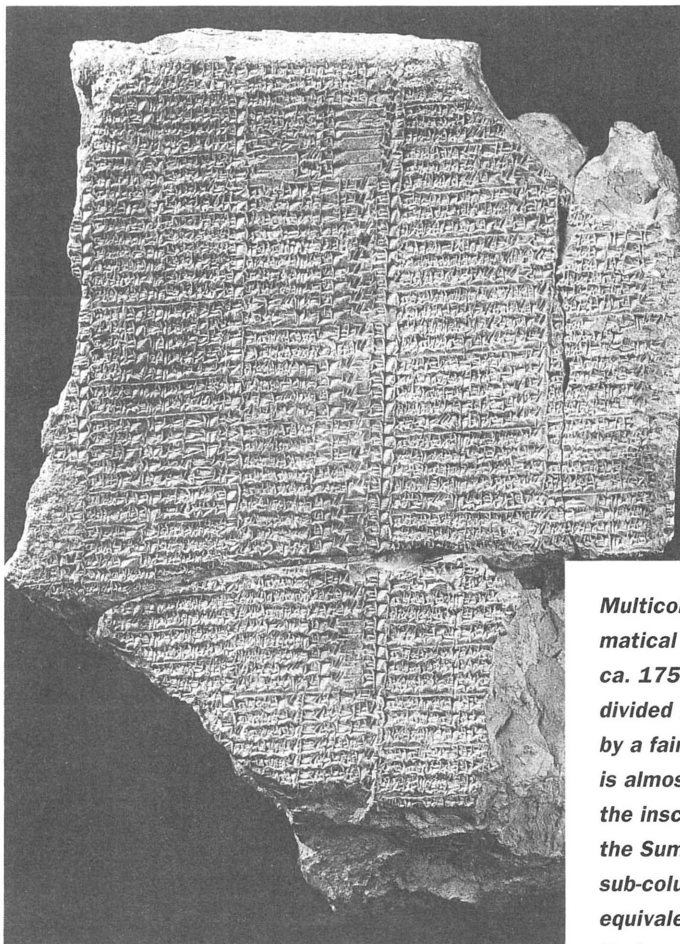


figure 3

Multicolumn bilingual grammatical paradigms from Nippur, ca. 1750 BC. Each column is divided into two sub-columns by a faint vertical ruling which is almost entirely obscured by the inscription. On each line, the Sumerian form is in the left sub-column and its Akkadian equivalent is on the right. Horizontal rulings across each column mark off groups of similar forms.

added to the right of the Akkadian for Akkadian synonyms or even translation into a third language (*figure 5*).[9] This parallel column layout was ideally suited to such lists, where individual signs or groups of signs were translated and otherwise glossed. It was certainly superior to the earlier format used at Ebla, and it continued in use for all lexical lists for nearly two millennia.

After 2000 BC, Babylonian scribes not only translated the lists that they used for reference and learning; they

Sign list from Nippur, 5th century BC. Vertical rulings divide the tablet into two narrow and two broad columns. The second narrow column is a list of Sumerian compound signs. The narrow column to its left indicates the signs' pronunciation; the first broad column gives the signs' native name, and the second broad column gives the signs' Akkadian equivalent. The two vertical wedges found, e.g., in lines 72-75, are ditto marks, meaing "same as above." Beneath the horizontal ruling is a colophon identifying the tablet as a copy of an original from Babylon, copied in the fifth year of the Persian king Artaxerxes I or Artaxerxes II. Also identified are the tablet's owner and its scribe, followed by a warning that no one should make off with it.

figure 4

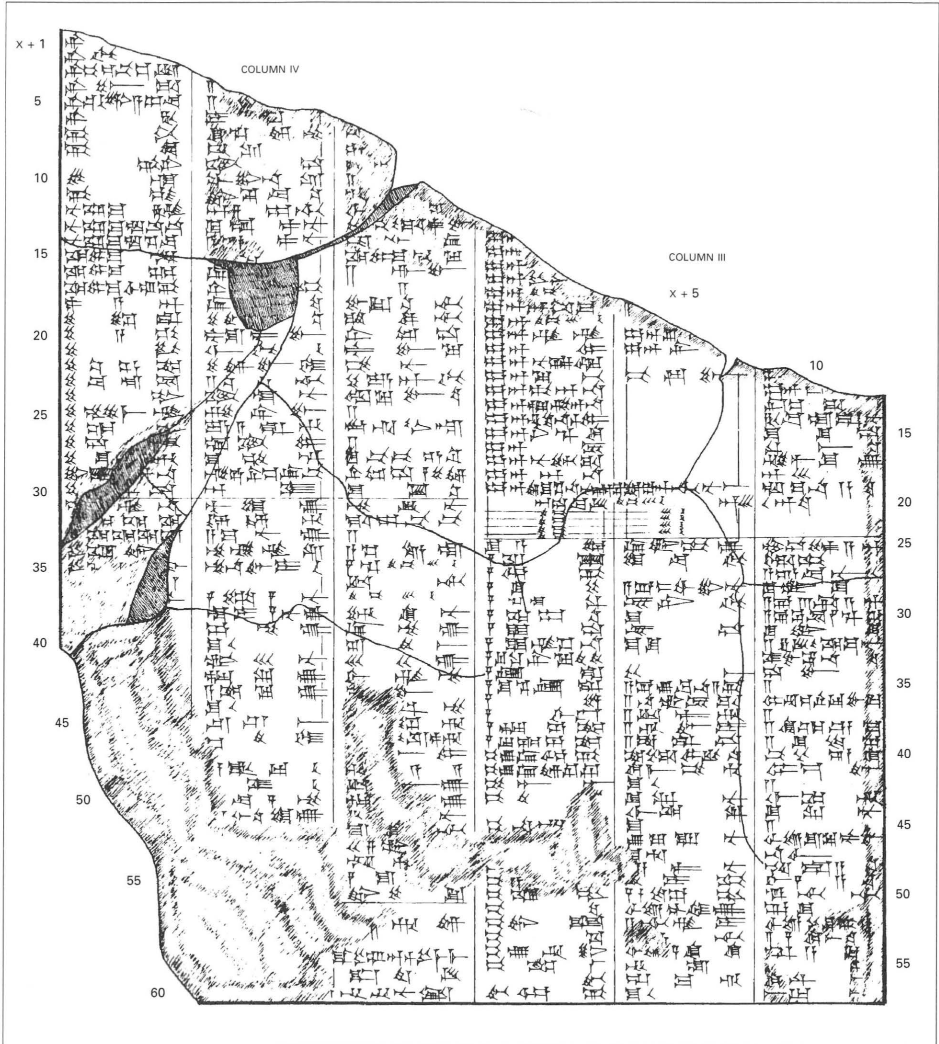
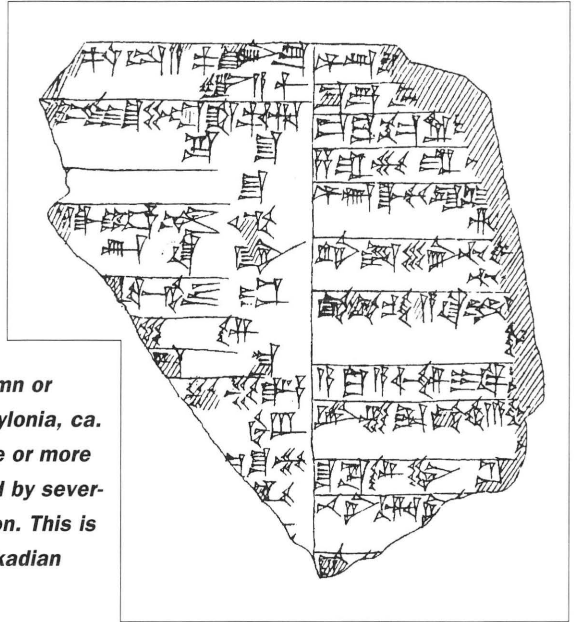


figure 5 ***Thematic lexicon from Uruk, 5th-4th century BC. Because this is the reverse of the tablet, the right-hand column is read before the left-hand column, even though the direction of each written line remains left-to-right. Each column is divided into three sub-columns: Sumerian word-Akkadian translation-second (explanatory) Akkadian translation. The horizontal rulings separate semantic catagories (stars, food and agricultural products, human types and classes.) Note the four short horizontal lines with "fresh break" written in smaller characters after line 20 in column iii, indicating that four lines of the original text were broken at this point.***

figure 6



Fragment of a two-column hymn or incantation from Girsu in Babylonia, ca. 1900 BC. In each column, one or more lines of Sumerian are followed by several lines of Akkadian translation. This is the oldest extant Sumero-Akkadian bilingual literary text.

also began to provide full Akkadian translations for the Sumerian literary texts they copied—myth, epic, hymns, proverbs and incantations. But unlike the period after 1600 BC, when Sumerian texts were as a rule accompanied by an Akkadian translation, in this earlier period, translations were quite rare, often from outlying areas, and by their appearance and quality betray themselves as the work of inferior scribes, either students who needed a "pony" to learn Sumerian, or scribes who never learned Sumerian well enough in the first place. The rarity of these early bilinguals, compared to the thousands of unilingual Sumerian tablets of the same period, is eloquent testimony to the strength of Sumerian tradition in the Old Babylonian (2000-1600 BC) academy.

Full translation[10] was only one solution to the increasingly felt difficulty in understanding Sumerian texts. Another was to gloss just certain Sumerian words and phrases, although the criteria used for selecting *which* words and phrases to gloss often elude us. A text will not infrequently gloss a rather simple Sumerian word, leaving

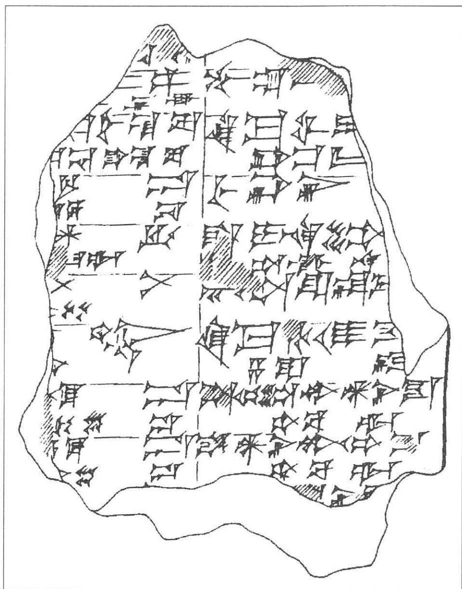


figure 7

Fragment of proverbial insults to women from Nippur, ca. 1750 BC. The Sumerian text in the left-hand column is translated into Akkadian on the right. The smaller signs beneath each line of Sumerian indicate the Sumerian's pronunciation.

elements unexplained which seem much more difficult to us. These glosses are usually written in smaller script, squeezed above, below or to the side of the Sumerian text.[11] Full translations, however, could not be stuck wherever there happened to be room; they had to be allotted their own space when the tablet was planned out.

Two basic formats for arranging the Sumerian and Akkadian text emerged:[12] parallel columns, as the lexical lists, with the Sumerian original on the left and the Akkadian translation to the right (*figures 7, 8, 11*), or interlinear translation, where one or sometimes more lines of Sumerian are translated into Akkadian immediately below the Sumerian (*figures 6, 9, 10, 12*). Over the course of the second millennium a distinct preference for the interlinear format emerged, so that by the end of the millennium most bilinguals were interlinear. The reason for this preference quite likely has to do with tablet shape and size: Cuneiform tablets can be narrow or wide, that is, one column (per side, e.g., *figures 9* and *10*) or multi-column (e.g., *figures 3*

and *12*). Parallel-column lists, whose entries are single words or phrases, can fit even on narrow tablets, but the parallel column format would not work well for literary texts on narrow tablets without squeezing the single Sumerian lines and their Akkadian translations into short multi-line blocks. In fact, this is what often happened for the few types of texts that continued to be transmitted in the parallel column format, mainly proverbs and other compositions associated with the scribal school.

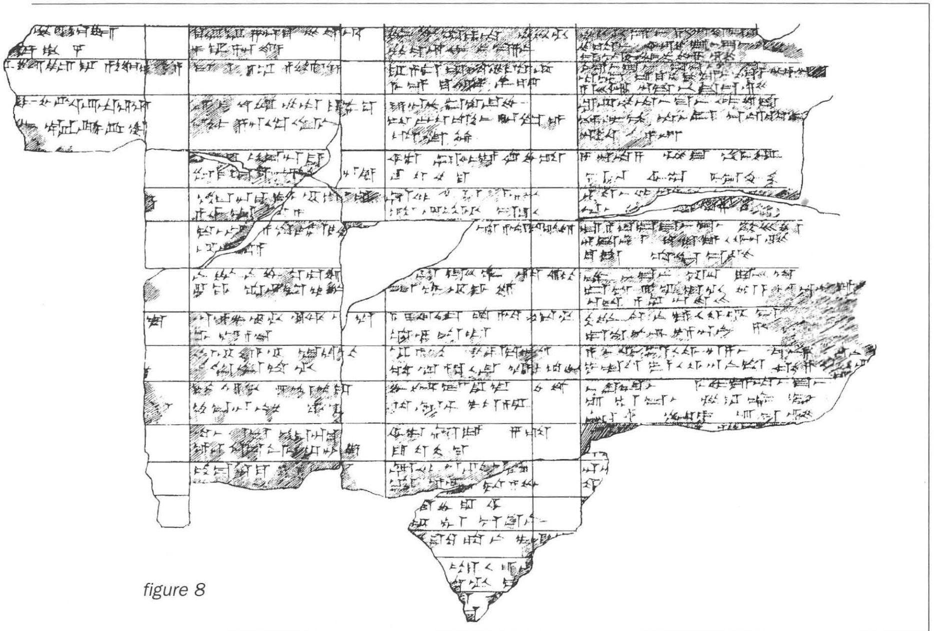


figure 8

Fragment of trilingual lyric poem from Ugarit on the Levantine coast, but probably written at the Hittite capital Hattusas in central Anatolia, 14th century BC. The four columns, from left to right, contain i) the Sumerian text, ii) the Sumerian written phonetically to indicate its pronunciation, iii) an Akkadian translation, iv) a Hittite translation. Despite the double vertical rulings dividing the columns, only the right-most of each pair of rulings marks the end of one column and beginning of the next. Horizontal rulings group the individual poetic "lines" of the text together, each of which occupies several lines on this tablet because of the relative narrowness of the columns. The tablet is thought to have been imported to Ugarit in antiquity from the Hattusas, the Hittite capital.

Even when such a text appears on a multi-column tablet (*figure 11*), the lines retain a squeezed, list-like look, and it is certainly no accident that precisely those literary texts most closely associated with the school maintain the format of the list, which was the pedagogical tool *par excellence.*

The interlinear format has the advantage of fitting well both single and multi-column tablets, but it harkens back to the Ebla lexical lists with the same disadvantage:

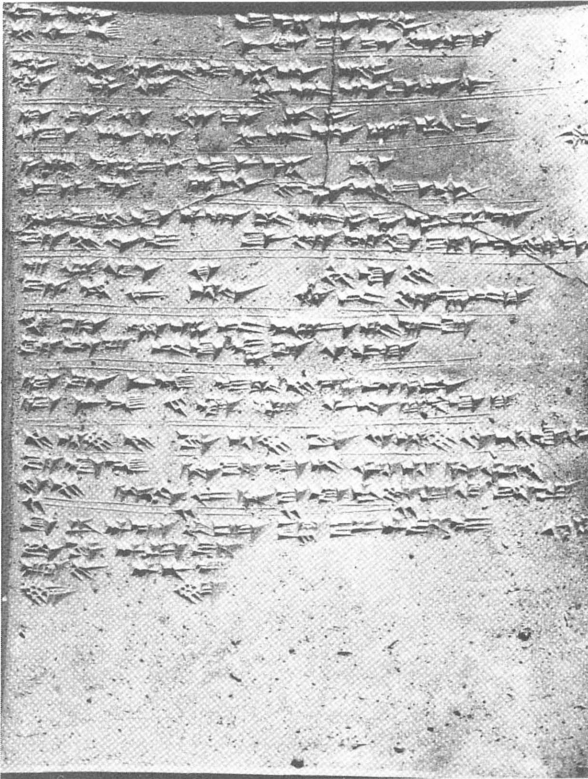


figure 9

Reverse of a poetic royal blessing from Emar in Syria (due east of Ebla on the Euphrates), 13th century BC. Double horizontal rulings pair each Sumerian line with the Akkadian translation beneath it. Near the end, three lines occur between double horizontal rulings: the Sumerian text, set off from its two-line Akkadian translation by a single ruling. After the final double ruling with its superimposed sets of double wedges (the wedges' function is unknown), there is a colophon identifying the scribe and the month in which he wrote the tablet.

It is not easy to see at a glance what is Sumerian and what is Akkadian (*figure 6*). To remedy this, two basic devices were developed: The Sumerian line and its Akkadian translation could be paired between horizontal rulings (*figures 9* and *10a*), or the Akkadian line could be indented beneath the Sumerian (*figure 12*); some tablets do both (*figure 10b*). When a Sumerian line was particularly short, the scribes often saved space by putting the Akkadian translation on the same line as the Sumerian. In such cases, the Akkadian translation could follow the entire Sumerian line (*figures 10a-b, figure 12* lines 65f.), or it could be inserted between two halves of the Sumerian line, often set one half line lower than the Sumerian (*figure 12,* lines 15, 18, 19). Either way, the Akkadian was usually, but not always (e.g., *figure 12,* line 18) set off from the Sumerian by double wedges.

In the first half of the second millennium, Akkadian became a *lingua franca* throughout the Near East, and was studied and used for business, administration and diplomatic purposes far beyond the Akkadian speech area. Because learning Akkadian meant learning cuneiform, Sumerian was an integral part of the scribal curriculum, and thus there are Sumero-Akkadian bilinguals from extra-Mesopotamian centers such as the Hittite capital Hattusas (Boghazköi), Ugarit on the Levantine coast (*figure 8*), and Emar (*figure 9*) on the great bend of the Euphrates in Syria.[13] In Mesopotamia, the Sumerian of most bilinguals is written with normal orthography, but sometimes the Sumerian text is partly or entirely "phonetic," that is, written with basic phonetic signs similar to those used in the pronunciation glosses of the lexical lists discussed above. Some bilinguals from these western centers of the late first millennium include *both* normal and phonetic Sumerian texts together with an Akkadian translation. Rarely, at Hattusas, a Hittite translation was added as well, resulting in a trilingual tablet arranged in four parallel columns: Sumerian—phonetic Sumerian—Akkadian—Hittite (*figure 8*).

Surprisingly few monumental Sumero-Akkadian bilingual inscriptions have been found, although we know from later copies on clay tablets that kings of Akkade in the late third millennium had stelas and statues inscribed with bilingual texts, and we have originals and copies of bilingual royal inscriptions from Hammurabi of Babylon and his successors (ca. 1800-1600 BC). Scattered bilingual

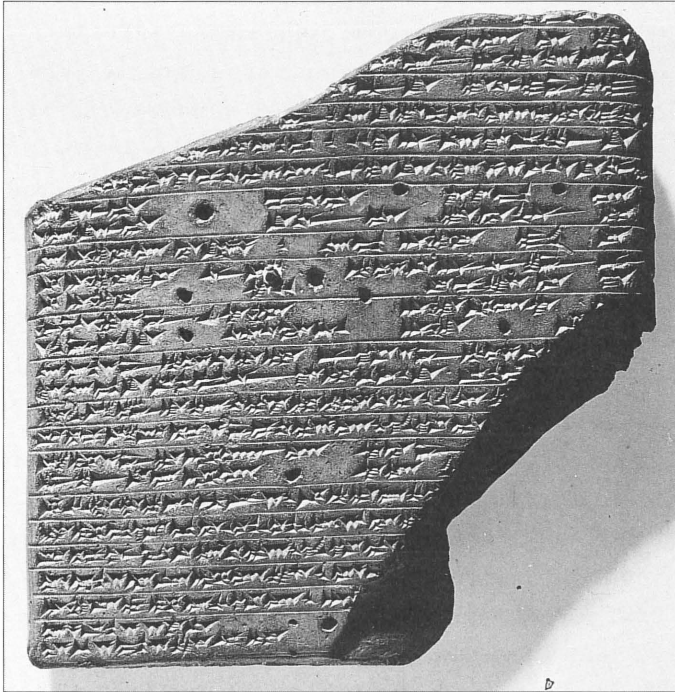


figure 10a

Figure 10 (a and b) Fragments of a hymnic-mythic text from Assyria of the 11th (a) and 7th (b) centuries BC. Both tablets pair the Sumerian text with an interlinear Akkadian translation between horizontal rulings, and (b) indents each Akkadian line slightly. For short lines, the Akkadian translation appears after the Sumerian on the same line, set off by a double wedge. The colophon following the double horizontal ruling in (b) labels it as the fourth and last tablet of the composition **angim dimma** ***("Created like the God of Heaven"), and identifies it as part of the palace library of king Ashurbanipal of Assyria, who ruled from Nineveh, 668-627 BC.***

royal inscriptions from later times are known from a few originals and from copies on clay tablets.[14] The Assyrian and Babylonian kings who dominated Western Asia in the first half of the first millennium left inscribed monuments in conquered territories which were written in cuneiform Akkadian, even though Akkadian was not understood by the conquered peoples. A new technology, linear alphabetic

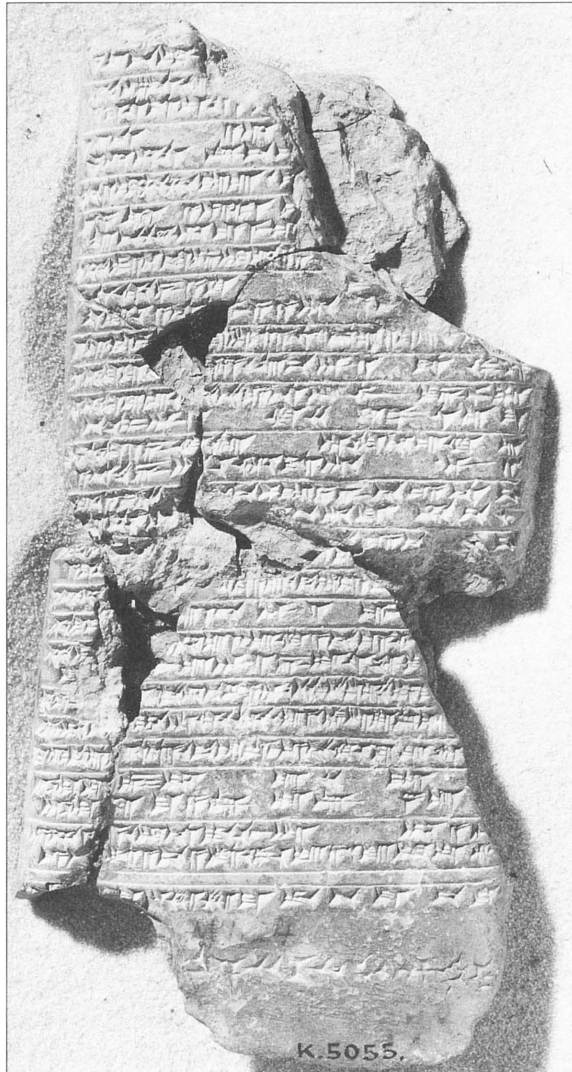


figure 10b

writing, had supplanted cuneiform in the west, and was used to write various Northwest Semitic languages. One of these, Aramaic, was emerging as the new *lingua franca* of the Near East, penetrating even Assyria and Babylonia.

When, ca. 830 BC, an Assyrian vassal, the ruler of Guzana in northern Syria, dedicated a life-sized statue of himself in the temple of the storm god at nearby Sikani, he inscribed it in both alphabetic Aramaic and cuneiform Akkadian (*figure 13*). In the Aramaic version, the lan-

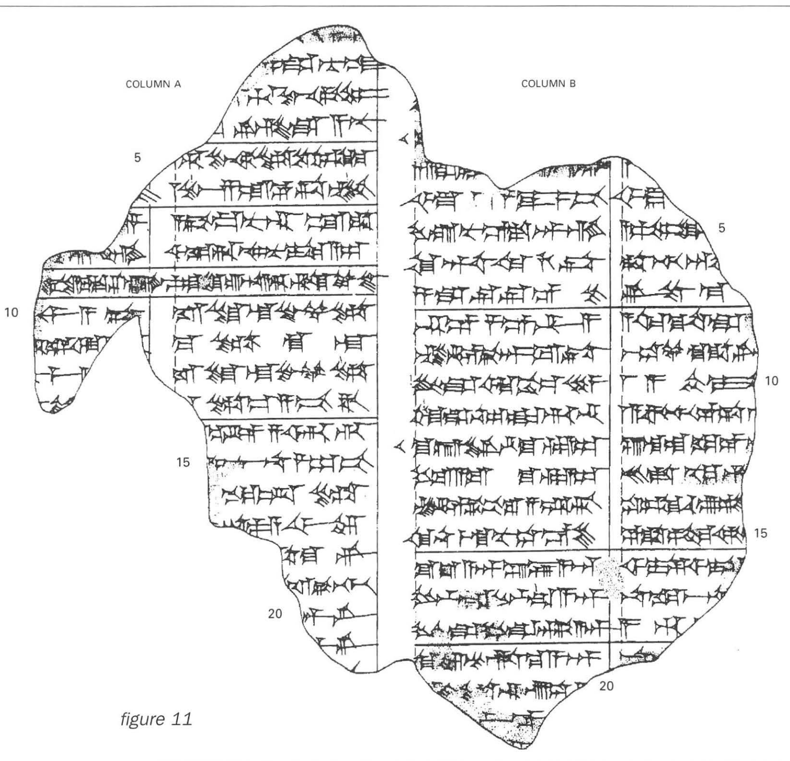


figure 11

Fragment of two-column tablet of proverbs from Babylonia, 6th-4th centuries BC. A broad vertical double ruling separates the columns, and narrower double rulings divide each column into sub-columns (Sumerian on the left, Akkadian on the right). Horizontal rulings set off the individual proverbs from one another. The two wedges between the central column rulings tick off every ten lines (beginning at the now lost top of the tablet).

guage of Guzana and Sikani, he called himself "*king of Guzana,*" whereas in the Akkadian version, keeping his Assyrian overlords in mind, he called himself "*governor of Guzana.*" The two scripts are very different in appearance, and it was not necessary to use format to distinguish one language from the other, as it was on the Sumero-Akkadian bilinguals which used the same script for both languages. Nevertheless, certain devices *were* used to reinforce the distinctiveness of each script. The Akkadian was

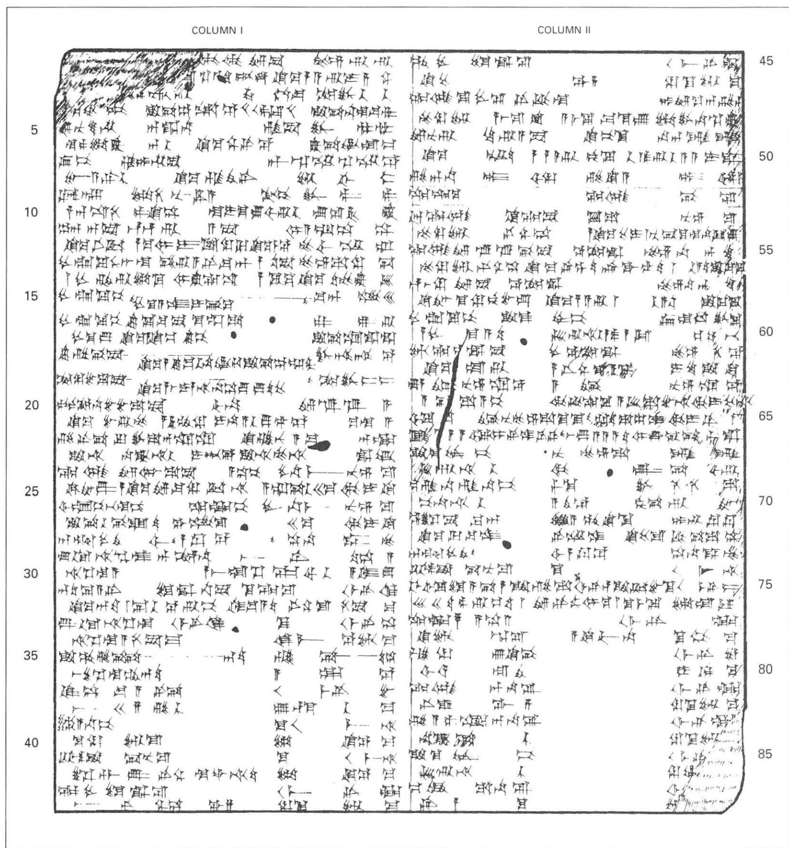


figure 12

Two-column tablet of incantations against headache from Uruk, late 4th century BC. Interlinear indented Akkadian translation. The translation of short lines is either set between the two halves of the Sumerian line, and lowered one-half line, set off (I.15) or not (I.18) by double wedges, or given on the same line after the Sumerian text, separated from it by a double wedge, as in 65f.

figure 13 ***Rear of statue of a 9th century BC Assyrian vassal from Tell Fekherye (ancient Sikani) in northern Syria. The alphabetic Aramaic inscription is inscribed horizontally on the skirt, read from right to left. The cuneiform Akkadian equivalent is inscribed perpendicular to it. Whereas the individual lines of the Aramaic inscription are not ruled, the Akkadian lines are and appear as vertical columns. The two versions meet two-thirds of the way across the skirt, toward the right in this photo.***

positioned on the front of the skirt, and the Aramaic on the rear; the photo shows the two meeting on the rear, where the Akkadian ends and the Aramaic begins. The Akkadian has been inscribed vertically, a style deriving from the archaic orientation of the cuneiform that persisted on stone monuments; the vertical columns here are ruled. The Aramaic is inscribed from right to left in unruled horizontal lines; each line begins at the vertical ruling that marks the last column of Akkadian cuneiform, and continues across the back and around the side as far as the vertical ruling that marks the beginning of the Akkadian (not visible in the photo). There is a particular poignancy here: The alphabetic script and the Aramaic language of the vassal would, over the course of the next several centuries, make great inroads at the expense of the cuneiform script and Akkadian language of the sovereign. Although Akkadian cuneiform would persist as a prestige language for certain purposes right down to the beginning of our era, Mesopotamia would, by the middle of the first millennium BC, become a major center of Aramaic language use.[15]

If cuneiform had been replaced by alphabetic writing in the west in the early first millennium, it was still used to the north and east of Mesopotamia. Elam, an important culture area bordering on Mesopotamia in southwestern Iran, had borrowed cuneiform quite early, after experimenting with its own indigenous writing systems, and used cuneiform to write texts both in Akkadian and in the Elamite language.[16] When Cyrus the Persian conquered first the Elamite capital of Susa and then, in 539 BC, Babylon, cuneiform Elamite and Akkadian were retained for administrative use in the eastern Achaemenid Persian empire; as the Persians moved rapidly westward toward Egypt, Aramaic was adopted as the administrative language of the western empire. Desiring a script for their own Old Persian language, the Achaemenids developed a syllabary of thirty-six cuneiform signs (different from and

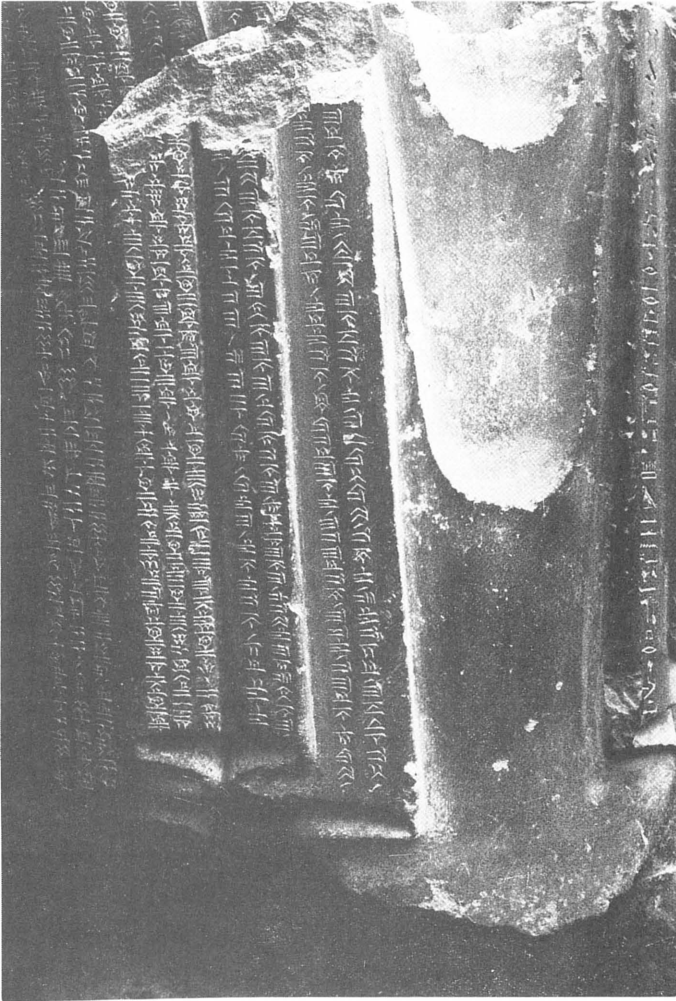


figure 14 **Detail of statue of Darius found at Susa in Iran, early 5th century BC. The folds to the left contain a trilingual inscription. The first four lines (turning the photo ninety degrees counterclockwise) are in the Old Persian cuneiform syllabary, the next three lines are Elamite (the language of Susa, written with Akkadian cuneiform signs) and the last three, in the shadows, are Akkadian. The folds on the right, only partly visible, contain a different inscription, written in Egyptian hieroglyphs.**

generally simpler than Akkadian signs) supplemented by five logograms.[17] This script was used for commemorative purposes in Iran, and often royal inscriptions would appear as trilingual cuneiform texts, in Old Persian, Elamite and Akkadian.

A large statue of the Persian king Darius I (521-486 BC) was unearthed in 1973 by French archaeologists at the old Elamite capital and later Achaemenid center of Susa (*figure 14*).[18] According to its inscriptions it was made in Egypt and was intended to be erected there; its Egyptian origin is confirmed by an analysis of the stone. A trilingual cuneiform inscription (Old Persian-Elamite-Akkadian) is arranged in the archaic vertical orientation on the folds of the robe on the left side of the photo. The folds on the right side of the figure contain one of several Egyptian inscriptions on the statue. Whereas the virtually identical cuneiform inscriptions proclaim that the Persian king erected the statue so that all would know that "*the Persian possessed Egypt,*" the Egyptian inscriptions portrayed Darius as a traditional Egyptian Pharaoh, much as later Greek and Roman rulers would be portrayed on their Egyptian monuments.

The Seleucid Greeks who succeeded the Persians as rulers of Babylonia could also cloak themselves in the rhetoric of traditional Mesopotamian monarchs, as the Akkadian inscription of Antiochus Soter (280-262 BC) attests.[19] In fact, judging from the surviving cuneiform tablets of the period, ancient Babylonian culture and forms, including the copying of Sumero-Akkadian bilingual texts, experienced a minor revival under the Seleucids.[20] But, curiously, although there are tablets that on the reverse carry transliterations in Greek letters of the cuneiform text on the obverse, there are no Greco-Akkadian bilinguals.[21] No Rosetta Stone would allow scholars to decode Mesopotamian cuneiform as they did Egyptian hieroglyphs, on the basis of a version in Greek. It was rather the Achaemenid Persian trilingual inscriptions

that provided the key to the decipherment of cuneiform in the first half of the last century, but only after the cuneiform Old Persian version had been cracked after decades of painstaking attempts by many researchers.[22] If the monument of the ruler of Guzana (*figure 13*) foreshadows the eventual extinction of cuneiform and the ascendance of the alphabet, then the statue of Darius (*figure 14*) is a harbinger of the ultimate rediscovery of cuneiform civilization, one of the greatest triumphs of modern philology.

Notes

1 The map shows the conventional divisions of ancient Mesopotamia: Assyria in the north, and Babylonia in the south, which is subdivided into Sumer (southern Babylonia) and Akkad (northern Babylonia).

2 Cooper, J. S. 1983. *The Curse of Agade.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 30-33.

3 On the cuneiform writing system, see Powell, Marvin (ed.).1981. *Aspects of Cuneiform Writing. Visible Language* 15:4; Cooper, J. S. 1989. Cuneiform. *International Encyclopedia of Communications* 1: 438-443; Walker, C. B. F. 1990. Cuneiform. Chap. 1 in J. T. Hooker (ed.), *Reading the Past.* London: The British Museum; and the pertinent chapters in Bottéro, Jean. 1992. *Mesopotamia. Writing, Reasoning and the Gods.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Nissen, Hans. 1988. *The Early History of the Ancient Near East.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Postgate, J. N. 1992. *Early Mesopotamia. Society and Economy at the Dawn of History.* London: Routledge.

4 For the ethno-linguistic makeup of early Babylonia, see the relevant sections of Bottéro, *Mesopotamia;* Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia;* Diakonoff, I. M. (ed.) 1991. *Early Antiquity.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

5 For the language and texts from Ebla, see Gelb, I. J. 1987. The Language of Ebla. L. Cagni (ed.), *Ebla 1975-1985.* Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 49-74; Michalowski, Piotr. 1987. Language, Literature and Writing at Ebla. Cagni, *Ebla,* 165-175; and Archi, Alfonso. 1987. Ebla and Eblaite. C. H. Gordon et al. (eds.), *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archive and Eblaite Language,* vol. 1. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 7-17. On the earliest lexical lists, see Nissen, H. J. 1986. The Archaic Texts from Uruk. *World Archaeology,* 17:3, 326-329.

[6] For the bilingual lists from Ebla, see Pettinato, Giovanni. 1982. *Testi lessicali bilingui.* Materiali epigrafici di Ebla vol. 4. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale.

[7] Cooper, J. S. 1973. Sumerian and Akkadian in Sumer and Akkad. *Orientalia,* 42: 239-246.

[8] The relationships between Old Akkadian of the Sargonic dynasty and the Semitic dialects spoken and written (rarely) earlier in Babylonia and at Mari and Ebla remain a matter of controversy, as do the relationships between all of these and later Assyrian dialects. See Michalowski, Language, and Parpola, Simo. 1988. Proto-Assyrian. H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptman (eds.). *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla.* Heidelberger Studien zum alten Orient vol. 2. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 293-298.

[9] For the Babylonian lexical tradition, see Oppenheim, A.Leo.1977. *Ancient Mesopotamia.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 243-249; Civil, Miguel. 1976. Lexicography. S. J. Lieberman (ed.), *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen.* Assyriological Studies 20. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 123-157.

[10] The term "full translation" is used for the translation of entire Sumerian texts, not just selected elements. But even "full" translations often leave proper names, well known formulas and repeated phrases and even lines, untranslated.

[11] See Krecher, J. 1957-71. Glossen. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie,* 3: 431-440. In the Old Babylonian period (2000-1600 BC), occasionally glossed texts and full translations offered competing solutions to the same problem. There seems to have been no evolution from glosses to full translations; on the contrary, the earliest full translation is older than the earliest surviving glossed text. Some blurring of these generally distinct types can be found, i.e., nearly full translations of Sumerian texts written in small, gloss-like signs. After the Old Babylonian period, full translations became the rule, and the occasionally glossed text is quite rare.

[12] For the following discussion of the development of a bilingual text corpus and tablet formats, see Krecher, J. 1976-80. Interlinearbilinguen. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie,* 5: 124-128; Cooper, J. S. 1971. Bilinguals from Boghazköi. I *Zeitschrift der Assyriologie,* 61: 1-22.

[13] Cooper, Bilinguals. See there also for Akkado-Hittite and other types of bilinguals from Boghazköi (Hattusas).

[14] For the Old Akkadian bilingual inscriptions, see Gelb, I. J. and Kienast, B. 1990. *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des dritten Jahrtausends v. Chr.*

Frieburger altorientalische Studien 7. Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag. For the inscriptions of the first dynasty of Babylon, see Frayne, D. 1990. *Old Babylonian Period.* The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods 4. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. For later royal bilinguals, see Krecher, Interlinearbilinguen, 126.

[15] See, for example, the contributions of H. Tadmor and J. Greenfield in Nissen, H. J. and Renger, J. (eds.). 1982. *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn.* Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 1/2. Berlin: D. Reimer Verlag. Significantly, no Assyrian or Babylonian king has left any inscription in Aramaic. There are Akkadian-Aramaic bilingual documents from Assyria and Babylonia, mainly legal and administrative texts in cuneiform with identifying labels inked or incised on them in Aramaic. Some, however, have complete Aramaic translations of the Akkadian text. See Fales, F. M. 1986. *Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets.* Studi Semitici NS 2. Rome: Università degli Studi, La Sapienza.

[16] Carter, E. and Stolper, M. 1984. *Elam. Surveys of Political History and Archaeology.* University of California Publications in Near Eastern Studies 25. Berkeley: University of California Press. See pp. 7f. for bilingual Elamite-Akkadian royal inscriptions dating to ca. 2200 BC.

[17] For the controversy surrounding the date of the invention of the Old Persian syllabary, see Stronach, D. 1990. On the Genesis of the Old Persian Script. *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran,* ed. F. Vallat. Paris: Editions Recherche, 195-203.

[18] *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 4 (1974).

[19] Translated in Pritchard, James. 1969. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts.* 3rd ed. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 317f.

[20] McEwan, Gilbert. 1981. *Priest and Temple in Hellenistic Babylonia.* Freiburger altorientalische Studien 4. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner Verlag, chap. 5.

[21] Sollberger, Edmond. 1962. Graeco-Babyloniaca. *Iraq* 24: 63-72; Black, J. A. and Sherwin-White, S. M. 1984. A Clay Tablet with Greek Letters in the Ashmolean Museum and the 'Graeco-Babylonaica' Texts. *Iraq* 46: 131-140.

[22] For the decipherment of cuneiform, see Bottéro, *Mesopotamia,* chap. 4.

Figure notes

Map of the Cuneiform World [Figure 1, J. S. Cooper, Cuneiform. *International Encyclopedia of Communications,* ed. E. Barnouw et al. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, vol. 1, 439. © 1989 by the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania. Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press.]

1 [Figure 84, *Ebla to Damascus. Art and Archeology of Ancient Syria.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1985. Cf. pages 93-95 in G. Pettinato, *Testi Lessicali Bilingui.* Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla vol. 4. Naples, Italy: Instituo Universitario Orientale, 1982.]

2 [No. 1, E. Chiera, *Sumerian Lexical Texts.* Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 11. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1929.]

3 [No. 152 (pl.123), Publications of the Babylonian Section, The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, vol.5 (1914). Cf. *Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon,* 48-55.]

4 [A. Goetze, The Vocabulary of the Princeton Theological Seminary. *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* 65 (1945), 223-237.]

5 [No. 116, E. von Weiher, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk,* vol. 3. Ausgrabungen der deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka vol. 12. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1988.]

6 [P. 212, G. Cros, *Nouvelles fouilles de Tello.* Paris, 1910.]

7 [M. Civil and R. Biggs, Notes sur des textes sumériens archaïques, *Revue d'Assyriologie,* 60 (1966) 1-16.]

8 [No. 169, J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica,* vol. 5. Mission de Ras Shamra, vol. 16. Paris, 1968.]

9 [P. 564, D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Astata. Emar,* vol. 6/2. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1985. Cf. Ibid. 6/4, no. 775.]

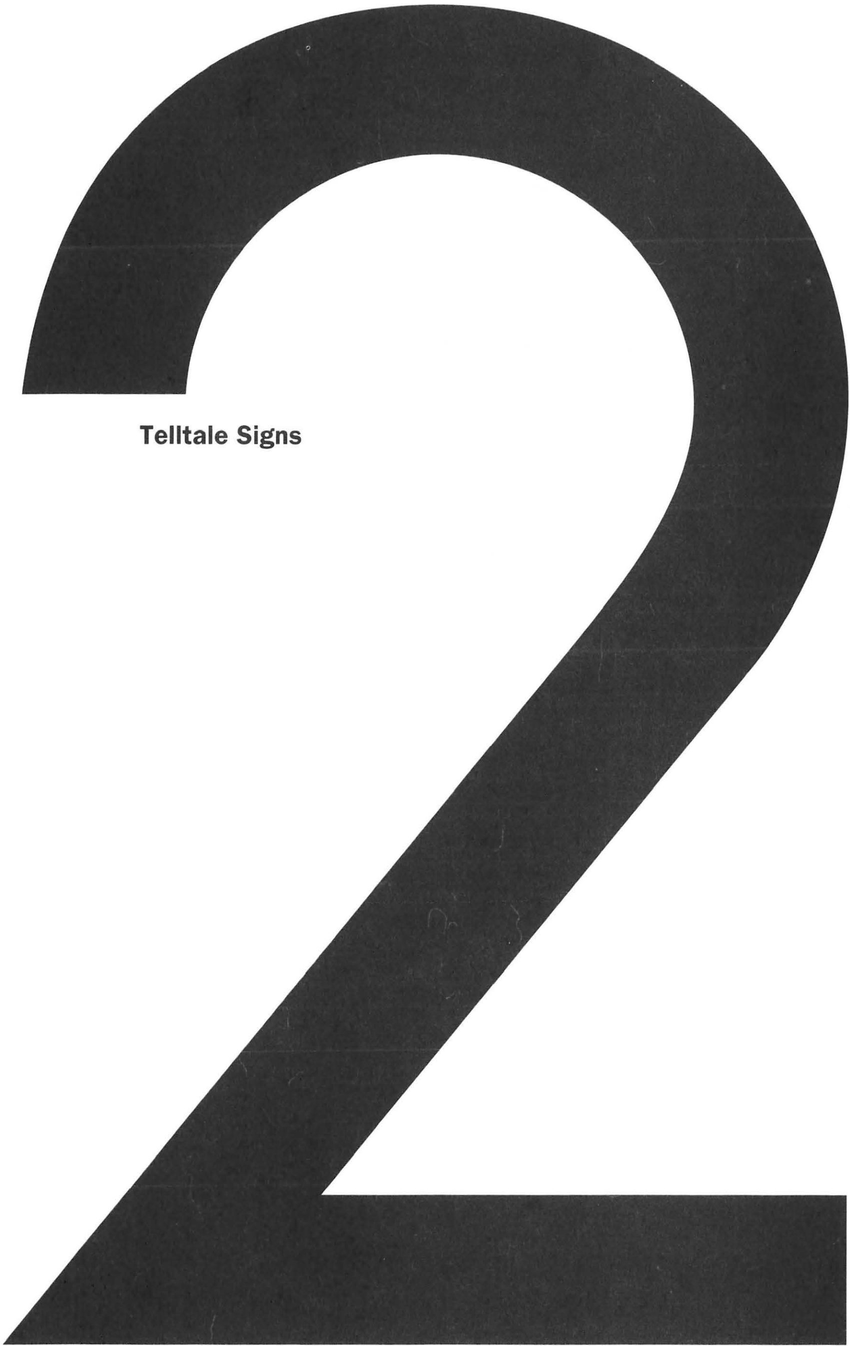
10 [Published with the permission of the Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin and the Trustees of the British Museum. Cf. J.S. Cooper, *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur.* Analecta Orientalia, vol. 52. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1978.]

11 [Pl. 70, W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature.* London: Oxford University Press, 160. Cf. Ibid. 270f. Reprinted by permission of the Oxford University Press.]

12 [No. 2, E. von Weiher, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk,* vol. 2. Ausgrabungen der deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka, vol. 10. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1983.]

13 [Plate 2, A. Abou-Assaf et al., *La statue de Tell Fekherye.* Paris: Editions Recherche, 1982.]

14 [Plate 3, M. Kervran et al., Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse. *Journal Asiatique,* 260 (1970), 235-266.]



Telltale Signs

Daniel Picard is passionately interested in language and the value of words. Since the age of eight, he has been involved with letterforms as a signpainter in a small bilingual Acadian community in Maine. In addition to fourteen years of lettering experience, and studies in Switzerland, he is the recipient of a Bachelor of Fine Arts degree in Graphic Design from the University of the Arts, and has exhibited his work in the United States, Canada and Europe. Mr. Picard is the founder of Majuscule Design, a company offering consultation on the responsible roles that semiology, language and type design share in corporate identities.

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Jackhammers and Alarm Clocks:

Perceptions in Stereo

Commercial bilingualism in Québec has prompted ingenious responses to the convergence of English and French, notably in regards to the grammatical structure and the nomenclature of brand identification. Fueled by politics and economy of message, a duality of perceptions has resulted from the necessity to communicate with both linguistic groups. In this paper, I discuss Canada's two official languages and classify their contact with each other in the world of brand identities. What these languages must accomplish in the business world and the new perceptions that result from the contact between the two languages are also discussed. As the aesthetics of graphic design and linguistic duality merge, I submit my own theory of contact between three elements—the two languages and the participants.

When we wake up to both the rattle of a jackhammer and the jingle of an alarm clock, we experience the merging of two sounds in the consciousness and the complex chain of decisions we make as we perceive them. At the very moment of waking, the mind elicits immediate perception-based responses. The sounds heard at that point in time are first recognized; a familiar image is evoked; a choice is made either to engage or to ignore the image; then interaction with the sounds ensues. The usual action is to turn off the alarm since its purpose has been fulfilled. The sound of the jackhammer continues beyond our control. One could say that the two items heard together are perceived as an *alarm clock in stereo*. This article is not about jackhammers or alarms. Rather, these items are metaphors for two very different languages in that they represent two linguistic codes "ringing" simultaneously. As each item generating the sound serves a different purpose, so too does each language serve its own audience.

The example of an alarm clock in stereo demonstrates three elements of mental activity at work: familiarity, selection and control. When our senses are alerted, we discern which sound is familiar to us. We select the sound to interact with, and we make a decision whether we can influence our senses further by exercising control over what we perceived. The subject of this mental activity could be observed as being the contact between two items, the fixed surface, plane or level upon which they converge, and the person experiencing the convergence. As in sound, the simultaneous "ringing" of two languages has a point and place where the languages come in contact, as well as a reader/viewer.

In written language, as in sound, there is not a great deal of difference in the mental effort involved in perceiving the two kinds of sensory input. The mind does not pause and determine that it must decode a dual message. The example of two sounds waking someone is much like what happens when two languages are seen in a single

context. However, while two languages may appear in direct, physical contact with each other, they are not always grasped entirely or equally well, for one language may be deliberately and repeatedly ignored. For a unilingual person living in a bilingual society, familiarity with and selection of a language are a daily occurrence that arises each time the individual comes in contact with a bilingual package label, sign or company name. When the languages are recognized, the viewer/reader questions his or her command of both languages. A decision is then made to pursue the language selected. For the language mentally rejected, the activity stops at the stage of the linguistic message, for its visual presence does not cease.

Now that language contact has reached a stage of relative maturity in terms of graphic design in Canada and in particular Québec, the country abounds with variations on perceptions strewn across every aspect of daily life. The strengthening or dilution of consumer perceptions in a bilingual context shows that the contact between English and French is an integral part of the identification of brand and company names in Canada.

Canada: A Case Study

In Canada bilingual identification is a long standing tradition and in fact predates the policy of two official languages. The evolution of legislated bilingualism, since the "innocent" beginnings of two convergent languages, has been affected by more than a mere desire to target one language minority or another. At present, the value of communicating a message in both languages has been seized upon by the business community as an indispensible means to relate to potential clients of both cultures.

Finding a bilingual corporate or brand identity, requires a delicate balancing act. It involves how to reach the desired audience; as such, it encompasses politics, geography and culture, as well as considerations of

money, time and memory retention. In Canada, graphic designers live and breathe issues of bilingualism because they work in a two-language environment. For a linguistically lively scene such as Canada and in particular Québec, the principal actors in this drama tend to be federal and provincial language legislation.

A graphic designer working in Québec knows that French appears first and English second on most documents published in that province. In the rest of Canada, the opposite tends to be true. To complicate the issue further, the provincial government of Québec legislates the exclusive use of the French language content in both the public and private sectors. In the private sector, federal legislation is reserved for only information on products concerning health and safety. The federal government primarily reserves language legislation for the public sector. The documents and other print paraphernalia produced in this sector set examples of different formats for the treatment of bilingual visual messages. The internal guidelines produced by CN (Canadian National Railroad), a state run corporation, say that CN's written public statements must be in both English and French in almost all cases, so that the corporation can be seen as a good corporate citizen with respect to federal official languages legislation.[1]

Whatever the intent of language application, the results inevitably come into many forms of contact—ranging from the subconscious to physical contact occurring around us. First, there is contact *between* the two languages interacting with each other. Second, there is contact of the two languages with the surface, plane, level or environment where they will interact. Third, there is the contact between that surface or plane and the person involved. Consequently, there is contact between the different perceptions which the same information elicits. Finally, each of these categories may operate as a direct or indirect version (as will be explained further). This paper will venture to go beyond writing in stereo in brand identity by focus-

ing on contact that is based on connotations evoked imagery and sentiment.

Brands

According to the American Marketing Association, a brand is defined as

a name, term, symbol, design or a combination of them which is intended to identify the goods or services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of competitors.[2]

The term *brand* can refer to a company or corporate name, a slogan, the name of a product as it appears on a label, or it can identify a particular service provided by a company. Brand names facilitate identification of a product, a service or an entity—

A brand is a simple thing: it is in effect a trademark which, through careful management, skillful promotion and wide use, comes in the minds of consumers, to embrace a particular and appealing set of values and attributes, both tangible and intangible. It is therefore. . . much more than merely a label. To the consumer, it represents a whole host of attributes and a credible guarantee of quality and origin.[3]

The art of successful branding lies in selecting and blending (a tangible and intangible brand mix of values relevant to consumers) so that the result is perceived by consumers to be uniquely attractive and influential on the purchasing decision.[4]

Great care is taken to study the audiences to whom brands are destined. Before a product is launched or a name or slogan is coined, extensive market research is done. Then the task of image building follows to ensure the brand's influence. Through consistent exposure and

figure 1 **Mr. Clean** ***in French, English and Swiss applications.***

careful management, the mix of values associated with the brand becomes the foundation of consumer respect for it—a concept known as *brand equity.*

Preserving brand equity in a linguistically divided community like Québec can be achieved not only by language but also by graphic design. Color, form, typography and materials work in conjunction with language elements. In *figure 1,* three *Mr. Clean* bottles are shown, each from a different country—the United States, Switzerland and Canada. Reflecting each country's different language practices, each label receives its own particular visual treatment. Owned by the same company, Proctor and Gamble, the same product appears in very different linguistic and political environments, yet manages to convey the same message regardless of the linguistic situation of the country involved. In the United States, *Mr. Clean* is just *Mr. Clean,* in Switzerland the same product is called *Meister Proper* and in Canada it is a combination of *Mr. Clean* and *Monsieur Net.* All the languages transmit the intent of the product to the consumer. Regardless of the typographic difference in each country's version, the basic design carries the brand across language barriers by using

the combination of a bald-headed man supported by a circular element, a sparkle, similar proportions of red, yellow and green, as well as the bottle shape. All these remain constant while the languages change. Thus, due to the different linguistic situations it is important to have constant support elements to elicit and retain brand equity. How does this relate to bilingualism? Operating with publics in separate countries, the design in the above example reveals that the label used in Canada is the only one that has two languages in direct contact. Yet, when one compares all three labels, one can see that elements on another level are in contact. After seeing the similarities between bottles, it is clear that due to language difference, one's perception of a brand has come into contact with that of other brands.

Hypothetically, if Americans unable to understand German shopped in Switzerland for a cleaning product, their perception of the aforementioned elements would allow them to select and purchase the old familiar brand. Recognition of color and icon is easy because these have not perceptually changed—only the language has changed. Therefore, we are dealing with a larger principle of languages in indirect contact. The American and Swiss brands are such examples. They are in contact on the level of perception. On the other hand, the Canadian label alone involves the representation of two languages in direct contact because convergence occurs in the same visual image. Within Canada, a multitude of combinations such as these is part and parcel of everyday life. They cannot be avoided; Quebeckers and Canadians do not literally read bilingualism in graphic design—they experience it directly as communicated by bilingual formats. Bilingualism is everywhere in the environment and is a part of the daily experiences of consumers interacting with the information which surrounds them.

In this case, two concepts support *perceptions in stereo*. As Humboldt explains, true thinking consists of

separating and combining language elements. He states that language gives form to mental activity by enabling man to articulate through the sound form of language (i.e., vocalized words in one's mind) sensory inputs into manipulable concepts. According to Humboldt,

And only in this way can the passive reception of experience be fused with the subjective phenomenon of "inner mental activity." Consequently, how we make sense of our experiences and view the world around us is dependent upon the articulated structure that our language makes available to us. Language is the medium by which man synthesizes objective experiences with subjective mentality.[5]

Humboldt concludes by saying that language enables us to understand our experiences. Is not understanding the foundation of formed perception and perception the result of analysis? In this case, when two languages do converge on a level, the participant is experiencing two forms of sensory input, which eventually results in contact between two perceptions. The second concept is

the way that a people analyze their experiences, construct concepts and combine concepts in the formation of thought is a reflection of and is itself determined by (albeit indirectly) their national/racial "character." Thus, mental individuality of a nation determines the sort of language it has, and that language consequently fashions the way its peoples "think, perceive and understand reality."[6]

The two founding European nations of Canada were the French and English. Propagated by language, the two resulting mentalities from each group provide fertile ground for perceptions in stereo.

Another pivotal concept is that of *information retrieval.* Contact between two languages or perceptions need not be done directly, as on the same surface. It can occur on the level of compared perceptions by calling

upon a remembered experience and combining this with an experience actually taking place. Indirectly, these perceptions are in contact in the physical world; directly, they are in contact in the mental world through evoked memory. Where understanding takes place, a new way of thinking accompanies a new language—thoughts come into contact and create thinking in stereo.

Nomenclature

In commerce, nomenclature is a valuable tool used to harness, evoke, connote or elicit perceptions. The intent of giving a brand name in business is to create a relationship between a name and an audience so that a set of distinct perceptions is attributed to the name. The objective is that this name represent certain attributes and, as a result, cause a shift in mental disposition to *identify* a specific product or service. The paramount function of an identity is to *differentiate* one product or service from another, thereby allowing a consumer to recommend, specify or reject a brand. Identification is the hallmark for recognition and recognition is the foundation of the relationship between the brand and the consumer.

There are many kinds of brand names. Some appear simply as a family name, as in *Heinz.* Others are descriptive such as *Nutrasweet.* Still others are metonymic in nature like *Via,* Canada's federally-run national passenger railroad, which has associations with travel. Some names such as *Esso* and *Kodak* are free standing and call little attention to their language of origin or the specific culture that produced them. What goes into the creation of a brand name? Every conceivable linguistic and literary association or structure is a part of the brand-making process. Compound words, onomatopoeia, homonyms, acronyms, initials, abbreviation, agglutinations and etymologies are all active contributors. Phonetics can be used to obscure the politics of language usage while maintaining the same

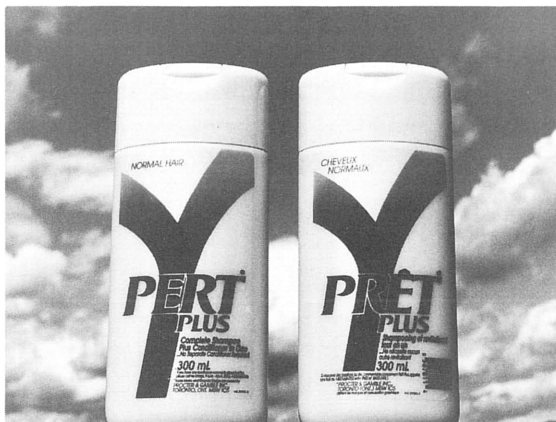


figure 2 **Pert** ***in English and French applications are examples of*** **coadjuvant** ***bilingual contact.***

perception in both languages. A product with a spelling such as *Magik* works as a clever alternative to the orthographic norms of *magique* or *magic.* Spelled thus, a brand successfully avoids audience alienation. Reconstructed versions of Latin names are also very popular.

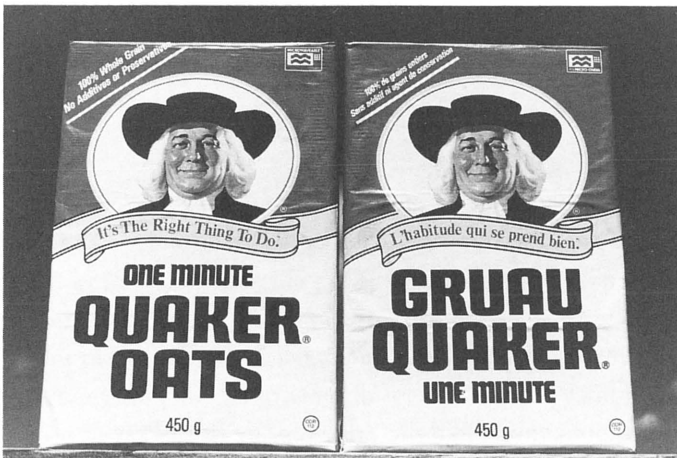
In terms of examining a corporate name, there are two halves—the generic part and the specific part. The generic portion distinguishes the nature of the brand from commercial designations such as service type, activity or product type. The generic is usually the qualifier of the specific. The specific is usually the distinguishing element in the name, such as proper names, toponyms, evocative names, letter combinations, acronyms or fanciful expressions.

As evidenced by the graphic treatment of a product label, such as *Pert* (*figure 2*), it would be unrealistic to believe that all brands are identified by only a specific. The graphic design can totally obscure the predominance of the specific by visually treating the typography of both names with equality. In the case of *Ivory Snow* detergent (*figure 3*) called *Ivory Neige* in French, *Ivory* remains the same in both languages whereas in French, it could have

become "*Ivoire.*" The syntax follows the English model and the generic name is the only word that shifts to the other language. Yet, typographically, both names are treated the same in an attempt to obscure and equalize an incorrect translation and non-French syntax. This kind of graphic design betrays purely linguistic considerations and norms.

In the case of *Quaker Oats (figure 4)*, the French version actually respects French usage and syntax. The

Ivory Snow ***in the French application*** *figure 3*



Quaker Oats ***in the English and French applications.*** *figure 4*

typography impeccably conforms to a strong graphic system—thereby avoiding the extra mental activity required to decode poor grammar.

In name generation, certain rules of thumb are dictated by commercial needs. These criteria have to be taken into account if a well considered name is to be found. (If there is more than one language, each of these criteria should still apply.) Inevitably, branding in two languages promotes contact between the same naming considerations for each language involved. As a result, much consideration is given to creating a name that will transcend thinking in stereo by being phonetically and grammatically uncumbersome in both languages. More often than not, two separate names must co-exist in order to best communicate the desired intent to both linguistic groups.

In the case of *Pert* shampoo (*figure* 2), the product is labeled with a different brand name on each side of the bottle. In English it is designated *Pert* and in French it is called *Prêt.* Since the two names are not in contact on the same side of the bottle, consumers must turn the bottle around to see the brand name in the preferred language. This action leads to indirect contact between the two languages. The unique element of shelf display dynamics is also a factor in promoting duality at the point of purchase. Sometimes, the product sides alternate in the shelf display from French to English to French in an undulating visual pulse.

At the heart of this duality are names that evoke the salable characteristics of the shampoo in each tongue. Previously coined for an English market long before it faced any international challenge, *Pert* visually and phonetically elicits images of perky, wash-and-go, bright and quick by the very nature of its brevity, and its similarity with perk. On the other hand, when the English brand is examined from the point of view of a francophone mind, *Pert* looks much like the French *perte* (loss). Obviously, the possible connotation of hair loss is a catalyst for

creating a new name in French. Much to the brand's favor, *Prêt* is a slightly scrambled version of the exact same letters that carve out mentally the same visual shapes as the English version. As an added plus, *Prêt* in French signifies "ready," which is similar to the the English meaning.

It can be said that nomenclature is based on the nuance of both cultures' perceptions, definition, understanding and language parameters. Name generation is a collection of invisible and subconscious nuances that bridge a gap to a visual/print communication world—labeling the invisible with form, typographic style, scale, color, etc., in expressing those very nuances. This collection can be called the *meta-label.*

Seeing Double

A consumer *sees* a label and *perceives* the meta-label. A purchasing decision is customarily based upon recognition of one name. The thought processes involved in recognizing that name are relatively simple and rapid. They bring about a decision made by saying "*yes, I recognize*" or "*no, I do not recognize.*" On the level of the meta-label where this mental activity is occurring, the process of recognition is clouded by additional mental activity if two languages are involved: "*. . . yes, I recognize this is English. . . continue. . . but reject the French because I can't read it as well. . .*" Another thought of an Anglophone could be "*. . . oh, here is the French equivalent of this English brand, interesting how it was treated . . . where is the rest of the English information?*" A bilingual individual might think "*. . . oh, interesting comparison between these two names. . . they called it something different in each language. . . I know what this English version means in French and it doesn't mean the same in their French version. . . why is that?. . .*" In the case of identifying a corporate name in another province, where the participant's preferred language is no longer seen in

the same version as the one associated with the original perceptions, it is generally acknowledged that this identity is for *them* and not *me*—"them" clearly signifying the other culture. As a result, a new element of intrinsic alienation is introduced to the mental activity.

Mental activity progresses from the original yes-no decision to take the form of comparison, and may lead to rejection of one half of the product's linguistic identity. Questions may even arise about perceived inequalities and discrimination. This tendency toward split recognition may encumber what should be a rapid decision. To articulate these thoughts may sound exaggerated, yet to the inexperienced purchaser in a bilingual setting, these thoughts do occur. To the citizen who lives in a dual language environment, they tend to be more subdued or almost nonexistent.

However, in the world of perception, we know that subconscious thoughts are of paramount importance to connotation; in fact they are more important than blatant expressions since the mental activity involves associations. An overt expression involves little mental activity and thus affords little possibility for extended decoding. In advertising, much is done to disguise pressure to purchase by inducing complex pleasure-based mental activities that will increase the length of the attention span.

The question arises: Should there be two logos for two culturally diverse audiences, or one logo for one common brand identity? Should a brand project a split personality from one common source? Though it can be argued that bilingual identities add a new dimension and an element of intrigue in brand-naming, splitting an identity is generally counterproductive, for it is divisive. There is a fine line between communicating the bilingual message and impeding communication. Because the two languages share the same writing system and alphabet, the visible differences, at first glance at least, may appear greatly reduced. However, when combined inside "eye catching

sunbursts" on products which double the original intention of a single message, e.g., "new" to "new/*nouveau*" the effectiveness of the message has been reduced by nature of its stereophonic presentation. Effort now becomes an issue when languages are in direct contact, side-by-side. How do marketers capture two publics without offending them? As in the *Pert* example, one way is to display the different languages on opposite sides of the products' packaging.

There are no clear-cut answers to this dilemma of duality. Much is driven by market research and focus groups, ostensible cross-sections of the consumer population. To amplify the scenario, the federal government promotes "equal prominence"[7] of both languages in many categories that affect federal branding, regulation of print media and signage—an example which marketers seem to interprete widely. However, there is no legal restriction in Québec or in the rest of Canada that forces one to bilingualize a brand name. Still, equal prominence carries with it a margin of interpretation that is driven by fear of public rejection. This is the apparent motor of market researchers. As a consequence, the interpretation of equal prominence, though not mandatory, extends to brand names themselves.

In addressing a potential audience, a brand name need not be linguistically responsible, and it certainly does not have to describe everything about the product. Nor does it have to be bilingual to sell to both publics. Many products are sold in Québec that have only English brand names. With the power of market research to determine nomenclature, a false sense of security is created in rallying two publics around two uniquely tailored brand names. In attempting to capture a sense of belonging, to what extent will bilingual brand names succeed in rallying consumer loyalty instead of competing for equal attention from different publics? In advertising, impact and repetition are principles for success, but to what extent do they

figure 5

Tilex *in a bilingual English and French application is an example of* independent *naming*

become a twisted redundancy that negates the impact of a brand name? In the example of *Tilex/Tuilex* (*figure 5*), the meta-label is in direct confrontation with itself since both names are in close physical proximity with each other on the same side of the bottle. The only difference between the two languages is that a "u" was integrated for the French-speaking public. Stroke of linguistic genius? Perhaps, but less praise for the visual treatment of this genius.

The Market

People in Canada and Québec know they have a fundamental right to be served in either language when it comes to government services. New American movies coming to Québec are dubbed into French from the original English version before they are released simultaneously to theaters. The element of "the other language" is always there, to the point that it has created an *Echo Culture* where duality of language is so deeply engrained in all its forms that

people have come to expect and accept duality. Language and politics have a very close relationship in Québec. Due to the fact that it is culturally isolated within a larger English North American continent, it is a very protectionist province and extremely concerned with its linguistic longevity.

Nomenclature in Contact

In order to analyze the bilingual milieu that surrounds the consumer, one can set up specific categories to classify the different forms of contact occurring between the two languages. For example, in bilingual brand names, two major groups of these categories surface.[8]

In the first group, there is a lively collection of name types that seek to address the two linguistic audiences. Termed the *naming system* or nomenclature (*table 1*) this first group includes exclusive naming considerations destined for usage in two languages. The second group involves the *dissemination of the naming system* (*table 2*). This group is concerned with the type of contact resulting from the form of visual presentation.[9] Also, a *support information* group exists in brand identity, responsible for the propagation of the identity in the various media.[10]

Contact between two languages occurs in the actual words of the naming system. This explains why there is some overlapping of categories (*tables 1* and *2*). This overlap is determined by the point at which the two languages come into contact. At times, the name bears the full weight of linguistic duality. When it does so, it is disseminated to an audience that already has two inherent perceptions in contact embodied in the name. In the second group, linguistic duality is shifted to the visual dissemination of the name(s).

In explaining the *naming system,* one must consider the brand name as the primary identifier of the item in question. Depending on how the brand name is treated,

Table 1

Naming System for Bilingual Usage

Class	Name Example	What it is	Characterization
fixed	Joy	Detergent	A brand name consisting of either a pronoun, or a unilingual word not intended to be altered when used in the context of another language
independent	Post-it note/ Notocollant Tilex/Tuilex	Notepad Cleanser	Names coined independently in each language inventively translate the intent of the same product, name, business or service
obscured	Canadi>n Magik STCUM	Airline Cleanser Transit co.	Words deliberately and cleverly obscured to render interpretable in either language and to accommodate two publics
integral	CrownLife/CrownVie Mister Donut/ Monsieur Donut	Insurance co. Donut shop	Both languages are integrated as one word or name by combining translations of parts of the name
translated	Public Works Canada/ Travaux publics Canada	Government department	Names or phrases literally translated from one language to another in their respective grammatical systems and having little inventiveness
transparent	Air Canada	Airline	Words that do not apparently prefer English or French, but are spelled exactly the same and are phonetically acceptable in both languages
trace	Purolator courier/ Purolator courrier Metropolitain Life/ La Métropolitaine	Courier service Insurance co.	A name carrying a strong visible trace of the other language by being slightly modified in spelling and conforms to a strong graphic system

Source: © Daniel Picard, Majuscule Design 1992

Table 2

Type of Bilingual Contact Resulting from Presenting the Naming System

Class	Name Example	What it is	Characterization
phyllotactic	Gare Windsor Station	Train station sign	Two languages simultaneously attached by mutually sharing and stemming from one common noun, pronoun root or free morpheme
shadow	Post-it note/ Notocollant Public Works Canada/ Travaux publics Canada	Notepad Government department	A translation represented visually, conceptually and linguistically, and placed in the immediate vicinity of the first language read
obscured	Canadi>n Magik STCUM CIBC	Airline Cleanser Transit co. Bank	Words deliberately and cleverly obscured to render interpretable in either language and accommodate two publics
integral	CrownLife/CrownVie Mister Donut/ Monsieur Donut	Insurance co. Donut shop	Both languages are integrated as one word or name by combining translations of parts of the name
transparent	Air Canada	Airline	Words that do not apparently prefer English or French, but are spelled exactly the same and are phonetically acceptable in both languages
coadjuvant	Pert/Prêt Lakeshore Rd./ Bord du lac	Shampoo Road sign	Contact takes place only with the aid of the participant's intervention by mentally joining two physical surfaces or environments
autonomous	Shoppe's Drug Mart/Pharmaprix; Answering your call/ des gens de parole	Drugstore Chain Tagline clause	Language contact based on information retrieval through memory recall or association and supported by a common graphic system

Source: © Daniel Picard, Majuscule Design 1992

figure 6 ***The* Canadi>n *logotype is an example of* obscured *bilingual contact***

one can distinguish seven categories or ways of identifying an item for two linguistic publics. The first category is that of *fixed* names (*table 1*). The detergent *Joy* (not illustrated) exemplifies this category since the name itself remains unchanged on a label that otherwise makes use of both languages. The brand name is fixed, rather than being translated to "*Joie*," thereby avoiding equal representation of a value already so strongly conveyed in English.

The second category is that of *independent* names. These are names coined independently in each language and inventively translate the intent of the same product, name, business or service. For example, the *Post-it* note brand (not illustrated) is called *Notocollant* in French. Notocollant is coined from two words that evoke the same intent of its linguistic counterpart. *Note* combined with *collant* evokes "notesticker" for a francophone public. Further, with the exception of the preceding "n" sound, *Notocollant* sounds like *autocollant,* which means self-adhesive.

Third, there is the *obscured* name. These names are a combination of a variety of treatments that are deliberately and cleverly obscured in order to make them understandable in either language. Whichever element in a name distinguishes the two languages is the object of an intentional "erasure." This can occur in many forms. For the brand *Canadi>n* (Canadian Airlines, *figure* 6), a letter is omitted and replaced with a graphic. (Canadian is spelled

The* STCUM *logotype is an example of* obscured *naming *figure 7*

Canadien in French.) Drawing upon the gestalt principle of closure, the graphic replaces and obscures the distinguishing vowel that would signify either language, thereby succeeding in being legible in either language without showing a preference for one linguistic group over the other. In the brand name *Magik,* the morpheme "*magi*" remains intact. The English "*c*" and the French "*que*" are discarded and replaced with a "*k*" that speaks inoffensively to both cultures. For the transit company, *Societé de transport de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal,* an acronym was chosen in an attempt to economize space. Branded *STCUM* (*figure* 7), single letters can be read individually, pronounced in French and English, and at first glance, draw no inference to a particular meaning behind each separate letter.

The fourth category is that of the *integral* name. This is a tricky class that, at times, demands more linguistic license. For example, in the name *Crown Life Insurance Company,* both languages are integrated into one word. By combining translations from parts of the name of the English model, *CrownLife* (*see figure* 8), the French version becomes *CrownVie* (*see figure* 9). This is one of the more aggressive forms of visual code-switching[11] neatly compressed into one word. The name could perhaps have been called "*CouronneVie,*" representing a hypothetical translation of *La Compagnie d'assurance-vie de la Couronne.* Whether they originate from head offices

figure 8 ***The* CrownLife *logotype is an example of both* integral *naming and bilingual contact***

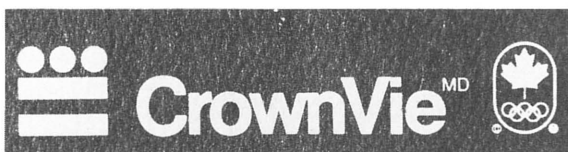


figure 9 ***The* CrownVie *logotype is an example of* integral *naming and bilingual contact***

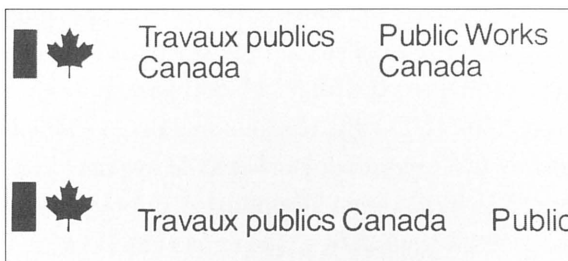


figure 10 ***This official bilingual Canadian document is an example of* translated *naming and* shadow *bilingual contact***

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in the United States or from Canadian institutions, many brands have had a long history of consumer recognition in English before it was decided to address a French-speaking audience. For insurance companies, there is a deeply engrained tradition of popularizing names by abbreviating them to X Life or The X. *MetLife, The Prudential, The New England* and *CrownLife* are all now synonymous with an insurance company name. This specifically English-language tradition has no ready equivalent in French grammar. For *CrownVie,* it is not the complete name that was translated, but rather, the English linguistic

tradition. If you are a unilingual anglophone, it could prove difficult to pronounce *Crown Vie.* The same goes for the brand *Monsieur Donut* for *Mister Donut* (not illustrated).

The fifth category is that of the *translated* name. Such names are popular with the Canadian government in its interpretation of equal prominence. Translated names are probably the least creative, but depending on how they are disseminated, they can prove to be very effective. An example of this would be the department of *Public Works Canada* (in French called *Travaux publics Canada, figure 10*).

The next category is that of *transparent* names. These words or names have no visible trace of or preference for either language, since they are spelled the same and are phonetically acceptable in both languages, for example *Air Canada* (not illustrated). For both cultures, the issue of language sensitivity is reflected in the corporate name, by appearing linguistically neutral.

The final category is that of *trace* identities. These are names carrying a strong visible trace of the other language due to a slight modification of spelling while still conforming to a strong graphic system. As demonstrated by the courier service *Purolator Courier* (*figures 11* and *12*), we see there is a minimum change in the visual appearance of the identity in both languages. *Courier,* in English is spelled *courrier,* as is done in proper French. Any inclination to preserve French syntax and identify the name as "*Courrier Purolator*" has been overridden for the sake of brand uniformity. The modification is carried by a strong graphic system. In trace identities, it is possible to be totally illiterate in one of the two languages, and still easily recognize a brand name in the language with which one is not familiar. This is particularly helpful for unilingual travelers. For *Metropolitain Life* (not illustrated), which becomes *La Métropolitaine,* the strong presence of the graphic system combined with the sheer volume of the

figure 11 **Purolator Courrier, *the French application, is an example of* trace *naming***

figure 12 **Purolator Courier, *the English application***

name, dwarfs any altered elements in the brand name and does not detract from a uniform perception of the brand.

As mentioned earlier, the second group of categories concerns the *dissemination of the naming system* (*table 2*). The focus of this group is on how two perceptions are made to converge through the display of the seven different name types and how the participant is engaged by that information. It is in this group that two languages, represented by brand nomenclature, come into a state of direct contact with each other, which may cause recognition anxiety[12] and a chain of other events associated with perceptions in stereo. In this group, all seven new categories graphically display in various combinations the seven categories of the first group.

Windsor Station (*figure 13*), a commuter railway terminal in Montréal, displays a sign that illustrates the first type of contact. This is the *phyllotactic* category,

The* Gare Wndsor Station *signage is an example of* phyllotactic *bilingual contact

figure 13

named for its disposition of three elements, as in a biological model.[13] In this case, the message becomes *Gare Windsor Station.* The two languages are simultaneously attached on opposing sides of the specific part of a name and are as interdependent as leaves on a stem growing from the same center. There is an inherent characteristic that French and English modifiers can revolve around a fixed name, given that both languages have diametrically opposed syntaxes. Phyllotactic contact is frequently used in short messages to increase the impact to a wider public in a brief time frame. The design can be larger and still address two audiences without repeating the message.

In the next category, the same brand name repeated once exemplifies names in *shadow* contact. In this class, a translation is represented visually, conceptually and linguistically equal to the brand name. Usually, it appears within close proximity to the brand name. *Translated, independent* or *trace* names can all be actively presented to a participant in this way. *Figure 10* is a perfect example of the government's visual presentation of its organizations. In the case of *Post-it* note branding, *independent* names appear together on the same surface but as a shadow of the other name by mimicking all of its visual characteristics.

Third, the *obscured* class is not only a nomenclature issue of the naming system but also a contact issue in terms of its visual presentation. The examples of *Canadi>n, Magik* and *STCUM* discussed above cannot be dismissed as eliminating all forms of contact between the two languages. To understand this, we must look beyond our normal understanding of contact between two languages. In this category, names come into contact only in a participant's perceptions. This is indirect contact. Due to the fact that these names are linguistically neutral, the contact between the two languages is not apparent visually. But few brand names are just seen since other sensory input takes place in recognizing a brand. For example, a brand name is frequently heard on the radio or on television. Given the strong linguistic presence of both cultures, a Canadian cannot avoid hearing names in the other language when passing through a province where it is spoken. When scanning the radio dial or channel-hopping, unilinguals will hear a brand pronounced during a commercial in a language other than their mother tongue; they may even see the logo in that version. There is a constant awareness of the other language because it is geographically, sociologically, culturally and politically available to all citizens whether they are unilingual or bilingual. Obscurity only serves the visual sense in this category, and it does so well. Yet it does not obscure aural perceptions. Nor does obscurity standardize perception when an acronym based on one language, such as *STCUM* is discussed on an English newscast and is referred to as the *MUCTC* (Montreal Urban Community Transit Corporation). Since perception is inherently linked with identity, we can say that in the multi-media application of brand identity, if we examine all sensory input involved in identification, perceptions are inevitably in stereo.

The next category, which could be called *integral,* as it appears in the naming system, is, by default, the most overt form of contact. It takes the form of both direct and

indirect contact. Not only do the two languages converge in the name itself, but they converge on the perceptual level—as a result of the dissemination as two names with minor spelling variations. Like the last category, associations with each language version of the brand names converge perceptually. *CrownVie* and *CrownLife* demonstrate this form of contact (*figures 8* and *9*).

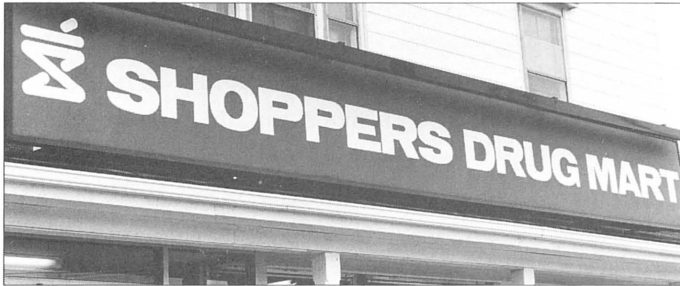
Another category originating from the naming system is the *transparent* class. With a name like *Air Canada,* linguistic neutrality does not totally escape perceptions in stereo. Like the obscured class, it is subject to aural input and as a result places the brand name in indirect contact. Even though the two languages are invisible to the participant, both were clearly considered in the coining of the name in order to accommodate the two linguistic groups. The result is a clever solution with two languages in transparent contact with each other.

The sixth type of contact could not occur without the primary role of a participant. In the *coadjuvant* category, contact between the two languages occurs only through the participant's intervention. Two material surfaces or environments are mentally joined on the level of perception. *Independent, integral, translated* and *trace* identities are all represented by this category. Here contact is to be understood on an abstract level. There are two languages with a participant between them. The participant assists in the bringing together of both languages by either physical intervention or by uniting two languages that may surround him or her. For example, the *Pert* shampoo bottle is labeled in French on one side and in English on the other. An Anglophone may pick up the French side bearing *Prêt,* but unable to read it, turns it around to the *Pert* side. This physical act of turning around the bottle is the way in which the participant joins together two word identities. Another example of coadjuvant contact is bilingualism physically surrounding the participant. This may occur in the form of separate unilin-

gual signs with *translated* or *independent* names within the visual range of the participant. It is clear, however, that within that visual range, both of the signs are in contact linguistically despite their physical separation and their different information. For example, in Pointe-Claire, a suburb of Montréal, there is a road sign displaying *Lakeshore Road* in English. As one drives past each street corner on this road, the name alternates repeatedly from *Lakeshore Road* to *Bord du lac.* To a non-native traveler, this must cause anxiety. If we were to call this traveler a participant, the continuous trajectory along the road forms the platform upon which the two word identities are joined.

The final example of contact also occurs indirectly. This can be defined as *autonomous* contact, since it is based on information retrieval through memory recall or association. Autonomous brand names are supported by a common graphic system and employ *independent, integral, translated* and *trace* names. The difference between this class and coadjuvant contact is that instead of assisting in joining the awareness of two languages, the participant may not even be aware there is another brand name that exists elsewhere in another language. Brands do exist autonomously in different geographic regions where demographics and language regulations make it necessary to have separate brand identities. Only at the moment of awareness of the other autonomous brand name do perceptions indirectly come into contact. Jean-Paul Sartre, in discussing the concept of the image, quotes Bergson in his book ***Matter and Memory.*** "An image can exist without being seen; it can be present without being represented."[14] Speaking of association, Sartre continues to cite Bergson,

> *"perceiving is remembering"... in interpreting perception not in a pure sense but as representation in the present, one must admit two things, of which the first is: where the* ***image*** *does not carry with it the mark of its past*



The* Shopper's Drug Mart *signage is an example of* autonomous *bilingual contact

figure 14

The* Pharmaprix *signage is an example of* autonomous *bilingual* *contact

figure 15

origin and reveals itself as of the present—or ***perception*** *reveals itself essentially as an image derived from the past . . . we see between the image-memory—fragment of the past incarnated in a mobile chart of the present, and perception, mobile chart of the present where is incarnated a past memory. . .*[15]

Thus, the platform where the two brand names converge occurs in the mind through information retrieval. A brand must already be known in one language before it can come into contact through association with its other version. Take for example a *Shoppers Drug Mart* (*figure 14*) sign on Prince Edward Island, where all of the stores are branded in the same language. A citizen of the island may travel to Québec and find that *Pharmaprix* (*figure 15*), the

French name, elicits a hint of familiarity because of the similar graphic systems. Through association with the visual system, contact between perceptions is made. Perhaps no association is made initially by those who are less observant. Yet at the moment they become aware of the difference, contact has occurred. The names are in fact very different, and when translated, they do not match. Québec could have chosen to call "*Pharmaprix—Pharmacie Shopper's*," which would have been an integral name that could have preserved brand equity on a national basis. As is, the identities are divided, and much effort would be needed to draw an association due to the diversity of names. However, as independent names do, they are coined to translate intent—so *Pharmaprix* means "Pharmacy price."

Autonomous contact is not limited to brand names alone, but also includes corporate slogans. Appearing in separate print media, the bilingual corporate slogan is also a brand. The intent is translated not word for word but creatively, so as to adhere strictly to graphic standards—as in the Bell Canada example, *Answering your call,* (not illustrated) where in French, the meaning translates as "people of their word." Notice that the pun is lost on "call," a valuable verbal asset for a telephone company slogan. *Answering your call* is a statement evoking an active and reliable posture, whereas *Des gens de parole* evokes a third party sense of reliability. Given that slogans must be brief and provoke the most impact from a few carefully selected words, it is difficult to translate word for word and maintain the same number of words in two very different grammatical systems like French and English. In this case, a sacrifice is made in semantics in order to adhere to the system. A bilingual person may understand the puns of both language versions. In which case, we could say that a bilingual person may act as an excellent platform for uniting two perceptions that come into contact with each other.

The* CIBC *English signage is an example of* obscured *bilingual contact *figure 16*

The* CIBC *French signage *figure 17*

Implications

In speaking of the forces that shape brand duality, we must not overlook *recognition* as the catalyst that first initiates the perception. As Umberto Eco explains,

> *A recognition process occurs when an object or given event that is produced naturally or through human intervention (intentionally or unintentionally), is interpreted fact by fact by a recipient as the expression of a given content, whether through a correlation with a foreseen code or a correlation established directly by the recipient.*[16]

Since the two languages discussed here are expressions in themselves, the contact of these expressions is certain to confuse recognition if explicit duality is promoted. Yet other forces are intrinsic to a bilingual Canada. Complex political legislation does in fact have much to do with

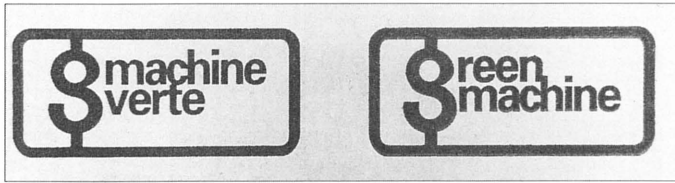
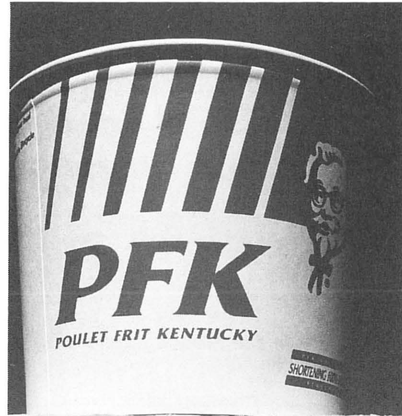


figure 18 ***A comparison of the French and English logotypes for an ATM***

propagating the duality of brands. Poor translation or the translation of another language's own private characteristics often leaves the second brand name with something to be desired. A tendency to standardize the graphic design of brand names has resulted from globalization of products and services, sometimes at the cost of linguistic accuracy. Ignorance of legislation over the display of language and incomplete linguistic analyses are also contributors to the array of perceptions in stereo. Finally, since we are speaking of the business world, brands converge on the same surface to save money. Having two publics to target costs twice as much.

Taking into account these forces, a successful example of duality could be the *CIBC Banking Centre* (*figures 16* and *17*), which becomes *Centre bancaire CIBC*. Despite the autonomous display of signs in either Ontario or Québec, we find that *CIBC* (Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce) could have become "*BCIC*" (*Banque canadienne Imperiale du commerce*) in Québec. However, the use of an acronym is much more effective in retaining total brand equity in the identity. The same could be said to a lesser extent of the Canadian television network *CBC* (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, not illustrated). In Québec, the acronym becomes *SRC* (Société Radio Canada). If it were not for the graphic system, these two identities would be totally unacceptable. Brand equity in the full names originally composing each separate acronym severely restricts a radical departure from each name—in the hope of making the overall corporate identi-



PFK *is the French application for Kentucky Fried Chicken* *figure 19*

ty uniform for the two distinct audiences. Much is asked of a reader unfamiliar with acronyms like *SRC*. They should be used with caution. Jacques Barzun states,

> *For practical purposes in our cluttered organizational life, when we want to refer to institutions, causes, business and political groups, it is always possible to do without initials or acronyms.*[17]

Going beyond the list of acronyms that are common knowledge including those of one's hobby or profession, is, he states, "an unwarranted assault on the powers of memory and association, a civil wrong against the willing, attentive reader."[18]

Some translations are atrociously bad. In *figure 18*, the Toronto Dominion Bank elects to use a rather vernacular brand name for its automatic teller. Coined *green machine,* and spelled with a deformed dollar sign that has undergone a complete graphic metamorphosis, the French version is called *machine verte.* No Francophone who respects his or her language could excuse such a literal translation. Once again, a tradition or trait from English was translated, rather than the intent. However, the orga-

figure 20 **Télésat *in the French application***

nization's French-only out-of-bank machines seem to fare better in principle by using *guichet express*—incorporating the hybrid symbol g/$ (not illustrated).

Probably the worst case of flagrant disregard of the French language community is that of Kentucky Fried Chicken's solution (*figure 19*). *KFC,* the acronym based on the English name, has the right to be so named. *PFK* (*Poulet Frit Kentucky*) is one of the latest victims of global marketing. The French language has its own traditions and vernacular word treatments, which this company completely disregards. It is common knowledge in Québec that the original vernacular abbreviation for Kentucky Fried Chicken is *du Kentucky.* Such as, "*ce soir, je vais aller chercher du Kentucky.*" (Meaning, "tonight, I'm going to get some KFC.") The emotional distance that has been imposed by a rather insensitive approach to this brand could not be measured by any focus group study. Yet, the distance is certainly perceived despite the guise of graphic uniformity. Moreover, a small sampling of francophones revealed that the brand evokes images of John F. Kennedy.

Figure 20 reveals the compromise that a graphic designer has made in attempting to make a brand name transparent. *Telesat* integrates the acute accents in the letterforms as if they were too overtly French, so that the brand may be used as is in English. Yet another telecom-

munications company, *Teleglobe,* has chosen capital letters, a solution that is acceptable to some linguists, in an attempt to make the brand identity transparent.

Faithful translations also contribute to perceptual duality. *First City Trust* (not illustrated) is branded *Trust First City* in French. There is not a hint of French in this name, yet the syntax is impeccable for a French brand name. For at least one of its audiences, this is probably one of the few circumstances in which a company is the beneficiary of a slogan built into its name!

The vast application of two languages in contact, especially in the private sector, has saturated visual communication and consumer perception in Canada. The resulting decoding effort is a complex interwoven chain of decisions aided by the associative abilities of a participant. We have seen that bilingual contact in brand identity also occurs through a sort of cross-referencing of the "other version" of a brand name.

The motive of language in a commercial context will always be to seduce and inform. Shaped by the extraneous forces that surround this motive, the duality of identities can be refined with the proper effort. In the management of perception, code-switching, defined as ". . . a way of maintaining access to both networks without having to take on the responsibilities associated with full membership in one or the other. . .,"[19] can be used to project strategic ambiguity on a commercial or political level. As has been described here, brand identification is a glorified version of code switching on a grand scale. As a result, perceptions tend to merge incidentally. A traveler's perception of a brand's variants in Ontario or Québec is no different than a hand held bottle with two nomenclatures.

To reduce dual perceptions, we do not have to cut back to one language. But eliminating perceptual and linguistic equality for the unrepresented linguistic group does not sacrifice a product's persuasive qualities. We must examine the para-identifiers supporting the name. For

example, the detergent *Joy* is a tangible, physically controllable product on a store shelf, perceivable to the consumer as a dishwashing detergent presumably by its position among its competitors and the distinctly identifiable form of the bottle.

We cannot assume that a strong graphic system will always be a successful, flexible linguistic instrument for two brand names. Not all citizens are sensitive to the visual nuances that are meant to be invisible in presenting a brand name. In the case of *Mr. Clean,* where an icon, presented as a constant, is combined with a variable, such as a brand name, the scale of the constant and the variable determines the recognition factor. If the icon has little visual effect or no brand equity, much will rely on the linguistic variable, as in the *Shopper's Drug Mart* brand. That is where the two perceptions will be irrevocably divided. If the icon transcends the presence of an otherwise changing language, then the brand identity will have a higher recognition factor, as in the case of *Mr. Clean.*

In the context of two separate language audiences, one must examine the motive of the brand identity. Its function is to identify and convey the inherent values acquired over time. Should one establish a separate identity for each cultural group? If so, a cohesive dual brand identity should be comprised of mutually similar connotations of its component languages. Also, it is important to ensure that if two names are used, both of them represent and respect the values of the two distinct cultures. The ideal is to minimize the levels of mental activity in the act of recognition. In advertising, a mere notion can be sold with the right delivery—that is where another dimension of language enters. Advertising campaigns can serve as the nuance-loaded linguistic vehicles of products or services.

If a product is to be marketed worldwide, then research should be more thorough and design should better support language flexibly or transcend it altogether. We have seen that language legislation can divide, isolate or

multiply perceptions. It is the vernacular which has shaped language, as it has always been a cradle for new ideas and terminology that later becomes official.

Dual identities also work to strengthen brand loyalty as there is an element of intrigue in perceiving various components of a brand's linguistic identity. In the creation of brand names, care should be taken to avoid falsely rallying two linguistic audiences by creating two names. A language can still be respected with moderation when it is not forced into another language's grammatical and lexical systems. The key to the interpretation of a name is translating not only words but also the intent in order to fully capture a brand's best attributes. Perhaps what is yet to come is a new age of linguistic sensitivity when language will not be compromised by brand nomenclature.

Notes

1 Public Affairs and Advertising. 1990. *Two-language Communications at CN.* Montreal: Canadian National Railroad.

2 Sacharow, Stanley. 1982. *Symbols of Trade.* New York: Art Direction Book Co., 19.

3 Interbrand Group plc. 1992. *World's Greatest Brands.* London: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 6.

4 Interbrand, *World's Greatest Brands*, 9.

5 Quoted in Harris, Roy & Talbot J. Taylor. 1989. *Landmarks in Linguistic Thought.* London: Routledge, 158.

6 Harris, *Landmarks in Linguistic Thought,* 159.

7 Commissioner of Official Languages. 1988. *Official Languages Act.* 4th Supp. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 18.

8 Many of the examples listed and illustrated here could be placed in other categories since some carry a combination of these to different degrees. However, the examples selected are not isolated cases and appear frequently enough to be selected, by their primary attributes, to form their own classification.

9 We call an information consumer or viewer a participant. In language contact, an information consumer is a participant in the interaction between him or herself and the languages involved.

10 The mere size of this group is an entire subject unto itself.

11 "Code-switching is defined as the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation, without prominent phonological assimilation of one variety to the other." Monica Heller, ed. 1988. *Codeswitching—Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 157.

12 Recognition anxiety encompasses all the mental activity involved in interpreting the multiple perceptions of a given item, in the quest of associating recognizable values to that item.

13 The arrangement of leaves on an axis or stem.

14 Sartre, Jean-Paul. 1989. *L'Imagination*. Paris: Quadridge/PUF, 43. My translation.

15 Sartre, *L'Imagination*, 57.

16 Eco, Umberto. 1992. *La Production des signes*. Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 72. My translation.

17 Barzun, Jacques. 1986. *A Word or Two Before You Go...* Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 148.

18 Barzun, *A Word or Two Before You Go...*, 147.

19 Heller, *Codeswitching—Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, 87.

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The Bilingual Edition

in translation studies

Lance Hewson

The bilingual edition is curiously absent from the field of translation studies. This article looks closely at the nature of such an edition, and the specific problems that it presents to the translation theorist. Publishers' strategies are examined, as are the translator's introduction and notes, which—in their great diversity—contribute largely to the particular nature of such a text. After I consider reading strategies, comments are made on the importance of the translation process, and on how the bilingual edition is the ideal place for the details of such a process to be brought out, both for students of language and translation, as well as for the more advanced student of comparative literature.

Introduction

The bilingual edition has been virtually absent from the field of translation studies. This is, in some ways, surprising when one thinks of the great number of bilingual editions of literary works on the market. But theorists tend to pass over such editions, either by implicitly excluding them from their definitions of what translation is—Ladmiral, for example, has written that the "finality of a translation is to dispense us from reading the original text" [1]—or by conferring on them the same status as the standard translated text. I will try to show that the existence of the bilingual text—and here I will be limiting my remarks specifically to the literary kind—poses a number of problems which translation studies should address.[2] This will involve examining the peculiar status of such a text, in particular what I call its paradoxical nature, and the specific reading strategies that enter into play when one uses such an edition. I will conclude by making some suggestions about how such editions might better be adapted to the needs of the reader.

A brief word should be said here about what I consider to be a bilingual edition. I will be looking specifically at texts published in which the source text appears on the left-hand page and the target text on the right-hand page. The page layout is designed so that the reader can consult the source text and the target text without having to change pages. The translation is assumed to be an integral one.[3] The text may or may not contain a translator's preface and/or notes. I shall also be referring to the notion of a normal translation, meaning any work published in target text form alone, generally without translator's notes or specific references to the source-language culture.

If at first sight the simultaneous presentation of a source text and a target text seems to be just a variation on the normal publication of a translation, it does, in

fact, constitute a specific class of text bound by a certain number of specific and significant conditions. These conditions center principally on the reader of the bilingual text and, at the same time, on how such a reader is perceived by the translator and the publisher. For if in the vast majority of cases the normal translation is deemed to be able to function on its own within the second language-culture [4] (i.e., without explicit reference being made to the source text or to the translation operation that the source text has undergone), the bilingual edition sits, as it were, boldly and simultaneously astride the two language-cultures, positively inviting the reader to go back and forth between the two linguistic and cultural worlds, to verify his or her hunches about the possible meaning(s) and the best translation of the source text. Such a state of affairs will influence:

- the publisher, both for the type of work chosen (it must sell well), and the instructions given to the translator,[5] both for the translation itself and the presentation of the work;
- the translator in his translation work, assuming that he or she is translating with this type of edition in mind, and for the introduction and notes to be included in the edition; and
- the reading strategies available to the reader.

The publisher and the bilingual edition

The publisher has a primordial role to play as the originator of the translation, controlling to a certain degree the perspective in which the translator will operate, and thus the shape and content of the final text.[6] As this role is an influential one, it is important to try to understand how the publisher sees the bilingual text and its potential readership.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the publisher's strategy is the fact that the bilingual text is seen as an

excellent opportunity to exploit the learner's desire to make progress in a given language; often an existing translation will be re-edited in a format designed to catch the student's eye, e.g., the word *bilingual* will be highlighted on the outer covers of the book. In addition, the publisher may seek to attract the potential buyer of such an edition by enumerating its specific advantages in a prominent position.

The French publishing company Le Livre de Poche, for example, is an excellent illustration of this bilingual strategy, as it presents its bilingual philosophy on the outer cover of the book. The public, we are told, wants to "discover the original text."[7] This is already an interesting position, suggesting that the potential target public aimed at would not normally make any attempt to read a source text unaided; paradoxically, therefore, it is the virtual beginner who seems to be the target here.[8] People, it is stated, want to experience the pleasure of the original while having the simple information they need; at the same time, "the desire of linguistic apprenticeship" is not underestimated (a good sales argument reminiscent of "French without tears". . .). Thus the translation is "faithful and precise, without being narrowly literal," which conveniently glosses over one of the major preoccupations of translators and critics alike. There is a critical introduction to help "deepen the meaning of the texts" and there are notes of a cultural and linguistic nature and linguistic details enlightening certain turns of translation.[9]

The publisher Presses-Pocket is even more specific in its targeting of the potential reader. The learner is specifically mentioned in the presentation of the text, and the usefulness of having the source text and the target text on facing pages (with the possibility of seeing words in their situation and context) is emphasized. The declared aim for the student is to be able to learn unaided: sentences to translate that are based on the source

text are provided at the end of chapters. A model translation is given, and the reader-student is even told that he or she must make every effort to learn the model by heart.[10]

Aubier-Flammarion is more precise in their introductory presentation in that they are looking to a narrower range of readers: their edition of Kleist is aimed at the French public with a good knowledge of German, but who wish to be informed about the particularities of Kleist's language and the nuances of his style. It is noted that such students tend to express themselves in the foreign language using the literary language in use one or two centuries ago, and the aim is to make such a reader aware of this tendency.[11] Gallimard, on the other hand, in their edition of Kafka's ***Die Verwandlung***, simply include the translator's preface (a bibliographical and literary commentary), with no reference to the fact that it is a bilingual edition.[12]

This limited selection from the French publishing world is significant as it clearly shows a great deal of diversity in the publishers' expressed aims. But these divergences can be explained by the general economic conditions of the publishing world. English is, of course, the most economically viable foreign language, in France at least, and the range of authors includes ones who are widely studied at the university level, hence the type of readership aimed at. Kleist is seen to be highly specialized, as there are fewer learners of German, and the restricted readership means that the publisher's aims are restricted as well, but Kafka is considered to be enough of a literary heavyweight that no introduction is deemed necessary for the Folio Bilingue edition. In short, the presentation of the book is finely tuned to its potential readership, and, as we shall see, the wider that readership is perceived to be, the broader and more conflicting appear to be the aims of the publisher. In any event, it is important to stress that any consideration of the bilingual edition must, necessarily, take into account the publisher's position as one of the

key variables in the translation process, not just in the presentation of the edition, but also in the actual content—notes, introduction, new translation, modification of existing translation.

The translator and the bilingual edition

How do translators react when they know that their work is to be published in such a form? The first reaction, it would seem, is one of extreme caution, since they know that the reader not only will be able to undertake the back and forth comparison between the source and target texts, but by the very nature of the publication will be encouraged to do so. Some translators feel it is necessary to justify retrospectively their work, usually in terms of the classic choice that they faced between producing a target text that stays as close as possible to the source text (perceived as ideal for the bilingual edition, but as not flowing in the second language) and a target text that reads well in the second language, but is often felt to betray the stylistic or cultural peculiarities of the original.[13] Henri Yvinec's introduction to his translation of Dahl's ***The Princess and the Poacher*** [14] clearly brings out the translator's dilemma. Yvinec notes that the aim of the original (non-bilingual) translation was to make the reader deprived of the source text sensitive to its charm and mischievousness. Hence, he explains, a literal translation was impossible as it "would have killed the spirit" of the source text. Moreover, the republication in the form of a bilingual edition is, for Yvinec, no justification for a new, more literal translation. Like many others, he sees in the footnotes the ideal means of helping the language learner round the (now apparent) differences between the two texts.

Clearly, footnotes constitute the most striking difference between the bilingual edition and the normal translation. It is here that we can most clearly perceive the aims and strategies of the translator—and indeed of the pub-

lisher—and thus get closer to understanding the specific nature of such an edition. As we will see, the notes tend to cover an extremely wide number of topics, but generally do not look at how the translator reached the translation he or she has given, nor how this translation may be justified in the light of plausible alternatives. In fact the image of the reader that we receive through the translator's notes—be it in one book or when comparing a series of bilingual editions—is, at best, a blurred one. Is he or she practically a beginner in the second language, or is there a high degree of linguistic knowledge? Is the second language-culture well known, partially known, or even virtually unknown? If a certain ignorance of the second culture is presupposed, is this ignorance confined to certain areas (history or institutions for example)? Is there an awareness of the specifically literary characteristics of the source text, or should these be pointed out? A number of examples from Conrad's ***Heart of Darkness*** [15] will serve to illustrate the somewhat confusing impression of what the reader actually wants.

How insidious he could be, too, I was only to find out several months later and a thousand miles* farther.	*Quant à l'étendue de sa traîtrise, il me faudrait pour la découvrir attendre plusieurs mois et aller mille miles plus loin.*
*** a thousand miles:** *environ 1500 km*	*(pages 74/5)*

The footnote only comments on the rather banal conversion between miles and kilometers. What is more interesting is why the translator chose *miles* [16] rather than making a straight conversion into kilometers. Choosing to keep source language-specific elements is understandable when such a strategy maintains connotations strongly associated with the source language,[17] but it seems out of place here. Moreover, there are other problems raised by this little passage but which are left unanswered. These include:

- basic syntactic difficulties: how best to express in French the construction *how* + adj. + grammatical subject + *could be*; [18]
- lexical difficulties: how one might translate *insidious;* [19]
- aspectual problems (is *il me faudrait* the only possible translation of *I was to*? Has the translator considered *je devais,* or *il fallait*?—and if so, on what grounds were they ruled out?);
- stylistic points (the positioning of *to find out/pour la découvrir*).

In short, this example brings out the whole problem of identifying the translation strategies used—both in the actual translation and in the choice of footnotes.

The next two examples have been chosen to show the typical comments that are made on the cultural level.

I saw a high starched collar, white cuffs, a light alpaca* jacket, snowy trousers, a clear necktie, and varnished boots.	*Je vis un col montant empesé, des manchettes blanches, une veste en alpaga légère, une cravate claire et des bottillons vernis.*
** L'alpaca est un lama du Pérou.*	*(pages 80/1)*
And he was devoted to his books, which were in apple-pie* order.	*En outre, il était très attaché à ses livres de comptes, qu'il tenait à la perfection.*
* ***apple-pie:*** *tourte aux pommes.*	*(pages 82/3)*

What is unusual about the first quotation is that the footnote provides a comment on a cultural element that, in all likelihood, is as well known to the target language public as the original is to the source language public. The reader is hardly helped by the fact that the note comments on the meaning of the English word, as if the word chosen for the target text had a different meaning, which is clearly not

the case. One can only conclude that the translator seems to have a vision of a reader who has little cultural knowledge in either language-culture, and one who needs to be helped along wherever possible.[20] But any reader will surely be more interested to know why the translator has chosen not to translate *snowy trousers,* which, when one considers that the narrator is describing the company chief accountant, is just as significant a descriptive detail as the elements translated. We come back to the whole problem of omission, and in a situation where, for once, the reader can actually check the source text and might depend on the target text to make progress in the second language. As for the second example, one might have expected a note explaining that *books* is commonly used to mean "accounts" (cf. *to keep the books*), but instead a literal translation has been given of *apple-pie* (as if it were written without the hyphen). This would seem to assume i) that the reader has virtually no knowledge of English—and certainly quite insufficient to read anything as hard as Conrad; ii) that the literal translation somehow enlightens the reader about the meaning of the cliché *in apple-pie order;* iii) that a reader who does not know the meaning of *alpaga* in his or her own language nevertheless does know the difference between *tarte* and *tourte;*[21] and iv) that *à la perfection* is the best or only translation in the target language. Although it is difficult to theorize such practices within a theory of translation, both the theorist and the reader need to be able to account for them.

Advice is also given on a more linguistic level, when both the grammatical characteristics of the foreign language and the problems of translation are looked at.

I was ordered* to send him there.	*On m'a ordonné de l'envoyer là-bas.*
* ***I was ordered:*** *ce passif d'un verbe exprimant un ordre, une volonté, n'a pas d'équivalent en français et se rend par le pronom on*	*(pages 134/5)*

It is true to say that the translation given is the one that most French speakers will spontaneously give—and at this level, there would seem to be little to comment on, unless the reader is specifically looking for strategies for converting passive constructions in English into French. And if this is the case, one would expect a development of the other possibilities—i.e., in what circumstances one might use *j'ai/j'avais reçu l'ordre de. . .*

There is no shortage of comments at other levels. For example, we find:

When a truckle*-bed with a sick man (some invalid agent from up-country**) was put in there, he exhibited a gentle annoyance.	*Quand dans ce bureau on installa un malade sur un lit de fortune (quelque agent de l'intérieur du pays), il manifesta une légère contrariété.*
* ***truckle:*** *roulettes d'un meuble.* ** *Un double de Kurtz.*	*(pages 82/3)*

The first note completes what would have been lost, given the translator's choice amongst the possibilities available in French (a note on the choice behind the *addition* of *de fortune* would have been interesting). The second note is, of course, a literary comment designed to help the reader in his or her general understanding and interpretation of the book.

These moribund shapes were free as air—and nearly as thin.*	*Ces formes moribondes étaient libres comme l'air et presque aussi légères.*

* ***as thin:*** *toute cette page est construite sur des rythmes binaires (**as air, as thin**) ou ternaires (**pain, abandonment and despair**), comme si Marlow trouvait dans la rhétorique un garde-fou contre la fascination du chaos qui s'offre à ses yeux. L'accumulation des négations a en outre pour effet d'évoquer un univers qui est le "moule en creux" de celui dépeint dans les discours officiels*

(pages 76/7)

These comments on the prosody of the text are extremely helpful when trying to understand the style of the original, and help overcome some of the stylistic weaknesses of the translation. Here, the reader has become someone with a developed literary culture, who is going to consider such fine points. Other indications on the same level abound, e.g., of intertextuality when the translator points out possible references to Delacroix or Géricault and to a passage recalling H.G. Wells' ***The Island of Doctor Moreau.***[22]

These examples from ***Heart of Darkness*** show that the bilingual edition is, at best, a hybrid object conceived to reach the widest possible public, from the virtual beginner to the advanced student of language and/or literature. It is thus instructive to look more closely at the identity and needs of the reader of such an edition, and at possible reading strategies.

The reader's "identity"

From what precedes, it is clear that the vision that both publisher and in particular translator have of the reader of the bilingual edition will constitute one of the major criteria, both in the actual translation work done (if it is a new translation) and in the way that the translation is presented (introduction, type of notes, etc.).

However, it would seem absurd to put forward the idea that the reader of such an edition has a certain "identity"—either in socio-cultural terms, or in relation to his or her knowledge of the foreign language-culture. But it is nonetheless helpful to try to have an overall picture of such a reader, as this helps one both to identify possible reading strategies used and to build up a picture of what the ideal bilingual edition might contain.

One might expect, initially, to find that the typical reader is the student who already has a reasonable command of the grammar and structures of the second language, not to mention a certain familiarity with its

culture. However, experience shows that this intermediate reader is by no means the only person to consult bilingual editions—one can exclude neither the advanced linguist nor the virtual beginner from the list of potential readers, despite the fact that the former has direct access to the source text and the latter virtually no access to the foreign language. Advanced students of English taking the competitive state examination in France, the *agrégation,*[23] consult such editions, just as do relative beginners. On one level it is clear that people at these two extremes on the scale of competence are looking for different things. The advanced student would appear to be looking for an "instantaneous" translation, i.e., one giving access to the more obscure vocabulary rather than the advice on structures, grammar, cultural differences or translation problems that the beginner is seeking. The advanced student wishes to be able to read the original while occasionally referring to the translation (continuous reading strategy of the source text—see below). The virtual beginner will probably go back and forth between the two at the level best suited to him or her (i.e., phrase by phrase), often having first read the translation in order to get an idea of the coherence of the story (continuous reading strategy of the target text). But what unites the two, interestingly enough, is their dependence on a translation which is taken to be *the* translation of the work.

Beginner or intermediate students are not in a position to adopt an objective position in relation to the translation presented. The target text thus functions either as a confirmation of their hypotheses—their understanding of the source text, their own translation of it—or as a correction of these hypotheses: how they should have read/understood or indeed translated the source text. The target text thus serves as a model, the best possible translation, and is codified as such by appearing in print.

Advanced students are theoretically in a position where they can attempt their own translation of the source

text. But the mere fact of consulting a bilingual edition shows once again that it serves as a reference, not just as a source of vocabulary, but also a normative model for students' own translations and the ultimate check of the correct comprehension of the original.

While there is no limitation on the nature of the readership, we can nonetheless point to a certain common attitude that all readers will have towards the bilingual text as a point of reference. Their reading strategies, however, will be different.

Reading strategies

Because of its very nature, the bilingual text is read first and foremost as a translation (rather than a work of literature), that explicitly refers to the source text on the facing page, and thus to the linguistic characteristics and the system of representation [24] of the source language. Although this may not be very surprising as such, the implications are important. When we come to compare the bilingual text with the normal target text, we see that to a greater or lesser degree, the latter is sucked into the cultural world of the second language-culture, and perceived primarily from within that world. Since the majority of readers have no access to the original culture, they naturally decode the work through their own system of representation. Thus if a highly "normalized" translation is subsequently republished as a bilingual edition, the effect will be to highlight those very differences which the translator had chosen to reduce, reintroducing the "strange" and "foreign" elements that had been toned down or eliminated. [25] The presence of the source text on the facing page thus implies a specific reading practice and, as we shall see, a specific status for this type of edition.

As pointed out above, the reading strategies open to the reader will depend on his or her "identity." *Figure 1* illustrates the strategies which can be assumed to be prac-

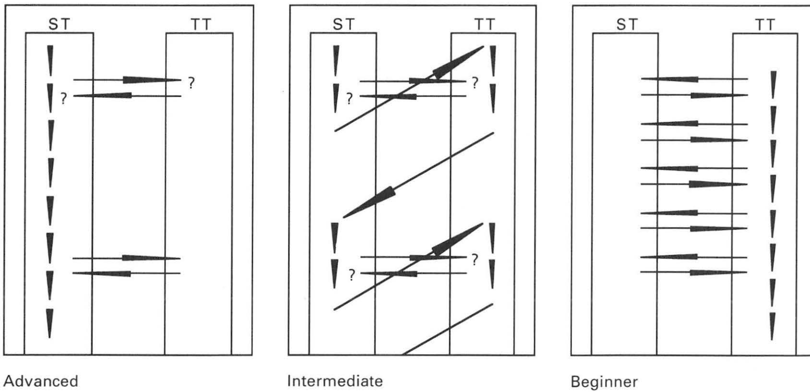

figure 1 ***Reading Strategies of the Bilingual Edition.***

tised by the three most predictable "identities": the advanced student on the left, followed by the intermediate and beginner students.

The advanced reader concentrates his or her attention on the source text, but may make occasional passing reference to the target text. The source text is largely understood (as far as is possible) through its own language-culture; gaps in the source language are compensated by occasional references to the target text. The target text can subsequently be used as a translation model, the norm against which the student will compare his own work.

The beginner, on the other hand, is totally dependent on the target text; his or her whole comprehension of the text will come through the target language text; there will be a constant back-and-forth movement between the two, encouraged by the careful page setup.[26] But the target text will be used as the basic text, and the target cultural world will predominate. Such a reader will be tempted to see a one-to-one correspondence between the two texts, which will produce two highly undesirable results.

The first is the belief that the target text is the exact and in fact the only equivalent of the source text, and thus a model for language acquisition (this is the argument of

Presses-Pocket). A final example from **Heart of Darkness** will illustrate some of the problems.

She came abreast of the steamer, stood still, and faced us. Her long shadow fell to the water's edge. Her face had a tragic and fierce aspect of wild sorrow and of dumb pain mingled with the fear of some struggling, half-shaped resolve.	*Elle s'immobilisa face au vapeur et face à nous. Son ombre s'étirait au bord de l'eau. Sur son visage se mêlaient, tragiques et farouches, une affliction sauvage et une souffrance muette à la peur de quelque résolution mal définie qui luttait pour s'affirmer.* *(pages 266/7)*

Exactly where the learner might start here is something of a mystery. Even if one leaves aside the whole problem of tense (why the English preterite sometimes becomes a *passé simple,* sometimes an *imparfait*), the vocabulary alone poses enormous problems. Will the learner conclude that *come abreast* (if he or she manages to decode this complex verb correctly) is the same as *s'immobiliser*? Will the verbal nature of *faced* be noticed, and if so, should one conclude that this will always become the non-verbal *face* in French? Why has *fell* not been translated as *tombait*? What about the translation of *had*? Clearly the list is long, which rapidly leads one to the conclusion that in no circumstances can the bilingual edition be used primarily for teaching purposes, particularly in the circumstances that publishers like to put forward in their publicity. Any target text can only be one among a series of paraphrastic possibilities, and the bilingual edition is the ideal place to bring this out. The second result is that the reader will be tempted to carry out a kind of "back" translation, where the target text form is taken as the departure point, in order to see how this word, phrase or sentence is expressed in the other language. Looking at the last example quoted, the beginner might believe that

s'immobiliser means *to come abreast.* Although the example chosen might appear to be rather absurd (one may suppose that only the absolute beginner would be so naïve), unfortunately the comparative similarity between lexical items and structures in English and French can present the learner with what appear to be easy solutions, and the number of notes that would be needed to forestall all such manipulations would be almost infinite.

As for the intermediate reader, the most likely reading strategy is to move regularly between the two texts. If the advanced reader can be said to enter into the source language and the beginner to decode from his or her target language standpoint, the intermediate reader is more in a kind of linguistic and cultural no-man's-land, the moving sands between the two language-cultures also inhabited by the translator. The vital difference is, however, that the intermediate reader has not acquired the necessary dissimilative competence [27] to move between the two language-cultures, and will again be tempted to try to establish fixed norms as conversion strategies used to step from one language to the other. Yet again, the target text is in danger of becoming a model, the final arbiter to be referred to.

Such a presentation of reading strategies is neither meant to be exhaustive nor limitative.[28] It is, however, intended to bring out one of the specific problems of the bilingual edition, i.e., the danger of the target text taken as the unique translation.

The paradoxical nature of the bilingual edition

When one analyzes the potential reading strategies that will be brought to bear on the bilingual edition, one begins to develop a better understanding of the paradoxical nature of such an edition. The essential paradox is, of course, the simultaneous presence of two texts belonging to two different language-cultures, and the constant comparison that the reader is invited to make between the

two. But we should not limit the specific nature of the bilingual text to its mere physical or material presentation. It should not be forgotten that such an edition contrasts directly with the source text published by itself in its original culture, and the target text published without reference to the source text. It must be said that the normal source text is not directly comparable with its bilingual counterpart, just as the bilingual target text is not directly comparable with the normal translation.

When a text is published in its original form, it belongs fully to its language-culture, and it is potentially translatable into any and every language. It is both a reflection of its original culture and a potential text waiting to be transposed into other cultures. Each text contains in itself its potential translation into an elsewhere. The source text in the bilingual edition, however, is presented as having undergone one translation operation in one direction. It is, in Meschonnic's terminology, "decentered" towards the second language-culture, [29] seen in the light of the translation that it has undergone. From the point of view of the target language reader, the difference is important, because the two source texts simply will not be read in the same way. Even when a reader resorts to dictionaries and target language-based sources of information on the source language when reading a work of literature, he or she will remain within the source language-culture. But in the bilingual edition, the very presence of a target text on the facing page acts as a magnet attracting the target language reader back towards his or her own culture, thus biasing the reading and presenting him or her with a version of the text which will inevitably have adopted some of the target language norms.

Similar remarks apply to the target text in the bilingual edition, when compared with the normal translation. The latter takes its place among the vast production of texts in the second language-culture, finally to be indistinguishable from other texts and to become part of the

work—perhaps even the classics—available in that language (loss of its specific attributes of translation, presentation in an edition which is identical to the home production).[30] The former, however, is constantly being reminded of its foreign origin, constantly being drawn back into its original system of representation (emphasis on its nature as a translated text).

The above remarks mean that the bilingual edition is a constant reminder of the differences between the source and target languages, and, paradoxically, of their apparent one-to-one equivalence, and that such an edition highlights the translation operation, both as actually carried out by the particular translator, and as it potentially can be carried out. Several conclusions should be drawn from this.

- The target text should not be presented as *the* definitive translation, but as the result of a series of key choices made by the translator in accordance with the different criteria he or she has chosen.
- The translator should use the notes to show the different operations carried out, leading to the selection of the final text.
- The notes will not only enlighten the reader about the potential choices in the target language, but about the intercultural set of paraphrases or homologon,[31] used as the basis of these choices.
- Notes in this form should be adequate for most categories of readers. They avoid the dangers of the illusion of one-to-one equivalence, and provide a real basis for making progress in the second language—which is, after all, the declared aim of the bilingual edition.

The specific nature of the bilingual edition means that it should be given a special place in translation studies and not just passed over in silence. In their present form, such editions are, to say the least, problematical, as they seem to correspond more to the publisher's desire to

attract as wide a public as possible and thus to suffer from the extremely confusing variety of notes offered. But these editions are highly interesting, as they present readers with what they normally never see—source text and target text side-by-side—and give them the chance of moving between the two and understanding the vast possibilities opened up by the translation operation (generation of sets of paraphrases) and the normative stage consisting of choosing between rival versions. In my view, these possibilities should be explored, and I hope they will lead to a development of such editions along the lines presented above. At the same time, a more detailed study of existing editions would undoubtedly be highly fruitful for the further development of translation studies.

Notes

1 "La finalité d'une traduction consiste à nous *dispenser de la lecture du texte original.*" Ladmiral, Jean-René. 1979. *Traduire: théorèmes pour la traduction.* Paris: Petite Bibliothèque Payot, 15.

2 Translation studies set out to examine all the problems met in moving between two or more languages. These might be very wide, including problems of bridging heterogeneous cultures, different historical epochs or more focused on text (i.e., comparative syntax, lexicology, etc.).

3 In other words, there is no mention, for example, of cutting or censoring of the original. This is an important point, as so many translations are published (not in bilingual form) as complete, where, in fact, important passages may have been radically reduced, or quite simply left out. For further details, see Hewson, Lance and Martin, Jacky. 1991. *Redefining Translation. The Variational Approach.* London and New York: Routledge, 158ff.

4 The concept of language-culture is used in translation studies to underline both the interdependence of language and culture, and the need when translating not just to compare linguistic systems, but also culture-based systems of representation. The concept was first introduced by Henri Meschonnic. 1973. *Pour la Poétique II.* Paris: Gallimard, 349.

[5] It would seem that for the overwhelming majority of such editions, an existing translation is used; the role of the publisher will therefore not be to "frame" the translation itself, but to define the type of notes and/or introduction that will accompany the new text.

[6] See Hewson and Martin. *Redefining Translation,* 113ff.

[7] This quotation and all those following in this paragraph have been taken from the first page of the 1988 Livre de Poche bilingual edition of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness.*

[8] As we shall see below, there is, in fact, no clear strategy as regards the readership, who sometimes is supposed to have detailed linguistic and cultural knowledge, and sometimes virtually no such knowledge at all.

[9] Authors include: Carroll, Chesterton, Forster, Greene, Huxley, Poe and Wells. This publisher also has a limited number of German titles.

[10] See the 1990 Presses-Pocket edition of Nabokov's short stories, translated and annotated by Ann Grieve.

[11] See the 1970 Aubier-Flammarion bilingual edition of Kleist's *Die Marquise von O. . . und Das Erdbeben in Chili,* translated and annotated by Richard Thieberger. In fact, the notes do follow the pattern described in the introduction. In this case, therefore, we can say that the advanced literary-minded student of German has been identified as the typical reader of such an edition.

[12] See the 1991 Gallimard (Collection Folio Bilingue) translation of Kafka's *Die Verwandlung,* translated and annotated by Claude David. There is also a 1988 edition published by Le Livre de Poche (with its usual bilingual presentation), translated and annotated by Brigitte Vergne-Cain and Gérard Rudent.

[13] This distinction has been widely developed in the literature. For an overview of the different possible positions (remaining as faithful as possible to source language structures, lexical items and cultural references, adapting the text to target language norms so that it reads as if it had originally been written in the target language, and the intermediate possibilities), see Hewson and Martin. *Redefining Translation,* 121ff.

[14] Gallimard, 1990.

[15] Translated and annotated by Catherine Pappo-Musard, 1988, Livre de Poche. For purposes of clarity, asterisks are used here to refer to the footnotes which, in the published edition, are numbered. It should be noted that the examples are not meant as comments on the quality of the given translation, but as illustrations of the problematical nature of the bilingual edition.

[16] One might also wonder why the French word *milles* was not chosen.

[17] Moving from French to English, the translator might well decide to keep certain well known cultural references (i.e., *rue, boulevard, monsieur, château,* etc.) in French, provided he or she believed that the target public would understand them.

[18] The learner-translator would need to consider "A quel point il pouvait être. . .," "son côté. . .," "le degré de. . ."

[19] What justification is there for not using *insidieux?* Has the translator deliberately chosen to avoid using target language words that resemble too closely the word in the source text? One of the advantages of *insidieux* is that it contains the notion of "over a long period of time," which is appropriate in the context.

[20] This type of note can, of course, be included at the request of the publisher, whose aim would be to appeal to the widest possible public.

[21] It should be pointed out that the latter word is the correct translation, even though it is not a common word in French.

[22] See pages 78-9.

[23] Open to students holding a Master's degree.

[24] In other words, the way people in any given society will relate to and decode the reality of the world around them. For further details, see Hewson and Martin. *Redefining Translation,* 23ff.

[25] Significantly, Gallimard did not choose to re-edit its first translation into French of *Die Verwandlung* (by A. Vialatte, 1955). This is a normalized translation that contains a certain number of additions and "improvements," and would hardly have borne the side-by-side scrutiny of the bilingual edition. For example, the first name of the hero, Gregor, has been normalized into the French "equivalent" Grégoire.

[26] It is theoretically possible to move constantly from one text to the other, as any one sentence in one language begins at roughly the same eye-level on the page in the second language. However, in practice this is a tiring exercise, and is aggravated by the use of different fonts. The beginner must find the exercise discouraging.

[27] See Hewson and Martin. *Redefining Translation,* 212ff.

[28] Presses-Pocket actually provide their learner-readers with a reading strategy: they suggest that the reader start with the target text, then read the source text, before rereading the target text.

29 Meschonnic, Henri. 1973. *Pour la poétique II*. Paris: Gallimard. 307ff.

30 E.g., Penguin Classics which present both works originally written in English and translations in the same format.

31 See Hewson and Martin. *Redefining Translation*, Chapters 4 and 5.

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Bilingualism

in the Hebrew text

This article is an attempt to discuss bilingualism in the Hebrew text from a variety of viewpoints, both historical and practical. The unique characteristics of Hebrew, its language and writing system are discussed in relation to a long historical tradition of bilingual texts, such as the Aramaic translations of the early Christian era, 16th century Polyglot Bibles and Passover Haggadahs. Present-day strategies, both from the outlook of typesetting and translation, are explored and the "invisible" effects of Hebrew lexical and syntactic patterns on English speakers are analyzed. The author puts forward the idea that there is a kind of blocking or switching mechanism at work which allows the monolingual Hebrew reader to block out the foreign element embedded within the Hebrew text.

This article is concerned with the problems of bilingualism in Hebrew texts—partly from the viewpoint of a practicing book designer and typographer, and partly from a more detached linguistic perspective. The nature of bilingual Hebrew texts, as compared to English/French texts, is complicated by several factors not least of which is a "retrograde" (right-to-left) writing system. For this reason, I should like to divide the discussion into two parts: "visible" and "invisible" bilingual texts. My use of the term bilingual will be quite broad in its definition, as I shall deal with examples in which two or more distinct languages appear, as well as examples in which the text is in one language only, yet in which the influence of a second language is clearly present from the vocabulary and syntax. Before examining the specific problems, I will first give a brief summary of the development of the Hebrew language and its complexities. Contemporary Israeli Hebrew is composed of three overlapping layers:[1]

- The basic grammar and vocabulary of classical Hebrew, which includes the writings of the Old Testament, the Mishna and the various editions of the Talmud;
- The non-Hebrew languages (such as Arabic, French, English, German, Polish or Russian) from the diverse parental backgrounds of native Hebrew speakers;
- The new forms created by native speakers, often without reference to classical Hebrew vocabulary or syntax.

Classical Hebrew

The first element—classical or Biblical Hebrew—which may be said to have lasted up to the destruction of the first Temple in 586 BC, was characterized by a paucity of lexical terms. This is particularly evident in relation to adverbs, adjectives and abstract nouns, as in the derivation of the

word *Kavod* (honor) from the verbal root *kaved* meaning "was heavy."[2] In addition, the verbal structure was certainly oriented towards the prophetic mode, for as George Steiner has commented:

It has long been established that the Indo-European Germanic framework of threefold temporality—past, present and future—has no counterpart in Semitic conventions of tense. The Hebrew verb views action as incomplete or perfected. Even archaic Greek has definite and subtly discriminatory verb forms with which to express the linear flow of time from past to future. No such mode developed in Hebrew. In Indo-European tongues the future is preponderantly thought to lie before us, while in Hebrew future events are always expressed as coming after us.[3]

The critic and writer Edmund Wilson discussed this unique verbal structure of ancient Hebrew and commented that

the Jews even more than the Russians lacked our Western conception of the present moment—a feature that, it seems, marks a very advanced state in the history of language development. . .

He gives as an example Jehovah's words to Moses, "I am what I am" and added:

Both verbs are in the imperfect, so, if we followed our rule of thumb, it would give us 'I shall be what I shall be'—which again would be incorrect, since what the author of Exodus means to say is that God's existence has never ceased, that it is still going on and will never end.[4]

I personally have noted this phenomenon in modern Hebrew when I have heard people leaving work for the day call out "*Ani halachti*" or, literally, "I went." A colloquial English rendering would be "I'm just going now," but the implication of the Hebrew phrase is that the

person is stepping outside the present temporal time frame. Modern Hebrew also habitually uses the future tense for the imperative mode, whereas the imperative structure is used for purely positive commands. Thus *don't go* in Hebrew is *al ti'lech* (literally, "you will not go"), whereas the imperative form *lech* ("go") is used more rarely. The future mode is commonly used in Hebrew in situations which would only take the present tense as in the English clausal construction "I'll leave when she arrives," which is transformed into Hebrew as "I'll leave when she will arrive," and this Hebrew pattern often comes through in native English speakers exposed to Hebrew speech patterns.

It is clear that classical Hebrew was employed as a language of everyday communication, and not merely as a way of expressing eternal religious precepts and truths. Even so, William Chomsky described classical Hebrew as "solemn, noble, and majestic. . . succinct, but rich in imagery and picturesqueness."[5] The Hebrew spoken in the post-exile period, i.e., following the destruction of the first Temple and after the return of the exiles from Babylon, showed a "greater simplicity and uniformity of style, largely due to Aramaic influences."[6]

Aramaic was at that period the official language of the western provinces of the Persian Empire and the noted Semitist G. A. Driver has observed that "for several centuries the Jews must have been bilingual, still understanding Hebrew, but speaking Aramaic."[7] It is significant that the Aramaic script began to be adopted during this period in place of the previous paleo-Hebrew script and it is this writing system which is basically still in use. By the time of Christ, Aramaic versions of the scriptures—called *Targumim* (literally "translations")—were becoming necessary. Meanwhile Hebrew, without dying out, gradually became a *Lashon Hakhamim* or a language of scholars.

Mishnaic Hebrew

Mishnaic Hebrew, named after the Mishna (the compilation of religious and quasi-secular laws of the 2nd century AD), was quite distinct from classical Hebrew. It was characterized by a confusion of the guttural consonants which classical Hebrew had hitherto kept quite distinct; a growing influence of foreign words from Aramaic, Greek, Latin and even Persian; and a greatly enriched vocabulary. Additionally, the supply of verbal forms increased with a more subtle verbal structure, and more forms for imperfect or progressive action. As opposed to the usual three letter verbal roots of classical Hebrew, four or five letter verbal roots became more common. Driver commented that

Hebrew, with its archaic stiffness, lost its austere beauty and stately dignity, acquiring simplicity and flexibility and adapting itself better to modern needs.[8]

Here it is worth remembering that a basic characteristic of Hebrew—and other Semitic languages—is its consonantal structure, in which "each Hebrew word makes a shell into which a varying content of vowel sounds may be poured."[9] This goes some way to explain why the Hebrew alphabet and writing system are so appropriate to the spoken language. The reader knows instinctively which meaning is intended by means of context and basic orthographic rules, if indeed a doubt exists. The vowel points (*Nikkud* in Hebrew) which are usually placed below the letters are thus retained mostly for names and words of foreign origin, biblical texts, poetry and children's books. Otherwise, contemporary setting is set without vowel points.

The Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds, as well as further compilations of Biblical commentaries and laws, were compiled by the 5th century AD and the vowel points added in the 9th century. It is important to note that both the Mishna and the Talmud were usually written without vowel points and with very few punctuation marks. During

these two millennia, we pass from an increasingly sterile medieval Hebrew, to the more classical Hebrew of the Haskalah or Enlightenment (1784-1881), and finally to the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language. This was due mainly to the rise of the Zionist Movement, which realized the need for a single unifying national language to bring together the disparate elements of the Jewish diaspora. For better or worse, a decision was made to use Hebrew in as classical a form as possible and written in Hebrew characters. The creation of a modern Hebrew was very much a matter of personal will-power, as exemplified by Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, who almost single-handedly fought for the use of Hebrew against the competing claims of Yiddish, German and Russian.

Modern Hebrew

This brief historical digression returns us to contemporary or modern Hebrew. The 1961 census in Israel divided the population into three main linguistic groups. Group A consisted of Arabic speakers; Group B consisted of speakers whose primary language was neither Hebrew nor Arabic, but who use Hebrew as a means of communicating outside their mother tongue or whose Hebrew showed the traces of a second language; and Group C consisted of native Hebrew speakers. Thus, out of a total population in 1961 of some 2,200,000, roughly ten percent belonged to Group A, nearly seventy percent to Group B, and some twenty percent to Group C.[10] This reflects very clearly the demographic situation in the post-war years.

I have not been able to find comparable statistics for more recent years, but it is clear the figures would be quite different now. The 1983 census showed a population of over four million and recorded that nearly eighty-four percent of the population read a daily newspaper in Hebrew only; roughly eleven percent read a newspaper in a language other than Hebrew; and just over five percent read

both in Hebrew and another language. Of those who read at least one book a month, nearly seventy percent read in Hebrew only; sixteen percent in another language only; and just over fourteen percent in Hebrew and another language.[11]

Thus the percentage of monolingual Hebrew speakers—now in their second or third generation—has risen dramatically and likewise their influence on professional life, on the media and on the language generally. Israel today is no longer the polyglot society of the 1950s but a much more homogeneous society linguistically in which the mother tongues of the past have to be learned again as foreign languages. The recent influx of Russian and Amharic speakers, whose members now form separate linguistic sub-cultures, has added new elements of bilingualism, but this has not radically altered the dominant position of Hebrew. The Russian immigrants bring with them a highly literate and print-oriented tradition, whereas the Ethiopian *Falashas* come from a predominantly oral culture. Thus, one sees much evidence of bilingual Hebrew/Russian texts and signage but very little in the way of similar Hebrew/Amharic texts.

Modern Hebrew is used today for the widest possible range of expression, from literary to scientific, with a large vocabulary in the new scientific and computer technologies. Exposure to the international communications media has perforce brought in many new foreign words and influences. However, in spite of predictions to the contrary, Hebrew seems to have “stood its ground” and kept to the basic Semitic syntax and structure. The actual writing system remains the more conservative element in the equation. As previously mentioned, the writing and reading direction is from right to left and Hebrew is generally written without the vowel points. There are two orthographic systems in common use—*Ktiv Haser* (partial spelling) and *Ktiv Maleh* (full spelling), which uses the Matres Lectionis (literally, “mothers of reading” or the

במקרים מסויימים אפשר למצוא את המכפלה של רב-איברים בדרך קצרה יותר.
לדוגמא, אם נכפול את (a+b)(a-b) לפי כללי הכפל של רב-איברים נקבל:

$$(a+b)(a-b) = a^2-ab+ba-b^2 = \underline{\underline{a^2-b^2}}$$

אם במקום a ו-b נקח ביטויים אלגבריים כלשהם, נקבל באופן דומה לנ"ל:
$(5x^2y+2c)(5x^2y-2c) = (5x^2y)^2-(2c)^2$.

figure 1 ***An example from an Israeli secondary school algebra textbook, showing different directions of Hebrew text and Arabic numerals.***

letters *aleph, vav, heh* and *yud*) to avoid ambiguous spellings. This is equivalent to the difference between the words "red" and "read" in English. The consonantal structure of Hebrew and its dearth of redundancies[12] (repeatable or predictable elements), and the resulting ambiguities do not seem to lead to reduced readability or comprehension on the part of the Hebrew reader. The experienced Hebrew reader appears able to decipher the correct meaning from the context, in spite of the absence of vowels. The basic rules of Hebrew orthography, once learnt and absorbed into the cognitive mechanism, seem sufficient to allow for quite rapid recognition. It should be noted here that modern Hebrew also uses the system of Arabic numerals for most numeration and all mathematical operations, thus giving the Hebrew reader a familiarity with both writing directions (*figure 1*).

This highly monolingual culture—bred of a fairly rigid theory of melting pot monoculturalism—contrasts paradoxically with an equally strong bilingual or even multilingual strain in Jewish history. These elements are more often than not invisible to the uninitiated, but they are nonetheless important. The historical scattering of the Jews in many lands created the need for a functional bilingualism, in which Hebrew remained the language of religion and tradition, whereas the vernacular of the land served as the mother tongue. In the Old Testament itself,

certain portions (the Books of Daniel and Ezra) were written in Aramaic, and the Mishna itself (2nd century AD) was written ". . . in racy Aramaic alternating with Hebrew."[13] There is an episode in the Old Testament (2 Kings xviii, 26-27), in which Eliakim says to Rab-Shakeh:

> "*Speak, I pray thee, to thy servants in the Syrian language (Aramaic), for we understand it, and talk not with us in the Jew's language (Hebrew) in the ears of the people that are on the wall.*"

And this was already in the 7th century BC. I have already mentioned the Aramaic *Targumim* of the early Christian era and it is clear that Aramaic was the language of Jesus and the Apostles.[14] The Hellenistic age in Palestine, beginning in the 4th century BC, brought about a marked influence of Greek lexical terms, which continued up to the Roman conquest of 63 BC. Several books of the Apocrypha are only known to us from the Greek version, as the Hebrew originals did not survive. A well-known example is the first century Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria, who wrote solely in Greek.[15]

A multilingual heritage thus came to be part and parcel of the Jewish tradition. An interest in the Ur-text in the sixteenth century produced such monuments to printing and scholarship as the Complutensian Polyglot Bible of Arnald Guillen de Brocar of 1514-1517 or the Plantin Polyglot Bible of 1569-1572, in which there are six versions on each page (Hebrew, Aramaic, three Latin translations and one Greek)[16] (*figures* 2 and 3). The Hebrew Passover Haggadah text, another major liturgical text, has probably appeared with most of the major languages of the world (*figure* 4).

Thus there are in Hebrew liturgy quite early and important examples of bilingual texts. Traditionally, the form taken by these texts is a very dense typographic page. At the center one finds the original Hebrew text, surrounded by commentaries in either Aramaic or

Hebrew. In most texts of the Babylonian Talmud, the inner gloss usually follows the commentary of Rashi and is written in a special script called "Rashi" (so-named after the celebrated eleventh century Biblical commentator) and is still used to distinguish text from gloss. The outer gloss contains the comments of the medieval Tosaphists (commentators), and footnotes at the bottom of the page give the relative references to Maimonides' code in Mishnaic Hebrew. Rashi or Maimonides often

figure 2 ***A page from the Plantin Polyglot Bible of 1569-72, showing the Hebrew, Latin and Aramaic versions.***

A page from the Complutensian Polyglot Bible of 1514-1517, showing an even richer mixture of translations, including interlinear Greek and Latin. Note the Hebrew "footnotes" to the left of the main Hebrew text. *figure 3*

wrote in Arabic in Hebrew letters, while earlier commentaries are more often in Aramaic. Here, of course, we are dealing with a variant of a Semitic language and script, but it is nevertheless a bilingual text in which visual elements played a strong part (*figures 5* and *6*).

A more recent development was the Deutsch-Rabbinisch script, which flourished mainly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and was used for non-Hebrew glosses or commentaries. The language is pure German, written in Hebrew letters, just as Yiddish (a Jewish language with a strong Germanic basis) is still written. This script is no longer in use (*figure 7*). Yet this was not a unique example, and the vernacular, whether German, Arabic or Spanish, was often written in Hebrew

סדר של פסח

מן הזבחים ומן הפסחים אשר יגיע
דמם על קיר מזבחך לרצון ונודה
לך שיר חדש על גאלתינו ועל פדות
נפשנו: בא״י גאל ישראל ⁘
ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם
בורא פרי הגפן ⁘

ושותה לפחות רובו של כוס בהסיבת שמאל:

רחצה נוטל את ידיו עם כל בני המסבה מרביעית מים ומברך.

ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם אשר
קדשנו במצותיו וצונו על נטילת ידים ⁘

מוציא מצה

ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם המוציא לחם מן
הארץ ⁘
ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם אשר קדשנו
במצותיו וצונו על אכילת מצה ⁘

מרור

ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם אשר קדשנו
במצותיו וצונו על אכילת מרור ⁘

כורך

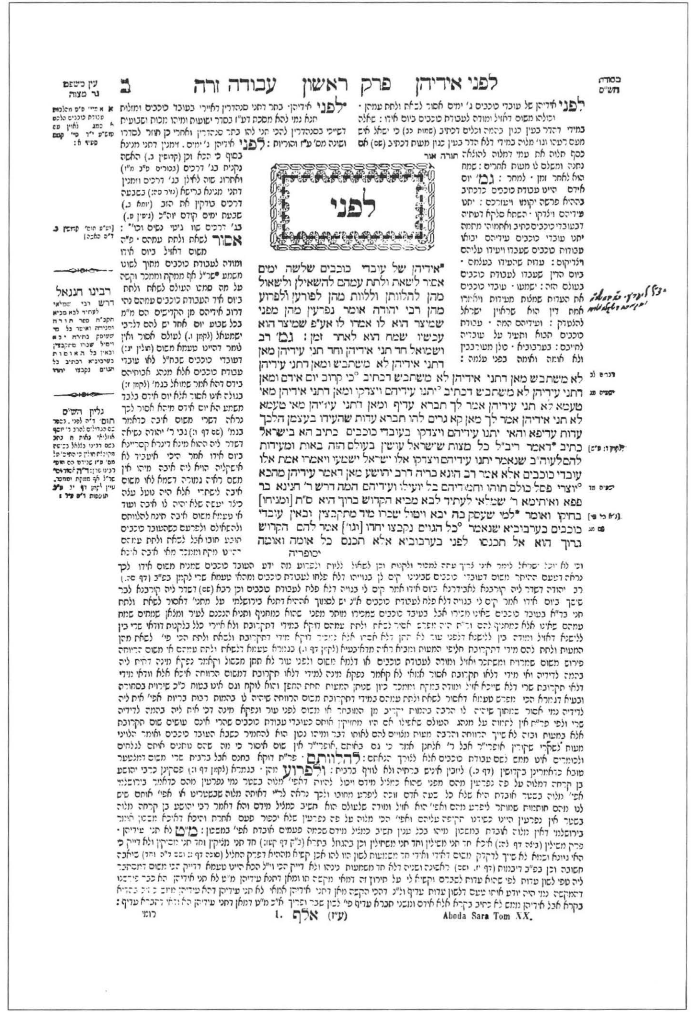
בלא טבול ובלא ברכה זכר למקדש כהלל: כן עשה הלל בזמן
שבית המקדש קים היה כורך מצה ומרור ואוכל ביחד לקים
מה שנאמר על מצות ומרורים יאכלהו ⁘

שריפט פראנק-ריהל, דייטש-ראבבינישע און רש״י

H. BERTHOLD AG — ה. בערטהאלד אג

העתקה מדויקת מההגדה שכתב וצייר משה ב״ר נתן הכהן בשנת תקע״ו לפ״ק.

figure 4 ***A page from the Passover Haggadah from the Berthold typefoundry specimen book of 1924 showing pointed or vowelled Hebrew text in Frank-Rühl typeface at the right, Aramaic in Rashi typeface interspersed between the Hebrew and commentaries in Deutsch-Rabbinisch typeface at the left.***


לפני אידיהן פרק ראשון עבודה זרה ב

לפני

*אידיהן של עובדי כוכבים שלשה ימים
אסור לישאת ולתת עמהם להשאילן ולשאול
מהן להלוותן וללוות מהן לפורען ולפרוע
מהן רבי יהודה אומר נפרעין מהן מפני
שמיצר הוא לו אמרו לו אע"פ שמיצר הוא
עכשיו שמח הוא לאחר זמן: גמ' רב
ושמואל חד תני אידיהן וחד תני עידיהן מאן
דתני אידיהן לא משתבש ומאן דתני עידיהן
לא משתבש מאן דתני אידיהן לא משתבש דכתיב °כי קרוב יום אידם ומאן
דתני עידיהן לא משתבש דכתיב °יתנו עידיהם ויצדקו ומאן דתני אידיהן מאי
טעמא לא תני עידיהן אמר לך תברא עדיף ומאן דתני עידיהן מאי טעמא
לא תני אידיהן אמר לך מאן קא גרים להו תברא עדות שהעידו בעצמן הלכך
עדות עדיפא והאי יתנו עידיהם ויצדקו בעובדי כוכבים כתיב הא בישראל
כתיב *דאמר ריב"ל כל מצות שישראל עושין בעולם הזה באות ומעידות
להם לעוה"ב שנאמר יתנו עידיהם ויצדקו אלו ישראל ישמעו ויאמרו אמת אלו
עובדי כוכבים אלא אמר רב הונא בריה דרב יהושע מאן דאמר עידיהן מהכא
°יוצרי פסל כולם תוהו וחמודיהם בל יועילו ועידיהם המה דרש ר' חנינא בר
פפא ואיתימא ר' שמלאי לעתיד לבא מביא הקדוש ברוך הוא ס"ת [ומניחו]
בחיקו ואומר *למי שעסק בה יבא ויטול שכרו מיד מתקבצין ובאין עובדי
כוכבים בערבוביא שנאמר °כל הגוים נקבצו יחדו [וגו'] אמר להם הקדוש
ברוך הוא אל תכנסו לפני בערבוביא אלא תכנס כל אומה ואומה
יכופריה

(ע"ז) אלף .1 Aboda Sara Tom XX.

A typical page from the Babylonian Talmud, showing the main Hebrew in the center, and the Aramaic and other commentaries surrounding. *figure 5*

characters. It is curious to note that some of the earliest printed Arabic texts in Egypt in the seventeenth century were set in Hebrew characters, due to the lack of Arabic fonts.[17] An equally interesting example of a bilingual text is that attributed to the seventeenth-century Hungarian printer/scholar Miklós Kis, who printed a Hebrew/Latin

lexicon in 1698, in which he arrived at some intriguing typographical solutions to the problems of accent and stress in transliterated Hebrew words (*figure 8*).

Current Typesetting Conventions

Current typesetting conventions in Israel for bilingual Hebrew/non-Hebrew texts are confused, to say the least, and more often than not they depend on the skills of the

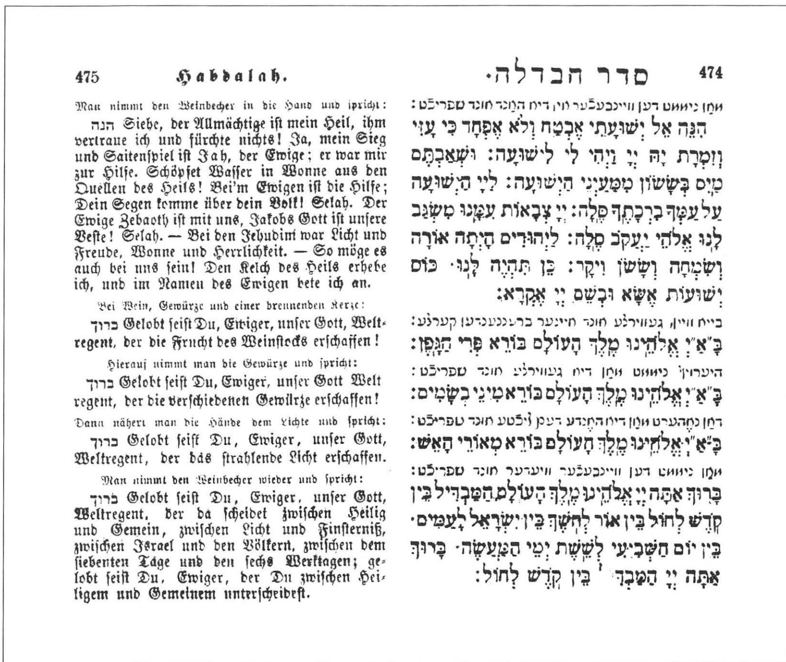
ויהי מקץ

קטע [ספרד או פורטוגאל]. חומש עם תרגום אונקלוס.

Fragmt. [Hispania vel Lusitania]. Pentateuchus cum Targum Onkelos. Census p. 42.

B 40, 1

figure 6 ***A page from early Hebrew printing from Spain or Portugal. The Hebrew text is surrounded with the Aramaic translation to the right (The Tora cum Onkelos Targum).***



474 סדר הבדלה·

מאן נימט דען וויינבעכער אין דיא האנד אונד שפריכט:

הנה אל ישועתי אבטח ולא אפחד כי עזי וזמרת יה יי ויהי לי לישועה: ושאבתם מים בששון ממעיני הישועה: ליי הישועה על עמך ברכתך סלה: יי צבאות עמנו משגב לנו אלהי יעקב סלה: ליהודים היתה אורה ושמחה וששן ויקר: כן תהיה לנו· כוס ישועות אשא ובשם יי אקרא:

ביא וויין, געווירצע אונד איינער ברעננענדען קערצע:

ב"א"י אלהינו מלך העולם בורא פרי הגפן:

היערויף נימט מאן דיא געווירצע אונד שפריכט:

ב"א"י אלהינו מלך העולם בורא מיני בשמים:

דאן נעהערט מאן דיא הענדע דעם ליכטע אונד שפריכט:

ב"א"י אלהינו מלך העולם בורא מאורי האש:

מאן נימט דען וויינבעכער וויעדער אונד שפריכט:

ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם המבדיל בין קדש לחול בין אור לחשך בין ישראל לעמים· בין יום השביעי לששת ימי המעשה· ברוך אתה יי המבדיל בין קדש לחול:

475 Habdalah.

Man nimmt den Weinbecher in die Hand und spricht:

הנה Siehe, der Allmächtige ist mein Heil, ihm vertraue ich und fürchte nichts! Ja, mein Sieg und Saitenspiel ist Jah, der Ewige; er war mir zur Hilfe. Schöpfet Wasser in Wonne aus den Quellen des Heils! Bei'm Ewigen ist die Hilfe; Dein Segen komme über dein Volk! Selah. Der Ewige Zebaoth ist mit uns, Jakobs Gott ist unsere Veste! Selah. — Bei den Jehudim war Licht und Freude, Wonne und Herrlichkeit. — So möge es auch bei uns sein! Den Kelch des Heils erhebe ich, und im Namen des Ewigen bete ich an.

Bei Wein, Gewürze und einer brennenden Kerze:

ברוך Gelobt seist Du, Ewiger, unser Gott, Weltregent, der die Frucht des Weinstocks erschaffen!

Hierauf nimmt man die Gewürze und spricht:

ברוך Gelobt seist Du, Ewiger, unser Gott Weltregent, der die verschiedenen Gewürze erschaffen!

Dann nähert man die Hände dem Lichte und spricht:

ברוך Gelobt seist Du, Ewiger, unser Gott, Weltregent, der das strahlende Licht erschaffen.

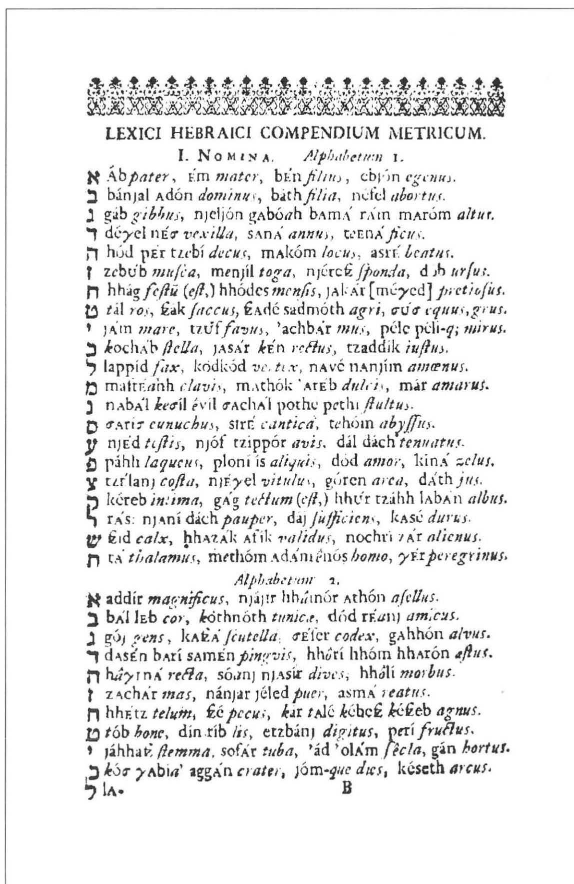
Man nimmt den Weinbecher wieder und spricht:

ברוך Gelobt seist Du, Ewiger, unser Gott, Weltregent, der da scheidet zwischen Heilig und Gemein, zwischen Licht und Finsterniß, zwischen Israel und den Völkern, zwischen dem siebenten Tage und den sechs Werktagen; gelobt seist Du, Ewiger, der Du zwischen Heiligem und Gemeinem unterscheidest.

A page from a Hebrew-German prayerbook, printed in 1898 in Germany. Note the Deutsch-Rabbinisch typeface used for the German glosses. *figure 7*

editor and/or the typesetter. Some typesetters will set foreign words or phrases entirely in caps. This ignores, however, the customary differentiation between caps and lower case in standard Latin setting. The practice among better typesetters is to set the foreign words in lower case in a slightly smaller size, so as to avoid the problem of an overemphasized and less legible foreign text (*figure 9*). I suspect that the practice of using all caps comes from careless editing and unfamiliarity with English rules of style. A new generation of compositors, with no knowledge of the finer points of hot-metal setting, has not helped matters. Similarly, I find that many typesetters resist the use of hyphenation because they do not want to spend the time to solve the problems of correct word breaks—either in Hebrew or Latin setting!

There is a certain logic in the assumption that capital letters align better visually with the surrounding Hebrew text, but this ignores a basic rule of legibility in Latin type faces—i.e., that caps are more difficult to read than lower case. It also overlooks the subtleties of difference between the meaning of initials, abbreviations and proper names. It should be noted that Hebrew is a notoriously square letter and has very few ascenders and descenders. Thus it may be that the Hebrew reader is more used to this type of visual



LEXICI HEBRAICI COMPENDIUM METRICUM.

I. NOMINA. *Alphabetum* 1.

א Ab *pater*, em *mater*, ben *filius*, ebjón *egenus*.
ב bánjal adón *dominus*, bath *filia*, nefel *abortus*.
ג gab *gibbus*, njeljón gabóah bamá rám maróm *altus*.
ד déγel néσ *vexilla*, saná *annus*, teená *ficus*.
ה hód per tzebí *decus*, makóm *locus*, asré *beatus*.
ז zebúb *musca*, menjil *toga*, njéreſ *ſponda*, dób *urſus*.
ח hhág *feſtũ* (*eſt*,) hhódes *menſis*, jakár [méγed] *pretioſus*.
ט tál *ros*, ſak *ſaccus*, ſadé sadmóth *agri*, σúσ *equus*, *grus*.
י jám *mare*, tzúf *favus*, 'achbár *mus*, péle péli-*q*; *mirus*.
כ kocháb *ſtella*, jasár kén *rectus*, tzaddik *iuſtus*.
ל lappid *fax*, kódkód *vertex*, navé nanjím *amœnus*.
מ maftéahh *clavis*, mathók 'areb *dulcis*, már *amarus*.
נ nabál keσil évil σachál pothe pethi *ſtultus*.
ס σaris *eunuchus*, siré *cantica*, tehóm *abyſſus*.
ע njéd *teſtis*, njóf tzippór *avis*, dál dách *tenuatus*.
פ páhh *laqueus*, ploni is *aliquis*, dód *amor*, kiná *zelus*.
צ tzélanj *coſta*, njéγel *vitulus*, góren *area*, dáth *jus*.
ק kéreb *intima*, gág *tectum* (*eſt*,) hhúr tzáhh labán *albus*.
ר rás: njani dách *pauper*, daj *ſufficiens*, kasé *durus*.
ש ſid *calx*, hhazák afík *validus*, nochri zár *alienus*.
ת tá *thalamus*, methóm adám enós *homo*, γér *peregrinus*.

Alphabetum 2.

א addír *magnificus*, njájir hhámór athón *aſellus*.
ב bál leb *cor*, kóthnóth *tunicæ*, dód réanj *amicus*.
ג gój *gens*, kaſá *ſcutella*, σéfer *codex*, gahhón *alvus*.
ד dasén barí samén *pingvis*, hhórí hhóm hharón *æſtus*.
ה háγiná *recta*, sóanj njasír *dives*, hhóli *morbus*.
ז zachár *mas*, nánjar jéled *puer*, asmá *reatus*.
ח hhétz *telum*, ſé *pecus*, kar talé kébeſ kéſeb *agnus*.
ט tób *bone*, dín ríb *lis*, etzbánj *digitus*, perí *fructus*.
י jáhhaſ *ſtemma*, sofár *tuba*, 'ád 'olám *ſêcla*, gán *hortus*.
כ kóσ γabia' aggán *crater*, jóm-*que dies*, késeth *arcus*.
ל la.   B

figure 8 ***A page from a Hebrew/Latin lexicon printed by Miklós Kis in 1698.***

style. Research has shown that the recognition factors in Latin characters are found on the upper half of the form, whereas the opposite is true for Hebrew.[18] These considerations may exert an influence in the way respective readers block out the foreign language within a particular text.

The main problem, however, is the different direction of Hebrew. Here the question often is where to start the foreign setting; where to break it if so required and where to end it if there are turnover lines. The practice amongst better publishers seems to be as follows:

- Words or expressions of less than a line are set immediately to the left of the Hebrew text, with the terminal punctuation to the left of the Latin text;
- Foreign expressions or sentences which are longer than the measure are ranged left to the line in which they begin and then left again in subsequent lines.

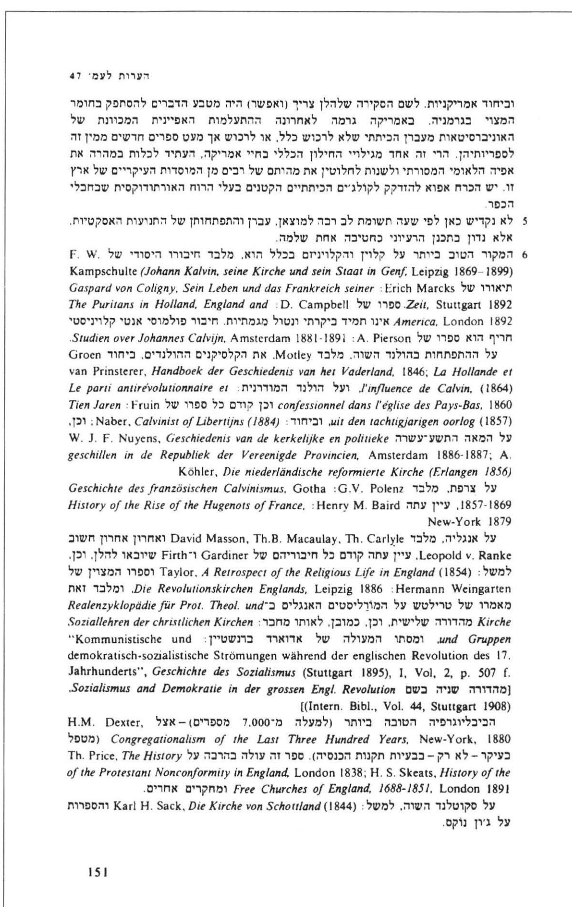
המודעות הציבורית לבעיות איכות
הסביבה, מניעת זיהום, מיון ומיחזור
אריזות (פסולת מוצקה).
3. מגמות ושינויים בתהליכי יצור
אריזות ואריזת מוצרים כתוצאה
משינויים טכנולוגיים.
בין היתר השתתפו: מר ג׳ראלד
ק. טאונסהנד, נשיא ה־(W.P.O)
THE WORLD PACKAGING.
ORGANISATION יו"ר ועדות:
אריזה, מדיניות ותכנון — מכון
התקנים הבריטי BSI. מנהל בפדרציה
האירופאית לאריזה EPF מנהל
פיתוח שווקים ויחסי ציבור באירופה
של "LAWSON MARDON GROUP".
יו"ר הועדה המייעצת לתערוכת
"PAKEX 92".
מר לואיג׳י רוסיף, מנהל מחלקת
מוצרי מזון של המינהל לנושאים
תעשייתיים ולשוק הפנימי בקהילייה
האירופית, חבר ב־COMMUNITIES
(EEC) COMMISSION OF THE
EUROPEAN. ●

figure 9

An example of recent bilingual setting showing the "foreign" setting in caps and another example of "foreign" setting in lowercase.

טיטאניום דו־חמצני (TiO2). חומר זה מתבלט בין
הפיגמנטים הלבנים במעריך הגבוה של שבירת קרני
אור (refractive index). האיפיון המעניין של חומר זה
הוא באפשרות של ויסות מדויק של גודל החלקיקים
לצורך הפקה החזר־אור מרבי. טיטאניום דו־חמצני
משמש כחומר ציפוי להגדלת אטימות־אור (opacity)
וכאמור ־ מאופיין גם בבוהר של הציפוי, אך
חשיבותה של התכונה הראשונה הינה רבה יותר. TiO_2
נמכר לתעשייה בשתי צורות: אנאטאז (anatase) ו־
רוטיל (rutile). לשתים אלה נועדות גם מודיפיקציות
שונות בהתאם למטרות הספציפיות שבייצור הנייר
המצופה. בארה"ב טיטאניום דו־חמצני תופס מקום
שלישי בסך ־ ממשקל הפיגמנטים לייצור נייר ואת
המקום השני מבחינת הערך הכספי של חומר זה.
רוטיל מגביר את אטימות־אור במידה גדולה יותר מ־
אנאסטאז וכן את מידת הבוהר (brightness) של הנייר
המצופה. משתמשים בו בעיקר להענקת אטימות־אור
לציפוי ניירות קלי־משקל. מסיבה זו ניתן להשתמש
בו בכמות קטנה יותר ובדרך זאת, להשיג הוזלת כל
הציפוי בשיטה זה.

The final line of the foreign quote is ranged right as in Hebrew with, again, the terminal punctuation to the left. A good example of the visual complexity of this system can be seen in the notes to the Hebrew translation of ***The Protestant Ethic*** by Max Weber. Note the complications which arise when two successive foreign references appear as a continuation of one reference. Nevertheless, the Hebrew reader seems to become adept at switching directions within the text (*figure 10*).



הערות לעמ׳ 47

וביחוד אמריקניות. לשם הסקירה שלהלן צריך (ואפשר) היה מטבע הדברים להסתפק בחומר
המצוי בגרמניה. באמריקה גרמה לאחרונה ההתעלמות האפיינית המכוונת של
האוניברסיטאות מעברן הכיתתי שלא לרכוש כלל, או לרכוש אך מעט ספרים חדשים ממין זה
לספריותיהן. הרי זה אחד מגילויי החילון הכללי בחיי אמריקה, העתיד לכלות במהרה את
אפיה הלאומי המסורתי ולשנות לחלוטין את מהותם של רבים מן המוסדות העיקריים של ארץ
זו. יש הכרח אפוא להזדקק לקולג׳ים הכיתתיים הקטנים בעלי הרוח האורתודוקסית שבחבלי
הכפר.

5 לא נקדיש כאן לפי שעה תשומת לב רבה למוצאן, עברן והתפתחותן של התנועות האסקטיות.
אלא נדון בתכנן הרעיוני כחטיבה אחת שלמה.

6 המקור הטוב ביותר על קלוין והקלויניזם בכלל הוא, מלבד חיבורו היסודי של F. W.
Kampschulte *(Johann Kalvin, seine Kirche und sein Staat in Genf,* Leipzig 1869–1899)
תיאורו של Erich Marcks: *Gaspard von Coligny, Sein Leben und das Frankreich seiner*
Zeit, Stuttgart 1892. ספרו של D. Campbell: *The Puritans in Holland, England and*
America, London 1892 אינו תמיד ביקרתי ונטול מגמתיות. חיבור פולמוסי אנטי קלויניסטי
חריף הוא ספרו של A. Pierson: *Studien over Johannes Calvijn*, Amsterdam 1881-1891.
על ההתפתחות בהולנד השוה, מלבד Motley, את הקלסיקנים ההולנדים, ביחוד Groen
van Prinsterer, *Handboek der Geschiedenis van het Vaderland*, 1846; *La Hollande et*
l'influence de Calvin, (1864), ועל הולנד המודרנית: *Le parti antirévolutionnaire et*
confessionnel dans l'église des Pays-Bas, 1860 וכן קודם כל ספרו של Fruin: *Tien Jaren*
uit den tachtigjarigen oorlog (1857), וביחוד: Naber, *Calvinist of Libertijns (1884)*; וכן,
על המאה התשע־עשרה W. J. F. Nuyens, *Geschiedenis van de kerkelijke en politieke*
geschillen in de Republiek der Vereenigde Provincien, Amsterdam 1886-1887; A.
Köhler, *Die niederländische reformierte Kirche (Erlangen 1856)*
על צרפת, מלבד G.V. Polenz: *Geschichte des französischen Calvinismus*, Gotha
1857-1869, עיין עתה Henry M. Baird: *History of the Rise of the Hugenots of France*,
New-York 1879
על אנגליה, מלבד David Masson, Th.B. Macaulay, Th. Carlyle ואחרון אחרון חשוב
Leopold v. Ranke, עיין עתה קודם כל חיבוריהם של Gardiner ו־Firth שיובאו להלן, וכן,
למשל: Taylor, *A Retrospect of the Religious Life in England* (1854) וספרו המצוין של
Hermann Weingarten: *Die Revolutionskirchen Englands*, Leipzig 1886. ומלבד זאת
מאמרו של טרילטש על המוֹרַליסטים האנגלים ב־*Realenzyklopädie für Prot. Theol. und*
Kirche מהדורה שלישית, וכן, כמובן, לאותו מחבר: *Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen*
und Gruppen. ומסתו המעולה של אדוארד ברנשטיין: "Kommunistische und
demokratisch-sozialistische Strömungen während der englischen Revolution des 17.
Jahrhunderts", *Geschichte des Sozialismus* (Stuttgart 1895), I, Vol, 2, p. 507 f.
[מהדורה שניה בשם *Sozialismus and Demokratie in der grossen Engl. Revolution*.
(Intern. Bibl., Vol. 44, Stuttgart 1908)]
הביבליוגרפיה הטובה ביותר (למעלה מ־7,000 מספרים) – אצל H.M. Dexter,
Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years, New-York, 1880 (מטפל
בעיקר – לא רק – בבעיות תקנות הכנסיה). ספר זה עולה בהרבה על Th. Price, *The History*
of the Protestant Nonconformity in England, London 1838; H. S. Skeats, *History of the*
Free Churches of England, 1688-1851, London 1891 ומחקרים אחרים.
על סקוטלנד השוה, למשל: Karl H. Sack, *Die Kirche von Schottland* (1844) והספרות
על ג׳ון נוקס.

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figure 10 ***A page from the Hebrew version of Max Weber's*** **Protestant Ethic.** ***Note the varieties of directions and punctuation.***

ביבליוגרפיה לועזית

רשימת הקיצורים של כתבי־העת

BA	Biblical Archeologist
BASOR	Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research
BBB. NS	Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa, (Girolamo Golubovich, edit.), Nuova Serie
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
PEFQ	Palestine Exploration Fund Quartely
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PJB	Palästina Jahrbuch
RB	Revue Biblique
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palastina Vereins

		קיצור השם בהערות
	Abel, F.M.: Le Littoral Palestinien et ses ports, *Revue Biblique*, Paris 1914, pp 556-590	אבל : החוף
	Abel, F.M.: *Geographie de la Palestine*, Paris 1967, II	אבל
	Abel, F.M.: *Histoire de la Palestine*, Paris 1952	אבל : היסטוריה
	Abir, Mordechai: Local Leadership and early Reforms in Palestine, 1800-1834, in *Studies on Palestine During the Ottoman Period*, (M.Ma'oz, edit.), Jerusalem 1975, pp 284-310	אביר : הנהגה מקומית
	Abulafia, David: Crocuses and Crusaders: San Gimignano, Pisa, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, in *Outremer* (Kedar, Mayer, Smail, editors), Jerusalem 1982, pp 227-243	אבולפיה
	Abu Shama: *Book of the two Gardens*, R.H.C.O.R, IV, V,	אבו שמא
	Aime, Vingtrimier: *Soliman Pacha* (Colonel Séve), Paris 1886	איים : סולימאן
(1851)	Aiton, John: *The Lands of the Messiah, Mahomet and the Pope, as visited in 1851*, London 1852	אייטון
(1807)	Ali Bey el Abbasi: *Voyages... en Afrique et en Asie Pendant les Années 1803-1807*, Paris 1814, 3 vols	עליביי
(1840)	Allioli, Dr. Franz: *Syrien im Jahre 1840*, Wien 1842	אליאולי
	Albright, W.F.: *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, Baltimore 1940	אלברייט : מתקופת האבן
	Albright, W.F.: *The Amarna Letters from Palestine, Syria and Phoenicia*, Cambridge 1966	אלברייט : מכתבי עמרנה
(1587)	Alcarotti, Giovanni Francesco: *Del Viaggio di Terra Santa*, Novara 1596	אלקרוטי
(1840)	Alderson, Lieut. Col. R.C.: Notes on Acre and some of the Coastal Defences of Syria, *Papers of the R.E. CP, VI*, 1843	אלדרסון
	Alesio, Fra Giambattista di S.: *Compedio Istorico dello Stati Antico e Moderno del Carmelo*, Torino 1780	אלסיו
	Alt, Albrecht: *Grundfragen der Geschichte Volkes Israel*, München 1970	אלט : שאלות יסוד
	Alt, Albrecht: Galilaische Probleme, *Palästina Jahrbuch* XXXIII, 1937, pp 52-88	אלט : בעיות גליליות
	Aly El Herewy, Aboul Hassan: *Description des Lieux Saints* (Charles Schefer, edit.) Gènes 1881	עלי חסן אל הראווי
	Amadi, Francesco: *Chroniques de Amadi et de Stramboldi* (Louis Mas Laetri, edit.), Paris 1891	אמאדי
	Ambroise: *L'Histoire de la Guerre Sainte*, (G. Paris, edit.), Paris 1897	אמברואז
	Amiran, D.H.: A Revised Earthquake Catalogue of Palestine, *IEJ* I, 4, Jerusalem 1950/1, pp 223-246	עמירן : רעשי אדמה
(1850)	Anderson, John: *Wanderings in the Land of Israel*, Glasgow 1853	אנדרסון
(1700)	Angeli, Bartolomeo: *Viaggio di Terra Santa*, Venezia 1738	אנג׳לי
(1395)	Anglure, Seigneur de: *Le Saint Voyage de Jhérusalem*, (Bonnardot et Lougnon, editors), Paris 1878	אנגליר
	Anonymus: *Book of Knwoledge by a Spanish Franciscan*, (Sir Clements Markham, edit.), Hakluyt Society, London 1912	אלמוני, פרנציסקאני ספרדי
	Anonymus: A certain Englishman, in Eugene Hoad: *Western Pilgrims*, Jerusalem 1970	אלמוני, אנגלי
(1427)	Anonymus 1427: Incipit Libellus Descriptionis Terrae Sanctae et peregrinationum ipsius, *Le Missioni Francescane in Palestina*, Firenze 1894, 1895	אלמוני, מ־1427

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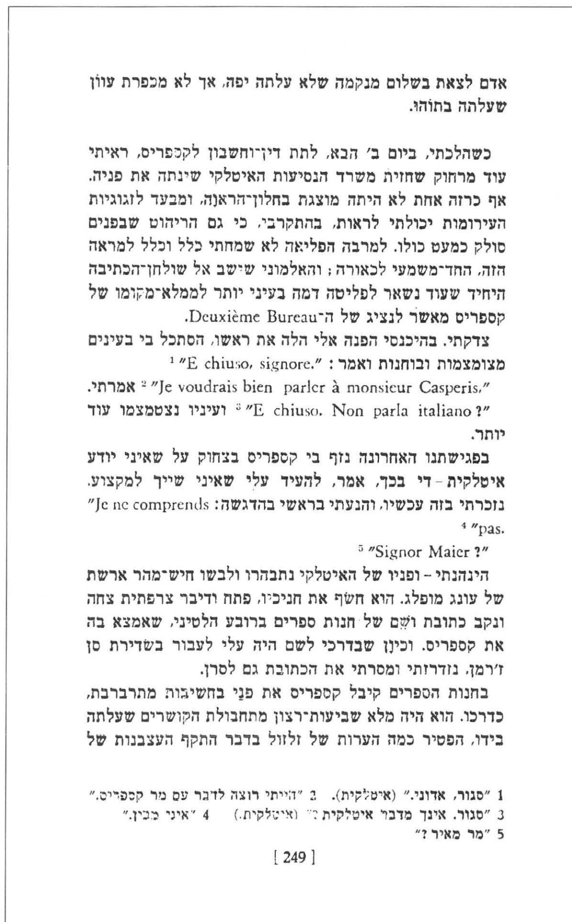
A page from a recent historical work with the foreign references given in full. The Hebrew "catchphrase" is to the right. *figure 11*

This is an extreme case, and there are other tactics to make life easier for the reader. Some authors designate the foreign text by a Hebrew catchword or abbreviation and this is used within the text as reference, with a full listing in the foreign bibliography (*figure 11*).

Alternatively, for less scholarly works with only occasional foreign words, the expression or word is often translated into Hebrew, with the original placed as a footnote at the bottom of the page, or alternatively the foreign phrase is glossed in Hebrew at the bottom of the page (*figure 12*).

Yet another instance of the effect of retrograde directionality is the mixture of Arabic numerals within a Hebrew text. All Arabic numerals are read from left to



אדם לצאת בשלום מנקמה שלא עלתה יפה, אך לא מכפרת עוון
שעלהה בתוהו.

כשהלכתי, ביום ב׳ הבא, לתת דין־וחשבון לקספריס, ראיתי
עוד מרחוק שחזית משרד הנסיעות האיטלקי שינתה את פניה.
אף כרזה אחת לא היתה מוצגת בחלון־הראוה, ומבעד לזגוגיות
העירומות יכולתי לראות, בהתקרבי, כי גם הריהוט שבפנים
סולק כמעט כולו. למרבה הפליאה לא שמחתי כלל וכלל למראה
הזה, החד־משמעי לכאורה ; והאלמוני שישב אל שולחן־הכתיבה
היחיד שעוד נשאר לפליטה דמה בעיני יותר לממלא־מקומו של
קספריס מאשר לנציג של ה־Deuxième Bureau.

צדקתי. בהיכנסי הפנה אלי הלה את ראשו, הסתכל בי בעינים
מצומצמות ובוחנות ואמר : "E chiuso, signore." [1]
"Je voudrais bien parler à monsieur Casperis." [2] אמרתי.
"E chiuso. Non parla italiano ?" [3] ועיניו נצטמצמו עוד
יותר.

בפגישתנו האחרונה נזף בי קספריס בצחוק על שאיני יודע
איטלקית - די בכך, אמר, להעיד עלי שאיני שייך למקצוע.
נזכרתי בזה עכשיו, והנעתי בראשי בהדגשה: "Je ne comprends
pas." [4]

"Signor Maier ?" [5]

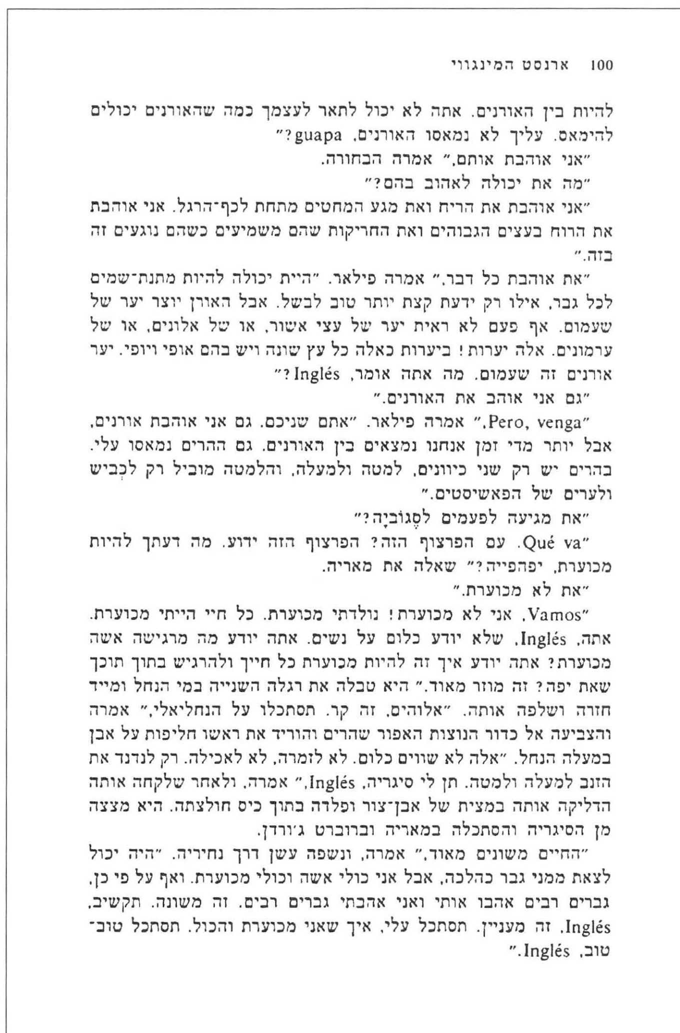
הינהנתי - ופניו של האיטלקי נתבהרו ולבשו חיש־מהר ארשת
של עונג מופלג. הוא חשף את חניכיו, פתח ודיבר צרפתית צחה
ונקב כתובת ושם של חנות ספרים ברובע הלטיני, שאמצא בה
את קספריס. וכיון שבדרכי לשם היה עלי לעבור בשדירת סן
ז׳רמן, נזדרזתי ומסרתי את הכתובת גם לסרן.

בחנות הספרים קיבל קספריס את פני בחשיבות מתרברבת,
כדרכו. הוא היה מלא שביעות־רצון מתחבולת הקושרים שעלתה
בידו, הפסיר כמה הערות של זלזול בדבר התקף העצבנות של

1 "סגור, אדוני." (איטלקית). 2 "הייתי רוצה לדבר עם מר קספריס."
3 "סגור. אינך מדבר איטלקית ?" (איטלקית.) 4 "איני מבין."
5 "מר מאיר ?"

[249]

figure 12 **An example of recent bilingual setting showing the "foreign" setting in lowercase and glossed in Hebrew at the bottom of the page.**



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להיות בין האורנים. אתה לא יכול לתאר לעצמך כמה שהאורנים יכולים להימאס. עליך לא נמאסו האורנים, guapa?”

”אני אוהבת אותם,” אמרה הבחורה.

”מה את יכולה לאהוב בהם?”

”אני אוהבת את הריח ואת מגע המחטים מתחת לכף־הרגל. אני אוהבת את הרוח בעצים הגבוהים ואת החריקות שהם משמיעים כשהם נוגעים זה בזה.”

”את אוהבת כל דבר,” אמרה פילאר. ”היית יכולה להיות מתנת־שמים לכל גבר, אילו רק ידעת קצת יותר טוב לבשל. אבל האורן יוצר יער של שעמום. אף פעם לא ראית יער של עצי אשור, או של אלונים, או של ערמונים. אלה יערות! ביערות כאלה כל עץ שונה ויש בהם אופי ויופי. יער אורנים זה שעמום. מה אתה אומר, Inglés?”

”גם אני אוהב את האורנים.”

”Pero, venga,” אמרה פילאר. ”אתם שניכם. גם אני אוהבת אורנים, אבל יותר מדי זמן אנחנו נמצאים בין האורנים. גם ההרים נמאסו עלי. בהרים יש רק שני כיוונים, למטה ולמעלה, והלמטה מוביל רק לכְביש ולערים של הפאשיסטים.”

”את מגיעה לפעמים לסֶגוֹבְיָה?”

”Qué va. עם הפרצוף הזה? הפרצוף הזה ידוע. מה דעתך להיות מכוערת, יפהפייה?” שאלה את מאריה.

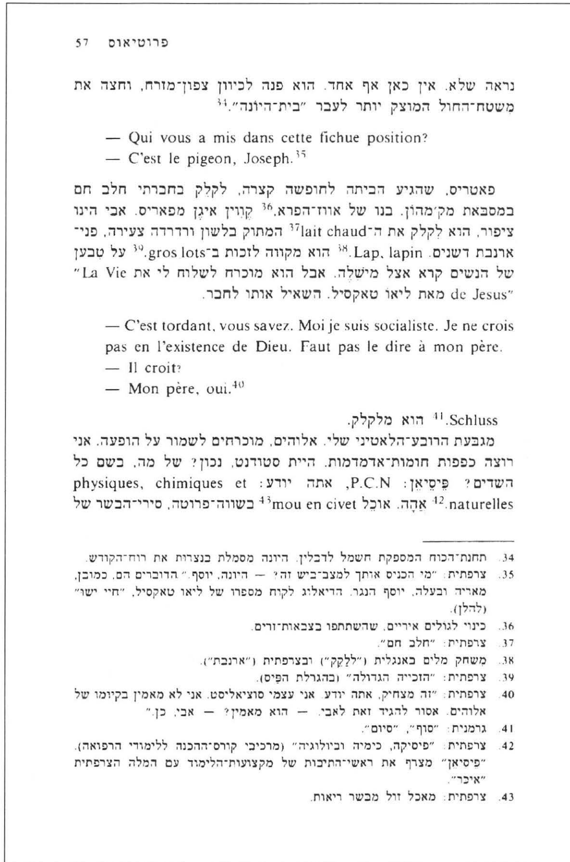
”את לא מכוערת.”

”Vamos, אני לא מכוערת! נולדתי מכוערת. כל חיי הייתי מכוערת. אתה, Inglés, שלא יודע כלום על נשים. אתה יודע מה מרגישה אשה מכוערת? אתה יודע איך זה להיות מכוערת כל חייך ולהרגיש בתוך תוכך שאת יפה? זה מוזר מאוד.” היא טבלה את רגלה השנייה במי הנחל ומייד חזרה ושלפה אותה. ”אלוהים, זה קר. תסתכלו על הנחליאלי,” אמרה והצביעה אל כדור הנוצות האפור שהרים והוריד את ראשו חליפות על אבן במעלה הנחל. ”אלה לא שווים כלום. לא לזמרה, לא לאכילה. רק לנדנד את הזנב למעלה ולמטה. תן לי סיגריה, Inglés,” אמרה, ולאחר שלקחה אותה הדליקה אותה במצית של אבן־צור ופלדה בתוך כיס חולצתה. היא מצצה מן הסיגריה והסתכלה במאריה וברוברט ג׳ורדן.

”החיים משונים מאוד,” אמרה, ונשפה עשן דרך נחיריה. ”היה יכול לצאת ממני גבר כהלכה, אבל אני כולי אשה וכולי מכוערת. ואף על פי כן, גברים רבים אהבו אותי ואני אהבתי גברים רבים. זה משונה. תקשיב, Inglés, זה מעניין. תסתכל עלי, איך שאני מכוערת והכול. תסתכל טוב־טוב, Inglés.”

A page from the Hebrew translation of* For Whom the Bell Tolls*, showing clearly the Spanish substratum of the text. *figure 13*

right, yet the problem of order arises when there are two consecutive numbers, such as 1920-1930 or 100-200. The Hebrew Academy of Language has decreed that the numbering should read from lower to higher, from right to left (1930-1920 or 200-100), as this follows more naturally the direction of speaking in Hebrew.[19] Yet the opposite is



57 פרוטיאוס

נראה שלא. אין כאן אף אחד. הוא פנה לכיוון צפון־מזרח, וחצה את משטח־החול המוצק יותר לעבר "בית־היונה".[34]

— Qui vous a mis dans cette fichue position?
— C'est le pigeon, Joseph.[35]

פאטריס, שהגיע הביתה לחופשה קצרה, לקלק בחברתי חלב חם במסבאת מק׳מהון. בנו של אווז־הפרא.[36] קווין איגן מפאריס. אבי הינו ציפור, הוא לקלק את ה־lait chaud[37] המתוק בלשון ורדרדה צעירה, פני־ארנבת דשנים. Lap, lapin.[38] הוא מקווה לזכות ב־gros lots.[39] על טבען של הנשים קרא אצל מישלה. אבל הוא מוכרח לשלוח לי את "La Vie de Jesus" מאת ליאו טאקסיל. השאיל אותו לחבר.

— C'est tordant, vous savez. Moi je suis socialiste. Je ne crois pas en l'existence de Dieu. Faut pas le dire à mon père.
— Il croit?
— Mon père, oui.[40]

Schluss.[41] הוא מלקלק.

מגבעת הרובע־הלאטיני שלי. אלוהים, מוכרחים לשמור על הופעה. אני רוצה כפפות חומות־אדמדמות. היית סטודנט, נכון? של מה, בשם כל השדים? פיסיאן: P.C.N, אתה יודע: physiques, chimiques et naturelles.[42] אהה. אוכל mou en civet[43] בשווה־פרוטה, סירי־הבשר של

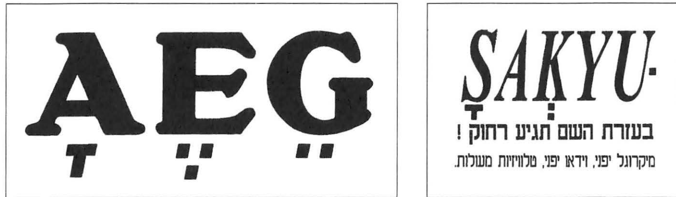
34. תחנת־הכוח המספקת חשמל לדבלין. היונה מסמלת בנצרות את רוח־הקודש.
35. צרפתית: "מי הכניס אותך למצב־ביש זה? — היונה, יוסף." הדוברים הם, כמובן, מאריה ובעלה, יוסף הנגר. הדיאלוג לקוח מספרו של ליאו טאקסיל, "חיי ישו" (להלן).
36. כינוי לגולים איריים, שהשתתפו בצבאות־זרים.
37. צרפתית: "חלב חם".
38. משחק מלים באנגלית ("ללקק") ובצרפתית ("ארנבת").
39. צרפתית: "הזכייה הגדולה" (בהגרלת הפיס).
40. צרפתית: "זה מצחיק, אתה יודע. אני עצמי סוציאליסט. אני לא מאמין בקיומו של אלוהים. אסור להגיד זאת לאבי. — הוא מאמין? — אבי, כן."
41. גרמנית: "סוף", "סיום".
42. צרפתית: "פיסיקה, כימיה וביולוגיה" (מרכיבי קורס־ההכנה ללימודי הרפואה). "פיסיאן" מצרף את ראשי־התיבות של מקצועות־הלימוד עם המלה הצרפתית "איכר".
43. צרפתית: מאכל זול מבשר ריאות.

figure 14 ***A page from a recent Hebrew translation of* Ulysses*, by James Joyce. Note the use of French and German in the original version with explanatory footnotes in Hebrew.***

very often followed, with great inconsistency and resulting confusion to the reader.

Gideon Toury, himself a translator, has written on the use of bilingual texts in Hebrew translations. He distinguishes two basic situations:

- The transfer of the foreign element to the target translation, either in its original form or in transliterated form;
- The translation of the foreign element into the target language.[20]



From a recent advertisement in a Hebrew newspaper. The vowel points supplement the Latin letters "AEG" and give the Hebrew reader the correct pronunciation. Also the same idea used for a Japanese name transliterated into Hebrew with vowel points.

figure 15

He writes that "these elements may often be omitted altogether from the target translation." Such situations might depend on the

> *scope of the foreign elements: the longer they are, the stronger the tendency to transfer them into the target translation (e.g., Hebrew).*

Foreign phrases from rare, exotic languages, he adds, tend to be translated into Hebrew, whereas European languages are divided into two groups. So-called "privileged" languages such as English, French or German tend to be transferred in their original form, whereas "discriminated" (less privileged) languages such as Portuguese, Spanish or Dutch might be either transferred or translated. Additionally, there is the degree to which "their foreignness is emphasized in the original text."[21] The more it is emphasized in the original, the more the tendency to retain the foreign word in the Hebrew. A good example of this is Toury's translation of Hemingway's ***For Whom the Bell Tolls,*** in which he retains a Spanish substratum as an element of the text (*figure 13*). A more recent example is the Hebrew translation of Joyce's ***Ulysses,*** in which many foreign words and expressions have necessarily been used in order to retain the various layers of meaning and punning inherent in the Joycean original (*figure 14*). More often than not the foreign word is retained for reasons of

impact or effect, as was the recent case when the American Secretary of State was rumored to have said "F**k Israel." The words in English were printed together with the Hebrew text in a headline in a daily newspaper. There also appears to be a tendency to mix Latin and Hebrew systems in order to clarify pronunciation of difficult names, as in the two examples of AEG (a German electrical manufacturer) and Sakyu (a Japanese firm). The Hebrew vowel points have been added below the Latin letters (*figure 15*).

stubble 768

2 ***stub something (out)*** to put out a cigarette etc by pressing it against something hard: *stub out a cigar.* לכבות (במעיכה)
stubble *nu* short pieces of something stiff, e.g. wheat, a beard. שלף; זיפי זקן
stub·born *adj* **1** (usually *derogatory*) (of a person) having a strong, determined will: *as stubborn as a mule* (= very stubborn) עקשן
2 difficult to deal with: *a stubborn disease; stubborn soil.* עקשני
stub·born·ly *adv* בעקשנות
stub·born·ness *nu* עקשנות
stub·by *adj* (**stubbier, stubbiest**) short and thick: *stubby fingers.* קצר ועבה
stuck *past tense, past participle* of stick².
stuck-up *adj* (*informal; derogatory*) conceited; too proud. יהיר; סנוב
stud¹ *nc* a number of horses kept by one owner for a special purpose (especially for breeding or racing). סוסי הרבעה
'**stud-farm** *nc* a place where horses are bred. חוות סוסי־הרבעה
stud² *nc* **1** a small device (two pieces joined together) put through holes in a shirt etc to fasten a collar (*collar-stud*) etc. כפתור
2 a device used on roads to separate lanes (and reflecting light from headlamps at night). מסמר זוהר (בכביש)
stud³ *vt* (**studded**) (usually *past participle*) to have (something) set in or scattered on the surface: *a crown studded with jewels; a sea studded with islands.* לשבץ; (משובץ; זרוע)
stu·dent *nc* a person who is studying or training: *medical students; foreign students studying English in London.* סטודנט; תלמיד
stu·dio *nc* (*plural* **studios**) **1** a workroom of a painter, sculptor, photographer etc. סטודיו
2 a place where films are made. אולפן
3 a room from which radio or TV programmes are broadcast or in which recordings are made. אולפן
stu·dio couch *nc* a couch that can be used as a bed. ספה־מיטה
stu·di·ous *adj* **1** (*formal*) enjoying and wanting to study. שקדן
2 (*formal*) very careful: *with studious politeness.* מדוקדק; מכוון
stu·di·ous·ly *adv* בשקדנות; בהקפדה; במכוון
study¹ *n* (*plural* **studies**) **1** *nu* the act of studying: *be fond of study.* לימוד; חקר
2 *nc* a room used for studying. חדר־עבודה
3 *nc* (often *plural*) work related to a particular subject or topic: *social studies.* לימודים; מדעים

4 *vt* to read and (try to) remembe
study one's part for a play.
stuff¹ *nu* **1** (*informal*) material of whi
made or which may be used for some
stuff will you use to fill the cushions?
2 (*figurative*) type: *He is not the s*
made of.
3 (*informal*) a substance or collectio
leave my stuff? (= my personal things
this stuff beer?
4 (*slang*) ***do one's stuff*** to show what
of. יודע
know one's stuff to be expert in wha
know. תו
stuff² *vt* **1** to fill (something) v
substance) into, something: *stuff feat*
stuff oneself with food; a head stuffed
2 to put chopped up and specially
into (a chicken etc) before cooking i
3 to fill the body of (a dead animal) w
give it the original shape: *a stuffed b*
stuff·ing *nu* (**a**) material used for stu
(**b**) food used for stuffing chickens et
stuf·fy *adj* (**stuffier, stuffiest**) **1** (o
having fresh air. ורך
2 (*informal; derogatory*) (of a
shocked or offended; too formal.
מדי
3 (*derogatory*) (of language etc) d
stuffy book.
stuff·ily *adv* ת; בהקפדה יתירה
stuffi·ness *nu* מופרזת; שמרנות
stul·ti·fy *vt* (*past tense, past partici*
(*formal*) to make (effort etc) useless
to reach agreement. ל; לנוון
stumble¹ *nc* an act or instance of st
stumble² *vi* **1** to hit the foot against
(almost) fall: *stumble over the root*
child stumbled and fell.
stumble across/on something (*figu*
something by accident. ב׳
2 to speak with pauses and mistakes
over his words.
'**stumbling-block** *nc* something
difficulties or prevents progress.
stump¹ *nc* **1** a part of a tree remainin
when the trunk has fallen or has bee

figure 16 ***A page section from a recent English/English/ Hebrew semi-bilingual learners' dictionary. The Hebrew gloss is intended to supplement the English definition and examples.***

The mixture of Hebrew and foreign words is most evident in bilingual and multilingual dictionaries or glossaries. Here, there are no special features, except for the obvious problem of directionality. A recent innovation in dictionary design was the use of a Hebrew gloss to supplement a basic English monolingual learners' dictionary (*figure 16*). The idea was to make the Hebrew less attractive than the English explanations and examples, but I understand that most Israeli users skip this part and use the dictionary as a straightforward bilingual dictionary.

"Invisible" Bilingual Texts

The discussion thus far has dealt with more or less visible examples of the bilingual text in Hebrew. The tendency of the early Zionist leaders was to create a pure form of spoken Hebrew, in which one would have no need for recourse to borrowed foreign words. The virtual impossibility of this goal is shown by the statement of the Hebrew writer and Zionist leader Yehoshua Sirkin, who complained in 1918 that "our language is being desecrated with foreign expressions."[22] Sirkin attacked in particular such importations as *offitziali* ("official"), *ortografia* ("orthography") and *illustrazia* ("illustration"), which have long since been supplanted by words based on Hebrew roots. The early linguistic pioneer Ben-Yehuda went so far as to exclude all foreign words from his dictionary and writings—even those Greek and Latin words which are employed to a considerable extent in Talmudic literature.[23]

The tendency appears to be for foreign words to be used more or less in their original form, and then gradually adapted or altered into a Hebrew form. An example of this is the typographic term for "indent" in typesetting. Due to the influence of German printing technology, the German term *Absatz* is often used today, but the Hebrew terms *Muchnass* or *Kenisia* (both from the root KNS meaning to

enter) are gaining ground. Similar terms can be found in many areas of professional life. A rather peculiar example current in popular speech is the expression "*Ze lo fair!*" (meaning "that isn't fair or right!"). Another writer notes that an increase in the influence of foreign languages on Hebrew is to be expected,

> *especially that of English because of close ties with American culture. The influence will manifest itself not*

three years. Near many residential centers, we have seen a mushrooming of carpentry service shops, lumber sales sheds, and saw mills. It is now no problem to find a carpenter to cut you shelves or work surfaces from colored faced plywood – a joy to all amateur carpenters.

This was a wonder house of masonite, chip board, thick and thin plywood, and all types of fittings. If you wanted to make a cupboard with shelves, you would make a drawing, go there, and return home with cut lumber and everything necessary to keep the family busy – an adventure from which you emerged with an original piece of furniture, exactly meeting your needs, and styled to your taste. And much cheaper than getting a carpenter to make it. But the main thing was the satisfaction of doing it yourself.

Is there any chemistry left between the Israeli government and the Bush administration?

I can't tell you whether there is any chemistry left, how much there was originally, how much there is now. When it comes to human relations you have to look at both sides. I can tell that the Israeli side is more than eager to achieve good relations with the US president and administration; and the prime minister keeps on declaring it. Now, if the Americans don't want it – it can't be. Whether they want it, I don't know. Maybe they are pursuing a policy rather than a position to undo chemistry.

figure 17

Various recent examples of Hebrew-influenced English taken from* The Jerusalem Post *newspaper.

only in the borrowing of words, but also in the borrowing of meanings and an imitation of the linear method of word formation.[24]

This is confirmed by the view of a respected Israeli Academic, Zvi Yavetz, who recently complained on television that one no longer heard proper Hebrew spoken by younger academics, only highly anglicized Hebrew or English-influenced professional jargon.[25] Invisible bilingual texts will undoubtedly continue to be found—for the non-Hebrew reader that is. Officially the *Akademia le Lashon Ha'Ivrit* (The Academy of Hebrew Language) exists to set out the rules and invent new words, but the pressure from the street will probably prove greater and, in the end, irresistible. This may well mirror the situation in other countries—e.g., France—where similar official bodies exist for the control and development of language.

One interesting aspect of these invisible bilingual texts is the influence of Hebrew syntax and vocabulary on native English speakers exposed to Hebrew speech patterns. It might be posited that the more different the second language, the less it impinges on the primary or mother tongue. Yet this does not seem to be the case in regard to Hebrew. It should be emphasized that these examples of lexical or syntactic interference are often perfectly correct English. Yet nevertheless they seem overly verbose, contorted in meaning or simply poorly written. This phenomenon has been investigated by Miriam Schlesinger, and she groups these interferences under three categories[26] (*figure 17*).

In the first category of lexical interferences, one sees examples of excess verbiage resulting from the literal translation of a Hebrew phrase. A random example from the English section of the Tel Aviv telephone directory is "the *Na'amat* Working and Volunteer Women's Movement," an anglicized form of *N'amat Tnu'at Nashim Ovdot veMitnadvot.*" This is perfectly good

figure 18 ***A recent advertisement from an Israeli newspaper. The word "Art Director" has the added Hebrew feminine ending "-it" to make it clear that applications from either sex are sought.***

Hebrew (which often has a ruthless linearity to its syntax), but it lacks the suppleness of English. The word "movement" is misused here. A better equivalent would be "The N'amat Association for Working Women." Here it ought to be emphasized that there are many Hebrew words for which there is no easy English equivalent. The omnipresent *Histadrut* (meaning literally "organization"), can be translated as the General Labor Federation, or the equally large *Hevrat Ovdim* (meaning Worker's society or company) might be metamorphosed as Worker's co-operative society. As a final example, one often sees the initials "MK" in the English-language *Jerusalem Post.* The meaning is Member of Knesset (Parliament), whereas the more usual English form would be "MP."

Another type of lexical interference arises from the use of false cognates. The words *sympati*, *aktuali*, *tremp*, *punstcher*, *pikkanti*, *large*, *basis* and *chemia* have quite different meanings in contemporary Hebrew. *Punstcher,* for instance, means "a cock-up" or "muddle," and is derived from the English word puncture, whereas the word *large* means expansive or generous in Hebrew. Many native-English speakers use these and other terms in the Hebrew sense within their English speech. An interesting contemporary example of this transposition is an adver-

tisement from a classified column in a Hebrew language newspaper, in which the Hebrew feminine suffix "*-it*" has been added to the English word (*figure 18*).

More directly, many Anglophones will interlard their speech—no doubt quite unconsciously—with such pure Hebrew expressions as *beseder* ("okay"), *yafeh* ("nice"), *nachon* ("correct") or *dafka* ("exactly"). Additionally, there are many buzzwords which Hebrew tends to overuse and would not be used as frequently in English, such as "phenomena," "framework," or "focus." These words function in Hebrew as a means of grouping together similar philosophic ideas or goals, but they are not commonly so used in English. A final instance of lexical interference is the use of catch-all words which imitate Hebrew usage, but misuse the colloquial English meaning. A good instance of this is the word "veteran," which is used as a direct translation of the Hebrew word *vatik*, meaning loosely "old-timer" or "experienced." The following phrase from a recent historical work is a good example: "They did not belong to the veteran Zadokite family. . ." Possibly the phonetic similarity of *vatik* and "veteran" encourages the replacement of the words.

It is often difficult to detect these lexical interferences due to style and the distinct differences between spoken and written speech.[27] It is well documented that written language tends to use longer words and, in the case of English, often Latin as opposed to Anglo-Saxon words. Jack Goody states that the written register tends to

> *preferential usage of elaborate syntactical and semantic structures, especially nominal constructions (noun groups, noun phrases, nominalizations, relative clauses, etc.) and complex verb structures.*[28]

Thus what is often lexical interference of Hebrew lexical or syntactical structures may be masked by these and other features of written language. This is especially true in professional literature, where a specialist jargon is often used.

Other areas of interference can be seen on the syntactical level. A common Hebrew sentence construction, often translated into English, begins with an adverbial clause, followed by the actual verb and finally the object—as in the following example, which also has elements of lexical interference:

During the economic hard times of World War One, the partnership between the urban and rural workers led to the establishment of Hamashbir*—a co-operative organization supplying food to its members without profiteering by middlemen.*

While the quote is in acceptable English, it appears wooden and unnatural—a sure sign of Hebrew lexical and syntactical interference.

Miriam Schlesinger also points out at least five other types of common invisible interference:

- The excessive use of descriptive metaphors such as "to bear fruit," "to gnaw" or "to erode," or their nominal derivatives. One ought to add here that Hebrew was in earlier forms a highly collocative language, meaning that it used a large number of mainly Biblical expressions or descriptive elements. This had its roots in classical Hebrew with its paucity of adjectives and adverbs, so that metaphors and expressions came to be used instead. This aspect appears to be changing with the growth of new words. Gideon Toury notes that

no wonder that Hebrew translation made abundant use of such phrases just as in any other written employment of the Hebrew language.[29]

- The overuse of nouns, whereas the normal English use would be a verbal clause. The following extract is an example. Note also the use of metaphors such as in "gnawing."

Evil spirits are rampant in our society, splitting the people and gnawing at Jewish and human values. That "market place of opinions," which is the mark of democracy, has become an arena of senseless hatred: instead of serious discussion and listening to each other.

• The excessive use of prepositional phrases, which are often direct translations of the Hebrew "Smichut" contraction construction. A common example of this use in Hebrew is the word for school which means literally "house (of the) book," (*Beit Sefer*), but in which "of the" has been dropped. The following sentence shows the effect of such structures.

The determination of the fact of the establishment of the State had the effect of clarifying that the new state would regard itself as being entitled to require everybody or person to obey the regulations of its instructions.

• Excessive use of quotations marks and hyphenated words, which results from the lack of caps and italics in Hebrew.

• The overuse of adverbial phrases ("in a. . . way"), since Hebrew is lacking in adverbs and adjectives. As an example, the single English word *imperfectly*, comes out in Hebrew as *be-ofen lo-mushlam,* (literally, "in a manner not finished"), or *alphabetically* would be *al-pi ha'alefbet* (literally, "according to the alphabet").

What is interesting in all these examples of lexical and syntactic interference is the degree to which the patterns of one language influence another. The fact that we find elements of foreign text in Hebrew does not tell us a great deal about the actual state of bilinguality of any given population, since the reasons for mixture of languages can be quite complex. Yet it is beyond question that there is a long tradition of bilingualism in Jewish life. William Chomsky

described the historical supremacy of Hebrew thought patterns in the Jewish diaspora, and thus the lexical interferences I have discussed might well be a continuation of a long tradition. According to Chomsky:

One can readily quote a host of expressions and idioms which, though composed of words in the vernacular, encase, in fact, Hebraic thought patterns. It would seem that, as long as the Jews were rooted in their traditional patterns of life, they were sensitive to the inadequacy of the vernacular in expressing and conveying the emotionally-charged meaning of certain Hebrew words. They therefore persisted either in retaining the original words and expressions, or in investing the Hebrew mental pattern or idiom with the garb of the vernacular.[30]

A confirmation of this observation can be found in Irving Howe's history of the late nineteenth-century Jewish immigration to the United States. He writes:

At least since the Diaspora, the Jews have been multilingual, as price or reward of **galut** *(exile), reflecting their uncomfortable condition through the simultaneous use and then merging of alien and native languages. Even more significant is what Max Weinreich has called "internal bilingualism"... the development in the Ashkenazic Jewish community of two living languages, one that was immediate (Yiddish) and the second mediated (Hebrew).*[31]

In a further discussion of the American Jewish novelists, Howe emphasizes the effect of Yiddish on many contemporary writers, which has a curious parallel to the effect of contemporary Hebrew on English speakers. In relation to Saul Bellow's work, he writes:

Bellow's style draws upon Yiddish, not so much through borrowed diction as through underlying intonation and rhythm. The jabbing interchange of ironies, the intimate vulgarities, the blend of sardonic and senti-

mental which characterizes Yiddish speech, all are lassoed into Bellow's English: so that what emerges is not an exploitation of folk memory but a vibrant linguistic transmutation.[32]

As a further demonstration of this tendency, it is interesting to note Hana Wirth-Nesher's afterword to ***Call it Sleep*** by Philip Roth. She maintains that:

As early as 1918, the Yiddish literary critic Baal Makhsoves argued that the mark of Jewish literature is its bilingualism. Although he was taking this position within the cultural context of the Czernowitz conference and the antagonism between Hebrew and Yiddish, he made claims for the status of Jewish literature from biblical times to the present. In every text that is part of the Jewish tradition, Baal Makhshoves wrote, there existed explicitly or implicitly another language, whether it be Chaldean in the Book of Daniel, Aramaic in the Pentateuch and the prayer book, Arabic in medieval Jewish philosophical writings, and, in his own day, Yiddish.[33]

Thus it seems fairly clear that invisible bilingualism in the text is not a new phenomenon in contemporary Hebrew, but has quite a long precedent in Jewish culture. The interesting question is the degree to which the rise of modern Hebrew has changed this picture.

In spite of a fairly monolingual society today, it can be said that the general Israeli population—be it Jewish, Muslim or Christian—receives a healthy exposure to other languages and writing systems. As an example, one may note the bilingual road and traffic signs in Hebrew and English; checkbooks and banking documents again in Hebrew and English; coinage, postage, pharmaceutical and food labelling in two if not more languages. The official language policy is bilingual (Hebrew and Arabic), but in practice Hebrew and English dominate.

威尼斯式夜晚音樂活動

市民有疑問可電話洽詢

【本報芝加哥訊】芝加哥市長戴利表示，在八月十日的晚上開始，請大家到格蘭公園（Grant Park）參加慶祝「威尼斯式的夜晚」活動，當日從八時到九時三十分安排幾十艘船在密西根湖中表演。

戴利說，這個活動主要是慶祝密西根湖為芝加哥所帶來的利益，他希望大家都能在當晚參加可愛的夏日晚間的活動。

這個一九九〇年「威尼斯式的夜晚」（Sky Night /Ventian Night），贊助單位有聯美航空公司，AT&T電話公司，百事可樂公司，WGN-AM Radio公司及芝加哥捷運局。

在八月十一日星期六的晚上八點，在格蘭公園中也有許多活動，活動的名稱是「夜晚天空上的月亮與星星」（The Night, The Moon, The Stars and The Sky），這是一個以音樂為主的活動，有許多名歌唱家，其中包括有John Williams的星際大戰（Star Wars）的音樂。

如有市民對這個活動有疑問者，可打電話詢問（三一二）七四四三三七〇。

figure 19a

Example of bilingual texts taken from recent Japanese (figure 19b) and Chinese (figure 19a) newspapers. Note that the text is read vertically from left to right and the "foreign" texts are turned 90 degrees.

Blocking out the foreign text

From my experience in publishing in Israel, I would argue that many highly-literate Hebrew speakers—with extensive exposure to Western literature and culture—are often totally oblivious to basic errors in foreign texts. How can one explain this? One possibility is a mental switching mechanism which blocks out the foreign text. The same mechanism may be at work when, as a native English speaker, I block out the Hebrew part of a text or road sign. Various researchers have noted the existence of such switching mechanisms which "automatically shut out one

アメリ缶体験報告

海外旅行でこんなに通じました!!

「サンフランシスコでお店に入って、Do you give discounts? とやったら、11ドルのライターが9ドルに」(千葉県・学生)

「入国審査の順番を待つ間これまではドキドキしていたのに、アメリ缶をやってからはのんびり……ずいぶん自信がつきました」(大阪府・会社員)

「カイロへ向かう飛行機の中で、隣の人が寒がっていたので May I have a blanket? …スチュワーデスさんとすっかり仲よしに」(千葉県・OL)

「ハワイのカウアイ島は日本語が通じにくいところ。そこで、アメリ缶でおぼえた通りにレストランの予約をしたら大成功でした」(岐阜県・会社員)

「スペインでも英語で十分用が足せるのでビックリ。ロエベでは気に入ったバッグを選ぶことができました」(大分県・公務員)

「アメリカへの留学3カ月前に始めましたが、いざ行ってみると会話もスムーズにいき効果は抜群。わずか3カ月の練習がこんなに有効とは思いませんでした」(在セントルイス・医師)

「NYでアメリカ人のお宅に招待されるチャンスがありましたが、アメリ缶のおかげで安心して挨拶でき、おしゃべりを楽しむことができました」(宮城県・主婦)

figure 19b

linguistic system, when the other is in operation."[34] The question here is whether this mechanism functions differently in perfectly balanced bilinguals as opposed to monolinguals who have only a slight knowledge of other languages.

The notorious idiosyncracies and difficulties of English spelling may explain this phenomenon to some extent. I cannot help but feel, however, that the different writing system of Hebrew and the different cognitive constraints imposed by a partially non-vowelled language have their effect on Hebrew speakers. The interplay between the spoken and written layers of language is

perhaps more dynamic than we might think. Similar questions might be asked of Chinese speakers, who not only have to learn some one thousand different characters in order to read basic texts, but also have to contend with a vertical direction (*figures 19a* and *19b*). It is clear that the human brain can cope reasonably efficiently with situations in which severe constraints to legibility and readability are imposed.[35]

Various theories have been offered to explain the cognitive structure of bilinguals or multilinguals. Paddilla and Liebman (1975) maintain that the differentiation between the two systems is established at very early age and that the bilingual child is able to keep the two phonological systems apart as these develop.[36] Vaid and Lambert (1979) also posit a "different cerebral organization for each of the bilingual's languages"[37] and they suggest that "the anatomical bases for the two languages only partially overlap."[38] Ben Ze'ev, who studied Hebrew bilinguals specifically (1977), states that

it would seem that the bilingual child develops a strategy for analyzing the linguistic input which enables him to overcome the potential interference arising from a bilingual environment.[39]

George Steiner proposes a very graphic image of the bilingual brain, which is worth quoting in full:

If, on the other hand, my three languages (French, English and German) are equally native and primary, what manifold space contains their co-existence?. . . A vertical structure suggests an alignment of strata throughout. . . Does one imagine them as a continuum on some kind of Moebius strip, intersecting itself yet preserving the integrity and distinctive mappings of its surface? Or ought one, rather, to picture the dynamic foldings and interpenetrations of geological strata in terrain that has evolved under multiple stress? Do the languages I speak, after they

diverge to separate identity from a common centre and upward thrust, combine and recombine in an interleaved set, each idiom being, as it were, in horizontal contact with the others, yet remaining itself continuous and unbroken?[40]

The research conducted to date on bilaterality in Hebrew and English speakers does not appear to indicate a major difference in brain structure. Barton, Goodglass and Shai (1965) concluded that

significantly more Hebrew words, as well as English words, are correctly perceived when they appear in the right rather than the left visual field,[41]

thus supporting the left hemisphere theory of language dominance. Orbach (1967) examined both male and female, and left and right-handed speakers in tests of differential recognition of both Hebrew and English words.[42] He concluded that

the effect of directional scanning is shown by the difference between English and Hebrew words in differential recognition. All subjects, male and female, right and left handed, identified English words significantly better on the right side of fixation. For Hebrew words, the recognition differential was far less marked and, for some groups, was even in the opposite direction favoring words on the left side of fixation.

He also remarked that

. . . the Hebrew does get a certain amount of practice in reading from left to right and that Arabic numerals are used (in place of the left reading Hebrew "numerals").

Children in Israel are taught to work exclusively with Arabic numerals in all mathematical subjects, and as previously mentioned, numbers and dates are read in a left to right orientation. Music, as well, is read from left to right,

figure 20 ***An example of a page of sheet music. The Hebrew has been broken up and reads left to right to follow the line of music.***

while the Hebrew words are reversed in direction in order to make them compatible with the score (*figure 20*). These observations suggest that the right visual field hemisphere gets a considerable amount of training in Hebrew-reading children, even while left-retinal development is proceeding.

This evidence is confirmed by Josef Shimron who states that

the psychological and cognitive processes involved in reading Hebrew in principle are not different to the processes involved in other languages or at least in different writing systems.[43]

Hamers and Blanc in their recent work on bilingualism also express the view that

differences in modes of writing must affect semantic organization, as for example the difference between a phonetic and an ideographic script, in order for these differences to impinge on brain functioning. More surface differences, like the opposite directionality of two phonetic scripts, do not seem to lead to different processing strategies.[44]

What conclusion can one draw from all these observations? It is clear that lexical and syntatic interference does exist in both directions—from English to Hebrew and vice versa. Are these interferences due to a different writing system and different laterality or to a different cognitive structure? I do not have information at hand to say whether similar interferences exist to equal degrees in other cases of language contact. It would be worth analyzing the writings of Kafka from this point of view. Kakfa wrote exclusively in German yet lived most of his life in the mainly Czech-speaking environment of Prague, and spoke and wrote Czech almost fluently.[45] Might it be possible to detect Czech lexical and syntactical elements in his German? George Steiner has argued that

Kakfa wrote German as if it were all bone, as if none of the enveloping texture of colloquialism, of historical and regional overtone, had been allowed him.

and there may well be a case for arguing a kind of "internal bilingualism" in Kafka's case.

I feel that there is some unique element at work in the case of Hebrew. It is a profitable area for investigation

into the nature of bilingual texts, given the distinctive characteristics of the spoken language and the writing system. The transition from the rich historical tradition of Jewish bilingualism to the present dominant Israeli monolingualism is in itself a phenomenon worth exploring. Needless to say, the interaction of several languages in the relatively small geographical area of Israel and the need to link up with the world "global village" will continue to stretch the constraints of a revived classical language in light of the requirements of a modern, technological society.

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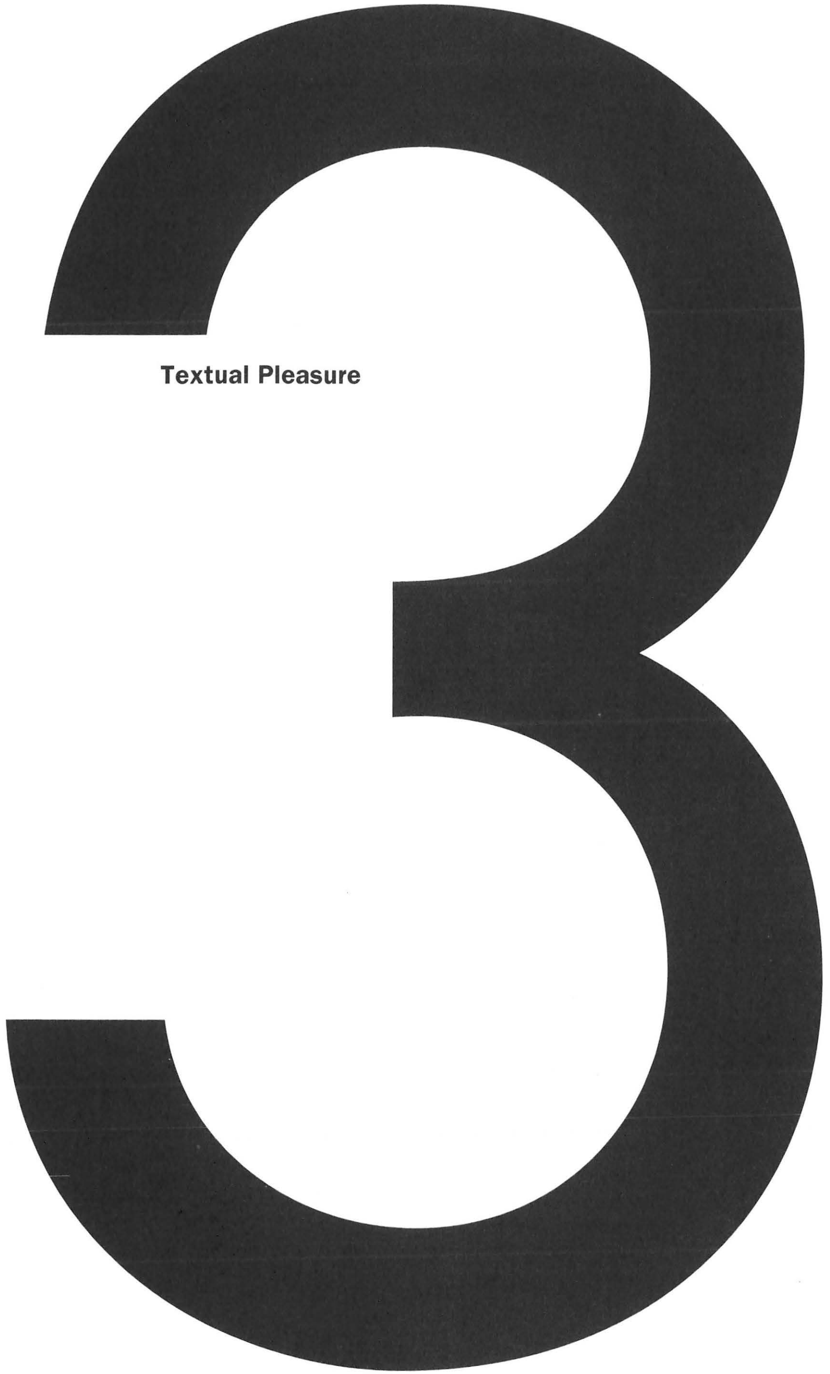

3

Textual Pleasure

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Mono versus Stereo:

Bilingualism's Double Face

Although literary scholars have started to acknowledge the dynamic character of literary language, little progress has been made in the field of its actual study since the heyday of stylistics. This paper offers an application of one major exception to this rule: Mikhaïl Bakhtin's heteroglossia model, which tried to describe literature from a more diversified point of view. The analysis of two examples shows nevertheless that Bakhtin unilaterally celebrates the "stereo" qualities of language blending, and leaves no room for "mono" texts, which use polyglot devices as borders much more than as bridges between cultures.

. . . the convergence of the voices (of the codes) becomes writing, *a stereographic space. . .*

Barthes[1]

When Roland Barthes suggested in *S/Z* that the literary work was a stereographic space, a quasi-musical partition of codes, he put forward an idea that would prove extremely successful among students of literature, for it has almost become a commonplace to assert that literary language has not one but many different, hierarchically ordered layers. Of course there remains a lack of consensus about the ways in which issues like stylistic variation or multilingualism are to be addressed. Indeed, scholars focusing on the form of literary language on the one hand and those who are more concerned with its function on the other hand are barely on speaking terms.

During the first half of this century, European schools of stylistic and rhetorical analysis considered the language of a work of art—and even the language of an author—as an organic whole that could serve as a yardstick for the interpretation of such "deviations" as language blending or word borrowing.[2] In the mid-1930s, however, a Russian scholar by the name of Mikhaïl Bakhtin thought that a more diversified view of literature could grant precious insights into the actual functioning of literary language. For unfortunate political reasons, his research on Rabelais, Dostoyevsky and language in general only recently found its way to Western readers. But the discovery of his writings has prompted a number of studies that endeavor to unlace the straight jacket of unifying structuralism. Crucial to this critique is the idea of diversity or, in Bakhtin's terms, *heteroglossia* (from ancient Greek *hetero* "other, different" and *glossa,* "tongue, language").

Authorial speech, the speeches of narrators, inserted genres, the speech of characters are merely those fundamental compositional unities with whose help heteroglos-

> *sia* [raznorečie] *can enter the novel; each of them permits a multiplicity of social voices and a wide variety of their links and interrelationships. . .*[3]

Taken at face value, Bakhtin's thesis seems feasible for the study of multilingualism, especially since he claims its validity for fiction at large. In these pages, however, I shall argue that it actually hampers the development of a broadly based poetics of bilingualism.

Literary and Textual Bilingualism

Within the framework of such a poetics, bilingualism is to be understood in a specific sense. Leonard Forster rightly states on the first page of ***The Poet's Tongues***: "I shall be dealing with polyglot poets and the poetry they write, which is not necessarily polyglot."[4] There is indeed an appreciable difference between a writer who creates separate works each in a different language and one who uses the stylistic resources of foreign speech in his predominantly monolingual texts. A *bilingual author* has an audience in every single one of the languages in which he chooses to write. The examples of Fernando Arrabal, Samuel Beckett and Vladimir Nabokov spring to mind here. *A text,* however, can only be bilingual if it makes a *relevant use* of other languages. In order to clarify this point, I shall refer briefly to Paul Grice's "logic of conversation." Starting from the idea that conversations are "cooperative efforts" and often take a mutually accepted direction, the logician formulates a rule for their participants:

> *Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.*[5]

More precisely, each contribution should respect the Kantian maxims of Quantity (information), Quality (truth), Relation (relevance) and Manner (clarity). The same can be said for the act of reading, which is a sort of conversation between a reader and a text. Consequently, not only a work which uses a single code (i.e., a formal system of communication) will be monolingual but also a text which refuses to convey its message(s) in more than one tongue. The juxtaposition of equivalent versions (as in a so-called "bilingual" dictionary, for instance) violates Grice's maxims of Quantity (it provides too much information) and of Relation (it lacks relevance).

Broadly speaking, the author who wants to suggest bilingualism without exceeding the monolingual competence of his audience, has three poetic devices at his disposal: allusion, translation and commentary. I shall speak of an allusion when the language of the narrated "story" (i.e., what really happened) does not reach the more explicit level of the literary "discourse" (i.e., the text we read).[6] The following exchange from Joyce's ***Ulysses*** illustrates the technique:

> *Is it French you are talking, sir?* the old woman said to Haines. Haines spoke to her again a longer speech, confidently. *Irish,* Buck Mulligan said. *Is there Gaelic on you? I thought it was Irish,* she said, *by the sound of it.*[7]

There is obviously no need for the reader to have any knowledge of Gaelic, which is completely lost in the process of representation. But the writer can also opt for a more direct confrontation with the peculiarities of foreign speech while still communicating with his readers in the code that they share. When Sir Walter Scott published ***Waverley*** (1814), Latin was a must for the educated and the socially advantaged, so he could easily let one of his characters quote a Roman historian when requested to give his opinion on the outcome of the Jacobite uprising:

Why, you know, Tacitus saith "In rebus bellicis maxime dominatur Fortuna," *which is equiponderate with our own vernacular adage, "Luck can maist in the mellee."*[8]

The novelist manages to propose a translation without putting a didactic burden on his text, which leaves a wide margin of freedom open to the reader, who can either skip or read the Latin quote. Still, because of the double standard it maintains, such a *translation* within the body of a text is not authentically bilingual since it does not call upon any polyglot competence. The aim of a translation, indeed, is not so much to complete the original as to replace it in the reader's mind, for the most successful translation is the one that will not be recognized as such. A third stylistic device, which I label *commentary,* comes closer to true bilingualism: The text does not just elucidate the referential meaning of the utterance, but comments upon its more subdued cultural connotations. When, in Lawrence's ***Women in Love,*** Ursula Brangwen calls dominant male behaviour "a lust for bullying—a real *Wille zur Macht*—so base, so petty. . .," Rupert Birkin makes the following point:

I agree that the Wille zur Macht *is a base and petty thing. But with the Mino, it is the desire to bring this female cat into a pure stable equilibrium, a transcendent and abiding rapport with the single male. Whereas without him, as you see, she is a mere stray, a fluffy sporadic bit of chaos. It is a* volonté de pouvoir, *if you like, a will to ability, taking* pouvoir *as a verb.*[9]

By juxtaposing translations that have such a different ring in English ("a lust for bullying" and "a will to ability") yet are supposed to mean the same in German and in French (*la volonté de pouvoir* being the equivalent of Nietzsche's *die Wille zur Macht*), Birkin's comment becomes truly metalinguistic in nature. While the harsh German sounds suggest violence, the French language

confirms its well-known penchant for rhetorical niceties, as Ursula stresses in her reply: "Sophistries!"

None of these devices, whether in a fictional or in a real world, amounts to real bilingualism, though the commentary in Lawrence's ***Women in Love*** comes very close. In addition to being a cultural reference, however, the foreign speech of the truly bilingual text, as I define it, will be assigned a specific function within the economy of the work in general.[10] The presence of a second language does not always imply the presence of what could be called *a second reader,* but only if it does—if the knowledge of a foreign language is necessary to the understanding of the text—will bilingualism be a real issue. Logically, the polyglot nature of a given work is not so much a matter of quantity as of quality, and the functions of foreign speech can be as diverse as they are numerous. One way of avoiding oversimplifications at this level is to pay close attention to the actual form of loan words in the text. This is precisely where Bakhtin's model, a critique of traditional and more formalist stylistics, shows a tendency to caricature and why, invaluable as though it may seem, it has to be nuanced for an in-depth study of textual bilingualism.

Heteroglossia and Bilingualism

The first problem is a terminological one. It is very hard to know what Bakhtin exactly means by *heteroglossia,* for the chapter "Raznorečie v romane" of his book ***Voprossy Literatury i Estetiki*** (1975) has been translated as both "Heteroglossia in the Novel" and "Le plurilinguisme dans le roman."[11] Yet according to the ***Oxford Russian Dictionary,*** "raznorečie"—an obsolete word for "contradiction"—does not really allow for either version. The Russian scholar turned an archaism into a neologism by giving it an entirely new meaning, which can more readily be subsumed under the heading of "internal (regional, social etc.) variation" than under that of "external varia-

tion" (bi- or multilingualism). The usual translations are thus misleading since they are constructed on the etymons *glossa* and *lingua,* which both mean "language" in its plainest sense, as in *polyglot* or *bilingual.* This semantic vagueness is all the more unfortunate since the multiplicity of tongues and what Bakhtin calls the "polyphony" of voices seem to be two sides of the same coin.

If terminological ambiguity remains an altogether superficial phenomenon, the same can hardly be said of the way in which so-called dialogic language is restricted to prose writing and particularly to the novel. As a matter of fact, "heteroglossia" only applies to a segment of that genre, for it is not to be encountered in just any novel, even though Bakhtin maintains that monologic novels have been replaced by and large by dialogic ones:

> *in the nineteenth century the distinctive features of* [dialogic novels] *become the constitutive features for the novelistic genre as a whole.*[12]

For all his enthusiasm, Bakhtin is less preoccupied with an accurate description of the perceived reality of the novel than with the formulation of its prescriptive norms. Already with ***Don Quixote*** (1605-1615), we are told by the Russian critic, emerges a new imperative:

> *the novel must be a full and comprehensive reflection of its era. . . the novel must be a microcosm of heteroglossia.*[13]

Admittedly, this may be an accurate appraisal of the prose of Scott, Dickens or Balzac. But why discard the bulk of novel writing? Why prefer a theory based solely on a canon for which the principles of selection are never defined? Novels that pretend to "reflect their era," as Bakhtin says, are quite often referred to as "time novels,"[14] which shows how particular a place they occupy in literary history. By focusing only on polyphonic works of prose, Bakhtin has provided literary studies with an

incomplete theory, thereby jeopardizing further research applications and transforming heteroglossia into an ad hoc tool, rather than a heuristic principle.

Verse and prose: mono versus stereo?

Bilingualism in many ways mirrors the plural discourses that are at work within a single language. Bakhtin does not rule out such an idea, since he defines the novel from the outset as

> *a diversity of social speech types (sometimes even diversity of languages) and a diversity of individual voices, artistically organized.*[15]

Heteroglossia would be the rule and bilingualism the marked case. However, one ought to be careful when arbitrarily grafting the "dialogic principle" (Todorov) upon polyglot texts, as will become clear in the following reading of a poem by Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (twelfth century). Born in the vicinity of Orange, in today's Vaucluse (Southeastern France), Vaqueiras is part of the second great wave of Provençal troubadours and as such a contemporary of Arnaut Daniel, Bertran de Born and Peire Vidal. He traveled extensively before joining the Fourth Crusade during which he would be lost in battle. His works show an unusual stylistic variety, for he was "a versatile craftsman and an able linguist."[16] Composed around 1190 on a journey through Northern Italy, *Domna, tant vos ai preiada* stages an amorous debate between a Provençal minstrel and a Genoese countrywoman whose favors he seeks.

Domna, tant vos ai preiada,	*SO OFTEN, lady, I have asked you*
si.us plaz, q'amar me voillaz,	*please to love me, & please, that I be*
qu'eu sui vostr' endomenjaz,	*your devoted slave; for you*
car es pros et enseignada	*are noble, educated, have*
e toz bos prez autreiaz;	*each honest virtue firmly; so*
per qe.m plai vostr'amistaz.	*your love would please me.*[17]

In alternating stanzas, each character speaks his or her own language (Occitanian or Genoese). According to Leonard Forster,

> [t]*he two dialects are deemed to be mutually comprehensible to the speakers—and of course to the poet's audience. They serve the purpose of neat characterization.*[18]

This seems to make a lot of sense, except for the fact that a medieval poem is not likely to exploit language as a national and/or social label. The very notion of nationalism was foreign to the Middle Ages, and it does not seem at all obvious that Raimbaut's audience had a solid knowledge of Genoese. Here, the main bilingual interaction takes place between the two fictional characters, who do not need an interpreter, for the woman knows very well what the gentle knight is aiming for.

Jujar, voi no sei corteso	*YOU THINK you're being courtly, joglar?*
qe me chaidejai de zo,	*What you think you're asking for?*
qe niente no faró.	*Wouldn't do it anyway, not if I*
Ance fossi voi apeso!	*saw you were going to be hanged*
. . .	. . .
Tal enojo ve diró.	*Here are some sweet nothings for you:*
sozo, mozo, escalvao!	*you cruddy dope, bald-headed asshole!*

The shepherdess's fierce resistance to the insistent prayers of her would-be lover no doubt parodies the conventions of medieval lyric. The Italian critic Furio Brugnolo claims that Raimbaut's poem even subverts the language of the genre, for its dual structure foregrounds both heteroglossia (the right to reply produces a "parodic styliza-

tion")[19] and a parallel use of two languages (bilingualism). Subsequently and very surprisingly, Brugnolo goes to great lengths to show that Raimbaut's dialogue is actually *not* akin to what Bakhtin had in mind. Because of the introduction of an authentic foreign code (the Genoese dialect), *Domna, tant vos ai preiada* is a construction of two discourses, of two autonomous voices.[20] In spite of what one is tempted to call the poem's split character, both voices are part of one system, according to Brugnolo, i.e., the Provençal *koiné,* the dominant poetic language. Here too, his reference is Bakhtin who maintains:

> *Double-voiced, internally dialogized discourse is also possible, of course, in a language system that is hermetic, pure and unitary, a system alien to the linguistic relativism of prose consciousness; it follows that such discourse is also possible in the purely poetic genres. But in those systems there is no soil to nourish the development of such discourse in the slightest meaningful or essential way. . . Such poetic and rhetorical double-voicedness, cut off from any process of linguistic stratification, may be adequately unfolded into an individual dialogue, into individual argument and conversation between two persons, even while the exchanges in the dialogue are immanent to a single unitary language: they may not be in agreement, they may even be opposed, but they are diverse neither in their speech nor in their language.*[21]

By asserting that the exchanges are neither multidiscursive nor multilingual ("*non pluridiscorsive né plurilinguistiche*"), the Italian translation of Bakhtin used by Brugnolo only adds to the confusion. Yet the latter's analysis itself allows us to challenge the view that he is so eager to promote. Does he not argue that the contrastive nature of the poem operates not only on a linguistic level but also on a stylistic and even sexual one, the vocabulary of the countrywoman being more plebeian than the elegant rhetoric of the troubadour? Does Brugnolo not sug-

gest that the Genoese stanzas play a far from passive role by imprinting a "new" vision upon the text as a whole? Their crudeness is such that, after admitting defeat, the knight himself resorts to a more vulgar metaphor in his last reply:

Domna, en estraing cossire	*LADY, you have made me shy,*
m'avez mes et en esmai;	*bound me with despair, dismay.*
mas enqera. us preiarai	*But may I demonstrate? I pray*
que voillaz q'eu vos essai,	*allow me to try you hard and show*
si cum provenzals o fai,	*how a Provensal can do it, once*
qant es pojatz.	*he's up and mounted.*

How then, can Brugnolo reach the conclusion that the debate merely exhibits an invented duality?[22] Once again, the answer can be found in Bakhtin's writings, where two basic distinctions are made: the first between poetry and prose, and the second between monophony and polyphony. Combined into a single system, they show the following interaction: Bakhtin's essay, The Discourse of the Novel, considers only two of four possibilities: single-voiced poetry 1) and dialogic prose 4). These are the rule, for poetry can never really be double-voiced 2) and monologic novels 3) are not "of any significance"[23] to him. But a larger perspective may prove necessary. Not only can poetry have dialogic qualities, as we have just

		Mono		**Stereo**
Poetry	1	*single-voiced*	2	*double-voiced*
Prose	3	*monologic*	4	*dialogic*

Table I. *Bakhtin's double dichotomy*

seen, but polyglot novels do not necessarily show ideological conflict, and their language cannot always be taken as a transparent means of representation. We should not forget that literature is fiction, and that it is only expressed in a natural language for practical reasons, but that even the reported speech of characters does not follow the rules of

spoken language as we know it. By the same token, the presence of, say, German does not always tell the reader something about either Germany as a country or the Germans as a people. Just as it was quite normal during ten centuries of medieval and Renaissance art to write in another language than one's native tongue, it was completely acceptable to use a wide variety of real or imaginary languages without even trying to give them any social or sociolinguistic relevance. The French humanist François Rabelais (1490-1553), one of Bakhtin's favorite authors, will illustrate this point.

Billingsgate and Bilingualism

Rabelais's playful use of the French idiom has become a critical commonplace. Bakhtin himself has argued that the "verbal matrix" achieved by mingling refined speech and *billingsgate* evokes the carnivalesque atmosphere of the marketplace.[24] It has been emphasized considerably less that Rabelais also drew material from many other, mainly European, languages. As a matter of fact, his multilingualism pushed him to create new words and expressions, or to give new meanings to existing ones. Thus ***Pantagruel, King of the Dipsodes*** (first published in 1532 and revised in 1542) displays the dazzling linguistic richness of the sixteenth century, an era that ended a thousand years of monolingual Latin control over the body of written literature. In its ninth chapter, the giant who lends his name to the book meets

> *a man of handsome stature and elegant in every bodily feature, but pitiably wounded in various parts, and in such sorry condition that he seemed to have made his escape from the dogs. . .*

Pantagruel asks him five questions:

"Who are you? Where are you coming from? Where are you going? What are you seeking? And what is your name?" [25]

At that moment, the narrative is suspended, for the unknown companion, though starving and broke, chooses to express himself in ten foreign and three artificial languages instead of answering straightforwardly. In order, they are the following: High German, *Antipodean,* Italian, Scottish (and not English as many translations suggest), Basque, *Patelinois,* Dutch, Spanish, Danish, Hebrew, Greek, *Utopian* and Latin. Only at the very end of the chapter will he switch to French and reveal his name (Panurge), where he is coming from (Turkey), his destination (Pantagruel's company) and his desire (to be fed). What then, one wonders, is the purpose of all the polyglot passages that lie in between, since they fail to contribute to the unfolding of the action?

First, Panurge speaks High German:

"Juncker, Gott geb euch Glück unnd hail. . ." *("My Lord, God give you happiness and good fortune. . ."),*

to which Pantagruel replies:

"My friend, I don't understand a thing of this gibberish; so, if you want to be understood, speak another language." [26]

Instead, the beggar switches to a fictitious language with a supposedly obscene message. The use of real Italian and Scottish does not yield any better results, so he turns to Basque:

". . . Genicoa plasar vadu" *("if God please.")*

At which point someone in the audience seems to have seen the light ("*Are you there, Genicoa?*"), only to be lost again:

"Are you speaking Christian, my friend, or Pathelin language?" [27]

The terms of the question are not innocent, for in the Middle Ages speaking Christian meant (as it still does in a number of Romance languages) speaking like a civilized human being. Panurge's reply in Dutch is most revealing:

> ***"Heere, ie en spreeke anders geen taele, dan kersten taele: my dunct nochtans, al en seg ie u niet een woordt, myuen noot v claert ghenonch wat ie beglere; gheest my unyt bermherticheyt yet waer un ie ghevoet mach zunch."***
>
> "*Lord, I speak no language but Christian language; yet it appears to me* [that], *even if I don't say a word, my need explains to you enough what I desire; give me out of charity something to eat.*"[28]

Pantagruel and his followers fail to perceive that Panurge's miserable condition more than adequately bespeaks his needs and his wants, so the hobo eventually grows tired of repeating the same demands over and over again:

> ***"Seignor, de tanto hablar yo soy cansado."***

He gives it another try in Danish, before turning to the heavier artillery of Hebrew, Greek and Latin. It is worth noting in this respect that the first two languages had just been introduced into the learned curriculum alongside Latin. (*The Collegium Trilingue* was founded in 1518 at the University of Louvain.) Although Panurge's interlocutors identify most of these tongues, they still fall short of understanding them, and the exhausted traveler finally resorts to his "native mother tongue."[29]

A closer look at the communicative structure of the chapter shows that while some languages indeed remain completely obscure others are actually recognized by the participants engaged in the conversation. French, the official language of the kingdom as of 1539, is of course favored, while Dutch as well as Scottish are obviously too exotic. But what are we to think of the fact that both Spanish—spread most zealously by Charles V—and Italian—the quintessential expression of the Renaissance—

sound unfamiliar to Pantagruel and his partners? Yet they seem to be able to label other languages: Basque, Danish, German and, strangely enough, all of the imaginary ones. Even more puzzling is the fact that the sixteenth century's three main codes—scholastic Latin, humanist Greek and Biblical Hebrew—provide no better means of understanding than, say, *Utopian*. Every single one of them attempts to convey the condition of the speaker, who simply wants his thirst to be quenched and his hunger to be satisfied. Such is the exact meaning of the final answer which is in French:

> ***". . . pour ceste heure, j'ay nécessité bien urgente de repaistre: dentz agües, ventre vuyde, gorge seiche, appétit strident, tout y est délibéré: si me voulez mettre en oeuvre, ce sera basme de me veoir briber; pour Dieu, donnez-y ordre!"***
>
> *". . . at the present moment I have a very urgent need to feed: sharpened teeth, empty stomach, dry throat, clamorous appetite, everything is set and ready. If you want to put me to work, it will be a pleasure for you to watch me guzzle. For Heaven's sake, arrange it."*[30]

The parallelism between the passages does not stop here. Panurge invariably addresses Pantagruel as the ruler of Utopia ("*Juncker—Signor mio—Lard—Jona—Heere—Seignor—Myn Herre—Adoni—Despota*") and his discourse more often than not invokes either Divine or scriptural authority ("*Gott—Genicoa—los preceptos evangelicos—Laah al Adonai chonen ral—per sacra, perque deos deasque omnis*"). Such redundancies are all the more striking when one realizes that the speaker's pitiful apparel should have been a clear enough sign. As a semiotic system, language is indeed incidental compared to visual evidence. Panurge himself states the obvious in ancient Greek: "Speeches are necessary only where the facts under discussion do not appear clearly."[31]

If considered in the light of Grice's logic, Panurge's utterances fulfill only one requirement (i.e., Quality), for he speaks the truth in all fourteen languages. But the "logic of conversation" assumes that a common aim underlies every exchange, whereas our chapter of ***Pantagruel*** looks much more like a "pathology of communication,"[32] in which the expression of ideas is sacrificed to the creation of an atmosphere, a lot like conversations about the state of the weather or polite inquiries about a person's health. Why, indeed, knowing that his audience understands only French, would Panurge keep asking for alms in thirteen languages, if not to prolong the contact in the hope of being fed? In spite of an impressive display of linguistic competence, there is no real dialogue between the participants, except at the very end. In Armine Kotin's words:

We are in the presence of an overwhelming number of signifiers lacking signifieds, an excess of. . . audible signals without concepts.[33]

The lucubrations repeat each other, add very little to the French discourse, and are unnecessary, given the vagabond's physical appearance. They are in fact highly redundant monologues that, rather than merging into a stereophonic sound, repeatedly give rise to *monophonic noise.*

The link between this compartmentalization and the language theories favored by Rabelais himself is symptomatic, because Pantagruel's ninth chapter has been seen as championing the suppression of differences between natural and forged languages. As M.A. Screech has observed,

perhaps Rabelais was showing us how vital it is to know the conventional meanings attached to sound and symbol before we can hope to understand. Unless we do know them, human language, meaningful to some speakers, is laughable gibberish.[34]

The characters' reactions prove this critic right. In ***Pantagruel,*** Gallic humor and the fear of the unknown go hand in hand, for medieval belief had it that only Lucifer *spoke in tongues.* In reply to Panurge's first imaginary language, Epistémon says: "I think it's a language of the Antipodes; the devil himself couldn't get his teeth into it."[35] And, as we have noticed, after the passage in the presumed Patelinois, he goes on to ask Panurge if his speech is "Christian." The wall thus erected between good and bad languages matches Rabelais' centrifugal bilingualism, which separates rather than joins languages.

Heteroglossia revisited

These brief examples, all of which deserve further analysis, have brought to light several of the paradoxes inherent in Mikhaïl Bakhtin's theory. First, as shown in *table I,* heteroglossia cannot account for all works of literature, but only for those novels where language diversity creates the illusion of a dialogue between social entities ("a multiplicity of social voices"). Rabelais's ***Pantagruel*** and Raimbaut's poem both prove that the theses presented by Bakhtin in The Discourse of the Novel are hard to defend in the light of textual evidence, and that bilingualism may or may not serve a dialogic (heteroglossic) purpose. Bakhtin's views fail to reach the general status of validity they claim because of two fallacies. On the one hand, he unwittingly commits an error known in classical logic as a "deduction by generalization," when his argument follows the lines of this false syllogism: Many modern novels establish a dialogue between various speech types; X is a novel; it is therefore dialogic (or it is not a real novel). Not only does Bakhtin generalize the case of some novels, notably those of Dostoyevsky, but he furthermore eliminates the possibility of other genres sharing basic characteristics of heteroglossia with fiction. In spite of all its luminous insights, his essay offers a very specific and rather limited vantage point.

A poetics of bilingualism as such will have to go beyond those boundaries. It must allow for a variety of texts—literary and non-literary alike—as well as for a wide array of interpretations. At the end of these pages, instead of venturing into yet another series of generalizations, I will draw some obvious conclusions from the examined material. It is completely natural to expect some degree of interactive play to result from the juxtaposition of different languages in the same textual space. As a matter of fact, everyone knows puns that directly derive their comic effect from foreign speech, and in the more elaborate texts of literature, such playfulness can yield very surprising results. To a medieval audience familiar with the conventions of the love lyric, for instance, the Genoese stanzas of *Domna*. . . must have come as a shock. Such a stereo effect, however, need not be achieved by means of bilingualism; when Barthes spoke of "voices" and "codes," in the line that I used as an epigraph, he did not have complete languages in mind primarily, but rather structures existing in every single language.

Last but not least, there are a number of texts which make use of polyglot devices and *not* of stereo writing. Here, languages are kept apart in order to give an impression of cosmopolitanism or of genuine plurality. The technique is very much related to *translation* (code B repeats what has been uttered in code A), for each language holds its ground with little contamination. The reader can skip the foreign passages simply because they are redundant and merely generate "*mono*" noise. Panurge's answers to Pantagruel's queries are a case in point, yet so are the bilingual directions accompanying most consumer goods in Canada, for example. In those instances where one language goes as far as to "exclude" another language, bilingualism, instead of celebrating the joyous carnival of cultural differences, shows its other, uglier face, and becomes some kind of double monolingualism.

Notes

[1] Barthes, Roland. 1974. *S/Z*. Trans. Richard Miller. New York: Hill and Wang, 21.

[2] I could list a number of publications on "The foreign word in the writings of. . .," but one example, from the master himself, will do: Spitzer, Leo. 1928. Sprachmengung als Stilmittel und als Ausdruck der Klangphantasie, in his *Stilstudien, II, Stilsprachen*. München: Max Hueber, 84-124.

[3] Bakhtin, M.M. 1981. *The Dialogic Imagination*. Trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 263.

[4] Forster, Leonard. 1970. *The Poet's Tongues: Multilingualism in Literature*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1. I have myself tackled some of the issues involved in the study of bilingualism as such in Grutman, Rainer. 1990. Le bilinguisme littéraire comme relation intersystémique. *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 17: 3-4, 198-212.

[5] Grice, Paul. 1989. *Studies in the Way of Words*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 26.

[6] The distinction appears in Chatman, Seymour. 1979. *Story and Discourse*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. For a more recent view, see Brooks, Peter. 1992. *Reading for the Plot*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 7-23.

[7] Joyce, James. 1986 (1922). *Ulysses. The Corrected Text*. London-Harmondsworth: The Bodley Head-Penguin, 12, lines 425-428.

[8] Scott, Walter. 1985 (1814). *Waverley*. Hamondsworth: Penguin, 335. The literal translation reads: "In matters of war Fortune mostly rules."

[9] Lawrence, D.H. 1960 (1921). *Women in Love*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 167.

[10] Such is also the opinion of Furio Brugnolo. 1983: "intendo per plurilinguismo poetico quel particolare procedimento consistente nell'impiego simultaneo di due o più idiomo differenti, in successione o alternanza prestabilita, *all'interno di un medesimo testo poetico in quanto unità formale*" (*Plurilinguismo e lirica medievale*. Rome: Bulzoni, 5. Emphasis added).

[11] Bakhtin. *Dialogic Imagination*, 301. 1978. *Esthétique et théorie du roman*. Trans. Daria Olivier. Paris: Gallimard, 122. Tzvetan Todorov (1981) gives *hétérologie* for "raznorečie," thus reserving *hétéroglossie* for "raznojazyčie" and *hétérophonie* for "raznogolosie." See his *Le Principe dialogique*. Paris: Seuil, 89.

[12] Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination*, 414.

[13] Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination,* 411.

[14] Hasubek, Peter. 1968. Der Zeitroman. *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 87: 219-245.

[15] Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagaination,* 262. Emphasis added.

[16] Hill, Raymond T. and Thomas G. Bergin. 1973. *Anthology of the Provençal Troubadours,* 2nd ed. New Haven, Connecticutt: Yale University Press, v.1, 145. A critical edition of Raimbaut's works by Joseph Linskill appeared in The Hague in 1964.

[17] The original quotations are taken from Martín de Riquer. 1975. *Los trovadores.* Barcelona: Planeta, v. 2, 816-819, who follows Linskill. The rather bawdy translation is by Paul Blackburn. 1978. *Proensa. An Anthology of Troubadour Poetry.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 138-141.

[18] Forster, *The Poet's Tongues,* 12.

[19] Brugnolo, *Plurilinguismo,* 31; Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination,* 364.

[20] Brugnolo, *Plurilinguismo,* 63.

[21] Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination,* 325 (quoted by Brugnolo, *Plurilinguismo,* 64, footnote 108).

[22] Brugnolo, *Plurilinguismo,* 12-13, 25 and 65.

[23] Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination,* 414.

[24] Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination,* 176. See also *Rabelais and his World.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1968, 145-195. Translator Helene Iswolsky is particularly accurate in calling the popular speech of the marketplace "billingsgate," for the word refers to "one of the gates of London, and hence of the fish-market there established." (*OED* 2, 1989, 195.)

[25] Rabelais, François. 1991. *Complete Works.* Trans. by Donald M. Frame. Berkeley: University of California Press, 163.

[26] Rabelais, *Complete Works,* 163.

[27] Rabelais, *Complete Works,* 164.

[28] Rabelais, *Complete Works,* 164, my translation.

[29] Rabelais, *Complete Works,* 166.

[30] Rabelais. 1964 (1542). *Pantagruel.* Paris: Gallimard, 153. *Complete Works,* 166.

[31] Rabelais, *Complete Works,* 830, note 10.

[32] Bastiaensen, Michel. 1974. La rencontre de Panurge. *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire,* 52:3, 552.

[33] Kotin, Armine. 1977. *Pantagruel.* Language vs. communication. *MLN* 92, 696.

[34] Screech, M.A. 1979. *Rabelais.* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 30.

[35] Rabelais, *Complete Works,* 164.

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A Case for Acadian—

The Politics of Style

The *Lettres* (1895-1898) of Marichette are graphic evidence of the effects of language contact with the socially and economically dominant English on her Franco-Acadian dialect. I explore her penchant for code-switching and attempt to relate this aspect of the writer's style to her political commentary. Two categories of code-switching can be identified: the first occurs notably with structures having perlocutionary force, and is characteristic of the prose style she adopts; the second is motivated by the desire to represent or suggest the speech of another. The socio-linguistic commentary implied by the use of English is further developed by Marichette's manipulation of the quality of the spoken English she represents. Its juxtaposition with academic French and the formal style of other contributors to the weekly newspaper *L'Evangéline*, in which they first appeared, at the end of the nineteenth century, further heightens the visual shock value of the letters.

Introduction

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the Franco-Acadian population of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia was experiencing a cultural and political re-awakening. After more than a century of isolation, this largely analphabetic society was beginning to assert its right to a place in Canadian history and its right to a role in the determination of its own future. With the benefits of improved communications and educational opportunities, the Acadian Conventions of the 1880s saw the emergence of a new elite and the coalescence of a nationalistic platform with flag, national anthem and a national society at a time when Canada itself was in a state of upheaval.

The local French-language press, notably the two rival newspapers *Le Moniteur acadien* of Shediac, New Brunswick, and *L'Evangéline* of Weymouth, Nova Scotia, played a critical role in this cultural awareness while serving as a forum for the debate of both national and regional issues.[1] Their names evoke their status as cultural watchdogs and nationalist symbols. Both were simultaneously a means of communicating ideas and opinions, and a linguistic role model for the newly literate and largely rural population they served.

L'Evangéline, like its conservative rival, favored the rhetorical style of academic *fin-de-siècle* French for even the most mundane of subjects. A weekly publication, it featured articles on political topics of the day alongside the detailed reporting of local events and advertisements for liniments and Sunday hats. Among contributions from readers, it published the letters of one *Marichette.* Unlike other contributors to the newspaper, however, Marichette composed her letters in the language of Acadia, a language that had remained unwritten for a century and a half, a writing reinvented by this witty and unconventional spokesperson for the common folk to serve as a kind of anti-model for a society that has always stubbornly main-

tained its individuality. Juxtaposed with the standard French of her contemporaries, the effect of Marichette's prose is startling and the reaction of the newspaper's readers predictable. Although some praised her, the more status-conscious readers castigated her, seeing her no doubt as a traitor to the cause of cultural and political rehabilitation. Collected and published in a critical edition by P. Gérin and P. M. Gérin,[2] her letters bear an uncanny resemblance to the monologues of her modern fictional compatriot La Sagouine.[3]

Marichette arrived on the scene in February 1895, announcing that she was "tired of waiting for the passage of the law for the 'sufferage' of women to give them the right to vote" (52).[4] The following two months saw the publication of three more letters from this truculent and outspoken feminist as each letter provoked in the next issue an equally lively response from the readership. A further twelve letters followed—two of them signed ostensibly by Marichette's husband and another by a certain Marc—with the gap between them lengthening until in February 1898 the correspondence ceased as abruptly as it had begun.

Composed in a chatty, conversational style, the letters explore a variety of subjects. Marichette addresses contemporary issues of national importance, such as the vote for women, the Northwest Rebellion and the fate of Louis Riel,[5] controversial topics in which she shows interest as a woman herself or as a disadvantaged francophone Canadian. Of equal importance in the letters are events of local or personal interest: everyday goings-on in Marichette's household, or her state of health—her good-natured henpecking of her husband, her need for a set of false teeth, a graphically detailed description of a stomach disorder—all of which she juxtaposes with her opinions on the state of the nation or the status of women. Whatever the subject, her observations and opinions are delivered with rollicking good humor, unfailingly wicked

irreverence and a devastatingly dry wit in striking contrast to the tone of journalistic articles such as the detailed report in a nearby column in very formal French of the latest session of the Provincial Legislative Assembly.

She paints portraits and thumbnail sketches of characters as colorful as herself, of fellow Acadians—including her husband "le vieux Pite"—her sisters, as well as assorted neighbors and villagers. The reader meets Marichette's grown daughters who, like so many others of their community, have left to live and work in the "States." And there are the electoral candidates who come canvassing votes—mostly "Tories,"[6] to whom Marichette is visibly unsympathetic—and who, like other targets of Marichette's pen, speak only English, or who massacre French when they attempt to use it as part of their canvassing effort. The language of each is graphically represented in the letters, from the Franco-Acadian dialect of Marichette herself and her fellow Acadians to the academic French of certain "orators" (in a religious or a political context), as well as the fractured French and English used in exchanges between members of the two linguistic groups and occasionally among themselves.

Language and Style in Marichette's Letters

Marichette's letters reflect a preoccupation with linguistic questions and the importance of language to one's cultural identity as witnessed by the frequency of her observations concerning attitudes toward language.[7] She includes contradictory comments regarding her own linguistic skills:

"I don't have much education and I can't write in as good a style as Prof Lanos of Halifax. . ." (55); "At this time I am reading and learning to spell better. . ." (57); ". . . even in France they thought I spoke well,. . ." (82); "and if my French wasn't good, you wouldn't publish it in *L'Evangéline* for everyone to read" (95).

She derides the language skills of others:

> "... that's the only part I understood, the rest of his story is too bad French to understand [sic]" (62); "... and English I believe St Patrick couldn't write in his book it was so bad" (74).

And she pens a spirited defense of "*note belle langue*" (117). She complains about the teaching of English in the schools to the detriment of French, condemns the preference for English manifested by the young, including her own daughters' convictions of the advantages of English in spite of their apparent lack of advancement in the "States."

Both in thought and in style, Marichette's letters thus reflect the linguistic status quo of the Acadian community of the end of the nineteenth century. She represents all the significant linguistic features of her dialect,[8] including the epidemic borrowing of lexical items from the socially dominant English language with which the French dialect coexisted—and still does—and to which Franco-Acadians were frequently obliged to resort in order to function outside the confines of their own homes and immediate community. This aspect of her own language use—the representation of the contact between languages in the Franco-Acadian dialect—is a striking characteristic of Marichette's writing.

Borrowings are appropriated with their English identity intact (e.g., *fiddle stick* 116), or they are partially or totally assimilated to French spelling and morphological conventions (e.g., *buckouite*—"buckwheat" [64]; *le cheval à Pite Doucet avait **bité***—"Pite Doucet's horse had **beaten** ..." [63], with French verb morphology), or rather, in these letters, to Marichette's own ortho- and morphographic conventions and inconsistencies! Her attempts at phonetic spelling to represent dialect features, archaic or colloquial as well as borrowed, are wildly erratic but entirely consistent with the image she projects of an uneducated correspondent.[9]

At the same time, her writing reflects the speech habits of an imperfectly bilingual community. Language mixing is evident in the occasional use of both French and equivalent English lexical items (*bull* and *toreau* [sic] [65]; *dé broach, dé* ***rings,*** *dé* ***bagues.*** . . 73), as well as in the use of structural calques, with lexical items from the two languages (*le plus smart homme de Chéticamp* [81]; *you damné chien* [54], in which English word order is used). Speech performance is also marked by frequent code-switching in mid-sentence, e.g.,

. . . même à un sorcier let alone a good scholar. . . ("... even for a sorcerer, let alone a good scholar. . ." 107).

Adverbials are often in English:

All at once *la roof enfonce,. . .* (87)
Le Prince, avec sa suite, monte, ***in a hell of a hurry*** (92)
. . . les dents se cassent ***all to pieces.*** . . (96)
une dose de blue pills,. . . chil le ghérira ***in one snap.*** (81)
. . . chi vienne pour voir ***for himself.*** (82)

English is used also for the constantly recurring interjections, tags, discourse articulators and judgmental phrases:

. . ., *and I dont know what.* (77); . . ., *well I guess so.* (87); . . ., *you bet.* (115); *I bet que. . .* (64); *Never mind, j'suis trop belle* ***anyhow.*** . . (97)

Although certain French forms do occur (*Vous savez,. . .* [52]; *T'chelle piché,. . .*—"What a pity,. . ." 74), they are rare. English is also preferred for the frequent oaths and unflattering epithets to the almost total exclusion of French swear words: by *jove, dême, comme le hell, ghé hose* ("Jesus"), *pour gâde sèque* ("For God's sake"), alongside the occasional *Mon j'heu* (and other spellings, for "Mon Dieu"—"My God") and *sakerjé* ("sacré-dieu" —"Holy God"). Marichette's habit of swearing in English rather than in French may have been an attenuating device motivated by the desire to use socially-unacceptable

language with relative impunity. As Gérin drily observes, "Did [the Acadians] hope Saint Peter did not understand [English]?"[10] Nevertheless, she did not escape criticism for her earthy language and her putdowns. Gérin continues:

> *even disguised, even anglicized, the oaths of Marichette offended many, particularly a certain conservative "elite" attached to the* Moniteur acadien[11]

(in which the criticisms appeared); and even Marichette herself refers to the unfavorable reactions her language provoked ("He accuses me of speaking badly and of ridiculing our compatriots. . . [and of] swearing" 82).

Marichette's letters are, in short, documentary evidence both of the state of a dialect at a specific point in time and of language usage in a specific socio-cultural context. And the systematic code-switching from French to English for items expressing the feelings of the writer intended to influence the feelings of the reader for judgmental phrases is indicative of the pervasive influence of English as the vernacular. These are in effect formulaic language. Visually (taken in the textual context of the newspaper) and culturally (taken in the historical context), the letters represent a writing style that can best be described as revolutionary.

If Marichette had been the uneducated and disadvantaged female she pretends to be, this brief correspondence would be no more than a linguistic oddity, an aberration in the Franco-Acadian quest for reintegration into the francophone world community. However, her very writing style reveals indices of her true identity[12] and the true nature of her correspondence: it is a serialized soliloquy like the monologues of La Sagouine. Her spellings may be quasi-phonetic and unsystematic to the point of being frivolous, but certain orthographic forms suggest a sophisticated knowledge of orthoepic convention (the use of the circumflex to represent vowel quality, the use of digraphs—*gh, ch,* to represent stops and

palatals: *le j'hâble* "le diable"—"the devil"; *Ghe josse pônet* "Jehosophat"; *cheurrieux* "curieux"), as does her own comment on spelling alternatives for variant pronunciations of *sapin*—"fir":

> *dans les branches de sapagne ou saponne, comme vous voudrez*—"in the branches of. . . or. . ., as you prefer" (107).

Her disguising of swear words is often quite elegant:

> *je lance une gadelle*—"I let go a God-all" (96).

Other unconventional spellings (*checqu'temps* "quelque temps"—"some time"; *vaillangne* "vaillant"—"valiant") recall the innovations of Rabelais and his contemporaries, and are an indication of a scholarly formation as is the occasional use of academic style in a context to which it is entirely appropriate (the reporting of the speech of a visiting dignitary, for example "the prince of Malakoff, the biggest orator of our century" (92). Her professed knowledge of English ("since he didn't understand French,. . . I told him in English" [96]; "since I didn't understand English. . ." 113), as well as her practice, varies to suit her epistolary purpose.

The levels of English and of French occurring in the letters range from idiomatic usage through grammatically incorrect sentences and phrases to pidginized utterances:[13]

> *you no drink. . .* (88)
> *Pas peur Pite, moi pas faire mal toi* (87).

Code-switching may involve one or other of the pidgins as well as idiomatic English and French (or Franco-Acadian):

> *enragé, furieux, and cross as the devil,. . .* (91)
> *Let me in, moi chec chose dire toi* (87).

Finally, the use of phonetic spellings to represent the gallicized mispronunciation of English by her daughters,

I ***taut*** *qu'y avait. . .*—"I thought. . ." (110)
What is ***dat,*** *maw*—". . . that. . ." (110),

alongside the numerous spelling assimilations and conventional English orthography suggest a mastery of English rather than linguistic incompetence. Marichette's use of English as the actual language of communication is a deliberate stylistic device as is the role played by the picturesque orthography and the presence of English lexical items in French sentences in the conveying of a dialectal flavor.

Bilingualism in the Letters, Bilingualism in Action

The modern reader will be struck immediately by the originality of Marichette's writing style, just as the contemporary reader would have been, juxtaposed as it was to the conservative writing style of other contributors to the newspaper. Her unorthodox spellings alone are a guarantee of that as are the attempts at fractured French and English. Further reading, however, will reveal a more subtle form of creativity in the skillful exploitation of linguistic indices in the rendering of voices and in the manipulation of interlingual competence and performance to portray the dynamics of verbal communication in a bilingual society. Marichette writes to the editor of *L'Evangéline* to express her opinions on contemporary debates, but she adopts a style typical of an oral culture and therefore entirely consistent with the milieu she portrays, a style that is often episodic in argumentation, anecdotal and focused on concrete examples, introducing specific personalities and putting words in their mouths as well as her own.[14] Through direct discourse, indirect discourse and free indirect discourse, she represents the speech of others, and therefore, thanks to the nature of her interests and concerns, the inevitable collision of French and English in everyday transactions in her milieu.

figure 1.1 **L'Evangéline, *04 Jun 96 (p 3 col 3-4) (87-88)—an account of a visit by a candidate canvassing support in the upcoming election, his conversation with le vieux Pite (Marichette's husband):***

Une nuit s'tiver il a venu un canvesseur de Digby frapper à la porte vers le mitant de la nuit. Ping, pang! Whos' there? *Me,* fut la réponse. Le vieux Pite huche tout haut et dit, whos' *me,* you bougre de fou? Pas peur Pite, moi pas faire mal toi. *Let me in,* moi chec chose dire toi.—Dépêches-toi, Pite. Mets tes chulottes et désagne.—Ton femme Marichette couchée? Yes, ma vieille, h'is sick.

J'me lève et vas mette mon oreille sur le trou du stove et j'ai tout entendu ce qui disions.—Pite, toi vote pour moi? Me ask Marichette.—Oh fiddlestick with Marichette. Ton femme pas pour moi. J'attend Pite qui y demande: You parlez français. Yes Pite, speak to me in French.—All right. Tu est le candidat qui va runner pour Chéticamp? Chis'qui ta fais sortir? As-tu demandé aux Acajins de Clare? All right. On se damne bien de ta politique. C'est l'homme qui nous faut. You good man? You not hang Frenchman when you go to Ottawa? You travailler pour les métis? You accept no reward money pour faire pendre Riel? You no drink when you get. . . somewhere be dème. . . Well, sakerjé, me vote for you, if Marichette let me. You be hang with Marichette. Marichette pas pour moi, and you know it. P't'être biengne. Depêches toi, v'la Marichette qui descend, et tu vas l'attraper. Well good night Pite. Et le j'able le portait par en bas. C'est tout-ce que j'ai à vous dire sur la politique, asteure.

The politicians and occasionally the tradesmen whom she describes are Englishmen invading a francophone society.

While the narrating voice of Marichette is a fascinating object of study in itself, the manipulation of linguistic and stylistic variations in representing the voices of other characters is yet more evidence of her own literary virtuosity. The writer utilizes code-switching to represent the speech and the voice of other characters with the use of English becoming an identifying feature. The *type* of language use is also manipulated to represent attempts by characters to adapt their own speech habits to a specific situation. The uneven degree of success of these attempts

is marked by the style or quality of expression affected by the writer, in other words by the use of pidgin or of code-switching, or by the use of idiomatic French/Franco-Acadian or English.

The various levels of language use are best illustrated in a single passage[15] in which code-switching, rather than being a mark of a change in speaker or voice, is a prominent feature of the reported speech itself, i.e., the dialogue that Marichette reproduces is itself bilingual. Marichette is the narrator and she listens in, "her ear against the stovepipe hole. . .," to a conversation between her husband, "le vieux Pite," and a Canvasser—a candidate for political office who fears Marichette, her political opinions and her capacity to control her husband. The passage opens in indirect style in Franco-Acadian: "One night this winter there came a. . . " It then quickly switches to first-person narration: "I get up and go to put my ear. . ." The passage then consists of a series of exchanges between Pite and the Canvasser that are reported in a dizzying mixture of French, English and two kinds of pidgin with numerous examples of code-switching. The code-switching is usually between French and English (Pite):

> *whos'me, you bougre de fou?*
> *Yes, ma vieille, h'is sick.* [sic],

or between one of these with a pidgin of the other (both Pite and the unnamed Canvasser):

> *You accept no reward money pour faire pendre Riel?*
> *Let me in, moi chec chose dire toi.*
> *Marichette pas pour moi, and you know it.*

(The occasional switching between unmarked French and Franco-Acadian in the speech of Pite as in the case of Marichette herself is difficult to judge. It may be a matter of stylistic inconsistency on the part of the writer herself or her erratic representation of the dialect.)

Pite is represented as speaking English and pidgin English in addition to his native Franco-Acadian. He indulges in code-switching between English and French with Franco-Acadian and pidgin English included in the switching on one occasion. All of these possibilities occur within dialogue directed at the same person.

The Canvasser, on the other hand, does not speak French (idiomatic or Franco-Acadian) but only pidgin French:

Pite, toi vote pour moi?

in addition to his native English:

Yes Pite, speak to me in French

or a mixture of the two (code-switching):

Pas peur Pite, moi pas faire mal toi. Let me in, moi chec chose dire toi.

and, on one occasion:

You be hang with Marichette. Marichette pas pour moi, and you know it.

pidgin English mixed in with the code-switching!

At one point Pite's code-switching appears to be the insertion of French segments into English sentences rather than the reverse, as one would expect, in a dialogue that he had actually started in Franco-Acadian in response to a request from the candidate that he speak to him in French. He nevertheless lapses into English and pidgin English.

Marichette is witness to the efforts of Pite to speak English and of the Canvasser to speak French. While Pite, the Acadian, comes out the best, neither one is particularly successful! The overall effect of the total charabia of each trying to speak the language of the other is hilarious, and the linguistic antics underscore the irony of the writer's tone. By relating a late-night unannounced visit by the Canvasser, she is commenting upon political opportunism

and hypocrisy. Although the Canvasser appears conciliatory in his linguistic behavior, he avoids answering Pite's request for reassurance that he will not support the hanging of Riel, or indulge in French-bashing once in Ottawa. (The strategy appears to have worked since Pite promises his support anyway.) The ironic tone is underscored by Marichette's conclusion, an abrupt change from narrative to a closing remark directed at the reader of the letter and expressing her opinion by not expressing it. ("That's all I've got to say to you about politics for now," when she in fact has not said anything.)

Other passages exemplify direct quotes of brief utterances in idiomatic English. They quite simply document the coexistence of the two language communities, and, of course, attest to Marichette's own command of English. They also document the use of English rather than French in any interaction between the two communities. They include samples of anglophones speaking to Acadians:

> *. . . pour nous dire: Keep clear, ladies,* (113)
> *Mais il a crié all aboard* (110)
> *Ah, be jabers, mum I beg yer pardon, I thought its a shoe you wanted; next door mum.* (96-97)

of Acadians speaking to anglophones:

> *. . . lui dit: your magnet is no good.* (119)

of anglophones (Marichette calls them *bad Englishmen*) speaking *about* Acadians:

> *Here is a sample of our French Acadiens boys* (103)

and, finally, of Acadians speaking to Acadians:

> *. . . et dit a sa soeur, lets go on board* (110)
> *. . . en disant: Marichette, no money in that for you.* (116)
> *Come out Pite and let us have something to drink, Marichette is gone out, quick* (56)

The last three examples are especially revealing. In the first case, the sisters in question are Marichette's daughters and Marichette is illustrating the preference of the younger generation of Acadians for English, *even among themselves*. In the second case, the speaker is Marichette's husband and this utterance is perhaps to be interpreted as having perlocutionary rather than illocutionary force. It is thus a kind of formula, like the English tags Marichette herself uses, since surely he would not dare speak English to his wife, knowing as he does her opinions and her personality. In the last case, the speaker is "Billie," obviously one of Pite's drinking buddies. The use of English underscores the complicity of the two in activities Marichette deplores—drinking as well as the speaking of English—and is motivated, no doubt, by a desire for secrecy. This one follows in the same paragraph another example in which the identity of the speaker is ambiguous. A reader of *L'Evangéline,* he shares Marichette's political views, and voices his approval to her: "*good for Marichette, write some more.*" (56) With the choice of English for this intervention what is Marichette trying to show?

Clearly, in all these cases code-switching accompanies a change in voice, usually from narrator to character. It occurs both with offset direct quotations and direct quotations identified by the use of the verb "to say," as well as with *implied* direct discourse. In the latter case the change in voice is indicated only by the code-switching itself:

> *et qu'aujourd'hui il allait voter pour Powill, and dont you forget it* (79)

—a fragment of indirect discourse in French, and thus the voice of the narrator. However, the sentence is completed in English, the language of the character (The Voter), and the command is directed by him at *his* interlocutor and not by Marichette at the reader.

The same is true of: "*L'étranger arrive. Where is Mr. Pete!*" (54) in which Marichette the narrator reports an

event, and then the words of the stranger in question; once again, the only formal mark of the change in narrative voice is the change in code. And, since the language of communication is expressly identified by the writer, the very fact that English is used becomes part of the message that she is seeking to convey, i.e., that English is the language of transactions concerning electioneering.

Throughout the letters, the varied linguistic behavior of the writer and her characters is partially but not entirely dependent on the speaker/listener combination: Pite and the Canvasser in their dialogue use a variety of combinations both in their exchanges and in their individual contributions. The linguistic and stylistic virtuosity of Marichette in her representation of speaking style and language use thus encompasses variation in language use, and the adaptation, albeit erratic, of language use to the situation.

Writing in Stereo—Writing for Effect

The languages-in-contact/languages-in-conflict dilemma is thus both a topic and an artifice in these texts, since Marichette writes about the use of English as well as the mixing of English and French, and uses those very devices to get the point across. Situations described in the letters evolve from misunderstandings due to language-use conflict, a "dialogue of the deaf" between Anglophone and Francophone. In the two examples cited, Marichette herself is the misunderstood or misunderstanding Francophone. At the same time, Marichette the writer is in fact bilingual and the misunderstandings have been created for effect as a social comment.

Her linguistic performance is just that, a performance, in which she illustrates the cultural and linguistic status of Franco-Acadians, i.e., the reality of speaking a minority language, of coping with the invasive nature of a dominant code, of being forced to resort to that dominant code in

order to communicate or suffer the consequences, and the consequent preoccupation with language questions.

At the same time, her own language is in effect the antithesis of the recognition that the Acadian is striving for, and, in a way, the banner of the identity he is trying to shake off (that of the *nègre blanc*[16]). But, in reality, who is linguistically handicapped: the unlettered but apparently bilingual Acadian whose vote is being solicited or the unilingual canvasser? And who is in reality the disadvantaged? For, in situations in which language use is an issue, the speakers of English are generally not on Marichette's team and not, therefore, the winners or, at the very least, the enlightened. (The canvasser may think he has sufficiently ingratiated himself to Pite, but Marichette leaves no doubt as to her own role in the outcome.) Only once is English spoken by a sympathetic character ("*Good for Marichette, write some more*" [56]. Elsewhere, the speaker's relationship to Marichette is at best ambiguous or openly unsupportive (as is the case of the lovers of alcohol, for example):

> "*Come out Pite and let us have something to drink, Marichette is gone out, quick*." Glou, glou, glou, "*dème that's good stuff*" save yourself quickly before Marichette gets back, because she'll wallop you with a broom handle" (56)

Thus, the speaking of English, *instead of French*—the real or implied inability or unwillingness to speak French—is, with few exceptions, associated with an unfavorable or unflattering portrayal of the character, someone who represents an issue that Marichette criticizes. Not even the writer's own daughters are spared their mother's scorn.

On the other hand, while Marichette's own language appears paradoxically to mirror the very thing that she so scornfully condemns, the mixing of English and French by her compatriots, the constance of the paradox must lead one to conclude that the irony is intentional and, there-

fore, the very reason she does it. Her language use is, in fact, a parody of the situation she lives; and by demonstrating her linguistic prowess, she affirms her own linguistic and social superiority.

Today, one hundred years later, the Acadian has truly "come out of the woods." Many of Marichette's complaints have been resolved: the French education that she petitioned for is in place and women have the vote. But the crisis of identity continues and with it assimilation to the still-dominant anglophone culture, fuelled, as it was a century ago, by economic concerns.

Marichette's exuberant representation of her dialect ensures the visual shock value of her letters. So does her penchant for colorful and socially unacceptable epithets. Juxtaposed as it was with the academic French and formal style of the newspaper in which they first appeared, the idiosyncratic style of her letters could not fail to make the reader sit up and take notice. A picture after all is worth a thousand words; a portrait of a society in conflict and of a language in peril is remembered long after a thousand dry, academic speeches and statistical analyses are forgotten. Her constant recourse to English words, phrases and exchanges, notwithstanding her tireless wit, is an eloquent reminder of the fragility of a minority language. That was no doubt the intent of her linguistic rebellion.

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On dit que Weymouth se purge des *grog shops*. L'ange destructeur a enfin semé la terreur parmi les grosses têtes du pont. Le vieux Pite a peur que les canvesseurs pourront pu bayer du *whisky* pour les faire voter.

Une nuit s'tiver il a venu un canvesseur de Digby frapper à la porte vers le mitant de la nuit. Ping, pang ! Whos' there ? *Me*, fut la réponse. Le vieux Pite huche tout haut et dit, whos' *me, you* bougre de fou ? Pas peur Pite, moi pas faire mal toi. *Let me in*, moi chec chose dire toi.—Dépêches-toi, Pite. Mets tes chulottes et désagne.—Ton femme Marichette couchée ? Yes, ma vieille, h'is sick.

J'me lève et vas mette mon oreille sur le trou du *stove* et j'ai tout entendu ce qui disions.—Pite, toi vote pour moi ? Me ask Marichette.—Oh fiddle stick with Marichette. Ton femme pas pour moi. J'attend Pite qui y demande : *You* parlez français. Yes Pite, speak to me in french.—All right. Tu est le candidat qui va *runner* pour Chéticamp ? Chis'qui ta fais sortir ? As-tu demandé aux Acajins de Clare ? *All right*. On se damne bien de ta politique. C'est l'homme qui nous faut. *You good man* ? You not hang Frenchman when you go to Ottawa ? You travailler pour les métis ? You accept no reward money pour faire pendre Riel ? You no drink when you get.... somewhere be dône.... Well, askerjé, me vote for you, if Marichette let me. You be hang with Marichette. Marichette pas pour moi, and you know it. P't'être biengne. Depêches toi, v'la Marichette qui descend, et tu vas l'attrapper. Well good night Pite. Et le j'able le portait par en bas. C'est tout-ce que j'ai à vous dire sur la politique, astoure.

Je vous aurions envoyé des nouvelles s'ti'ver si j'avais pas été malade au lit.

Il a rien arrivé dans note village, rien que des nouveaux nés, et cela est neuf et jamais nouveau. C'est comme partout ailleurs on les fabrique à la steam par icite. Il y en a aussi de morts et d'autres qui sont pas beaucoup mieux. Il y en a qui sont mariées, mais cousse là, *I bet*, i sont vaillapgne et smart. Ceux qui sont morts, j'savons pas hi-ousqui sont, j' l'ai avons pas vu sur l'*Evan-*

Mlle Colestie Gaudet,
M. Louis A Gaudet.
la paroisse exécuta a
messe du second ton,
entendre ses plus douc
A dix heures l'heureux
barquait pour un voy
Halifax, suivi des sou
nombreux amis.

Mardi soir, le Révd.
Cormier, Son Honneur
dry, M. O. M. Melans
docteur Belliveau se
Bouctouche pour intére
bres de la C. M. B. A.
Monument Lefebvre.
sé la parole à l'assemb
cursale et exposé leur
le curé Michaud, M.
pointe et M. le docteu
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mis de s'occuper active
vre.

Le 26 mai, les parois
Louis, comté de Kent,
en foule vers le temple
où bientôt ils devaient
moins d'une intéressan
religieuse ; c'était la b
mariage d'un couple
fort estimé d'un grand

Monsieur Simon P
associé de la compagnie
ron & Cie. de Shédiac,
sieur Amand Poirier, d
conduisait à l'autel l'
charmantes personnes
ce, Mademoiselle Os
institutrice et fille de
lonie Richard, marc
sieur Albert Poirier et
le Eugénie Richard, so
riée, servaient de témo

La messe fut célébrée
rend Père Pelletier, c
roisse.

L'autel du temple ét
la circonstance de ses
nements.

Le chœur paroissia
avec beaucoup d'entrai
anges. A l'offertoire
la messe, les demoiselle
des Sœurs de Charité
me Poirier était autref
chanté deux cantiques
rai longtemps le souve

A l'issue de la céré
reux époux se rendire
sieur Joseph Allaire,
lent dîner les attendait

L'on remarquait gra

figure 1.2 **L'Evangéline** ***with Marichette's letter on June 4, 1896***

Pite and the Candidate: code-switching in a bilingual dialogue. *figure 2*

Speaker	Code	Utterance
narrator	*Franco-Acadian*	Une nuit s'tiver il a venu un canvesseur de Digby frapper à la porte vers le mitant de la nuit.
		Ping, pang!
Pite	*English*	Whos' there?
canvasser	*English*	Me,
narrator	*French*	fut la réponse.
narrator	*French*	Le vieux Pite huche tout haut et dit,
Pite	*English/French*	whos'me, you bougre de fou?
canvasser	*pidgin French*	Pas peur Pite, moi pas faire mal toi.
	English/pidgin Fr	Let me in, moi chec chose dire toi.
Marichette	*Franco-Acadian*	Dépêches-toi, Pite. Mets tes chulottes et désagne.
canvasser	*pidgin French*	—Ton femme Marichette couchée?
Pite	*English/French*	Yes, ma vieille, h'is sick.
narrator	*Franco-Acadian*	J'me lève et vas mette mon oreille sur le trou du stove et j'ai tout entendu ce qui disions.
canvasser	*pidgin French*	—Pite, toi vote pour moi?
Pite	*pidgin English*	Me ask Marichette.
canvasser	*English*	—Oh fiddlestick with Marichette.
	pidgin French	Ton femme pas pour moi.
narrator	*Franco-Acadian*	J'attend Pite qui y demande:
Pite	*English/French*	You parlez français.
canvasser	*English*	Yes Pite, speak to me in French.
Pite	*English*	—All right.
	Franco-Acadian	Tu est le candidat qui va runner pour Chéticamp?
	Franco-Acadian	Chis'qui ta fais sortir?
	Franco-Acadian	As-tu demandé aux Acajins de Clare?

	English	All right.
	French	On se damne bien de ta politique.
	French	C'est l'homme qui nous faut.
	pidgin English	You good man?
	pidgin English	You not hang Frenchman when you go to Ottawa?
	English/French	You travailler pour les métis?
	pidgin Eng/French	You accept no reward money pour faire pendre Riel?
	pidgin Eng/French	You no drink when you get . . . somewhere be dème. . .
	pidgin English	Well, sakerjé, me vote for you, if Marichette let me.
canvasser	*pidgin English*	You be hang with Marichette.
	pidgin Fr/English	Marichette pas pour moi, and you know it.
Pite	*Franco-Acadian*	P't'être biengne.
	Franco-Acadian	Depêches toi, v'la Marichette qui descend, et tu vas l'attraper.
canvasser	*English*	Well good night Pite.
narrator	*Franco-Acadian*	Et le j'able le portait par en bas.
	Franco-Acadian	C'est tout-ce que j'ai à vous dire sur la politique, asteure.

Notes

[1] *Le Moniteur acadien* was published from 1867 until 1926, *L'Evangéline* from 1887 until 1982.

[2] Gérin, Pierre and Pierre M. Gérin. 1982. *Marichette: Lettres acadiennes,* 1985-1898. Edition commentée. Sherbrooke: Editions Naaman. This scholarly work by respected Acadianists, unfortunately no longer in print, presents the results of detailed research into the authorship of the letters, as well as discussion of the historical and social background, the political climate, a linguistic description and a glossary. Although I have consulted the originals (available on microfilm), I have used the Gérin edition as the basis for my analysis. References to the letters are hereafter identified by the date of publication in *L'Evangéline* (ex. 14 Feb 95), and/or by the page reference to Gérin.

[3] Maillet, Antonine. 1973. *La Sagouine.* Montreal: Leméac.

[4] All English quotations not in italics are my translation of the original. Quotations of the original (either English or a mixture of French and English) are in italics, with the relevant or significant item in bold characters.

[5] Louis Riel, the Métis leader of the Northwest Rebellion of 1885, was captured after the defeat of the rebels by government forces. Though seen as a traitor in English Canada (he was found guilty of treason and executed), to his francophone compatriots he was a hero.

[6] In Canadian politics, this colloquial label for members and supporters of the Conservative Party is often used by their political opponents as an unflattering epithet.

[7] Both in content and in style, they anticipate by three quarters of a century the work of Québécois authors publishing in *joual.*

[8] Those deriving on the one hand from its archaic or conservative morphology, syntax and lexicon (archaic in relation to metropolitan French, from which it had been isolated for a century and a half), as well as others resulting from the encoding, in Franco-Acadian, of features judged stylistically inappropriate in metropolitan French ("popular" or colloquial)—encoded thanks to the generations of cultural deprivation.

[9] I have examined these aspects of Marichette's language in earlier studies in which I relate the variant spellings to the aesthetics of the evocation of dialect: Wrenn, P.M. 1987. Ortho- and Morpho-graphic Transcoding of Acadian "Franglais." *Visible Language* 21:1, 106-129. Wrenn, P.M. 1992. Ecriture Dialectale et Poésie Orale: Les Lettres de Marichette. *Mélanges*

Léon: Phonetique, Phonostylistique, Linguistique et Littérature. Hommages à Pierre Léon. Toronto: Editions Mélodie-Toronto, 551-568.

10 Gérin and Gérin. *Marichette: Lettres acadiennes,* 173.

11 Gérin and Gérin, 173.

12 Gérin and Gérin (25-40) cite evidence in the content of the letters that belies her claim to humble origins, and questions her intentions; an exhaustive investigation, including personal interviews, leads them to conclude that Marichette, obviously a *nom de plume,* was an identity assumed by a certain Miss Emilie Leblanc, a well-educated schoolmistress, whose liaison with Valentin Landry, the editor of *L'Evangéline,* is suggested in documents surviving in regional archives. See also Gérin, Pierre and Pierre M. Gérin. 1977. Qui êtes-vous Marichette? Une Épistolière Acadienne à la Fin du XIXe Siècle. *Les Cahiers de la Société Historique Acadienne,* 8:4, 165-172.

13 These utterances are constructed using the lexical items of one of the two languages but with no attempt at morphological or syntactic structure. See Lehiste, Ilse. 1988. *Lectures on Language Contact.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, for a survery of recent research into pidgins (along with creoles). According to Lehiste, a pidgin "can arise—even in the space of a few hours—whenever an emergency situation calls for communication on a minimal level of comprehension." (82)

14 See Ong, Walter. 1982. *Orality and Literacy: the Technologizing of the Word.* London and New York: Methuen.

15 *L'Evangéline,* Thursday 04 Jun 96, page 3, columns 3 and 4; pg87-88, reproduced in *figures 1.1* and *1.2* in this study.

16 The *nègre blanc,* the French equivalent of "white nigger," was applied to the situation of French-speaking Canadians by Pierre Vallières. 1969. *Nègres Blancs d'Amérique.* Montréal: Parti Pris. (Translated by Joan Pinkham. 1971. *White Niggers of America.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.)

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Transformations in Exile:

The Multilingual Exploits of Nabokov's Pnin and Kinbote

Having become fluent in Russian, English, and French as a child, Vladimir Nabokov was not simply a Russian writer until 1939 and an Anglo-American one thereafter. More accurately a polyglot with amazing metalinguistic awareness, he incorporated within his writing, especially his English-language novels, a polylinguistic matrix. Employing techniques such as code-switching, language overlapping and multilingual literary puzzles, motifs, themes and allusions, Nabokov created a "web ot sense," a subtext partially accessible to monoglots, but only fully comprehensible to those who know well several languages, literatures and histories. In addition to providing an enriching experience for the monolingual reader, *Pnin* (1957), which marked Nabokov's self-awareness as an intrinsially polgot writer, and *Pale Fire* (1962), which revealed the immensity of his genius and coplexity, also offer these engaging multilingual subtexts.

With Bolshevik machine guns firing at it from Sebastapol's shore, the Greek ship *Nadezhda*[1] zigzagged out of the harbor. It carried a cargo of dried fruit, the seven ministers of the regional government and their families and the Nabokovs. On deck, twenty-year-old Vladimir sat playing chess with his father. In a few hours he would see his beloved Russia for the last time.[2] It was April 25, 1919. For the next fifty-eight years, until his death in Montreux, Switzerland on July 2, 1977, Vladimir Vladimirovich Nabokov would live in exile, a Russian expatriate finding occasional refuge, solace, even happiness, but never home.

In his autobiography, ***Speak, Memory***, Nabokov offered an Hegelian description of his life:

> *A colored spiral in a small ball of glass, this is how I see my own life. The twenty years I spent in my native Russia (1899-1919) take care of the thetic arc. Twenty-one years of voluntary exile in England, Germany, and France (1919-1940) supply the obvious antithesis. The period spent in my adopted country* [the United States] *(1940-1960) forms a synthesis—and a new thesis.*[3]

That one cataclysmic occurrence, his loss of Russia, became "the determining fact of Nabokov's life and art."[4] Soon afterwards, at Cambridge, his "main intellectual and artistic endeavor. . . was to make himself into a Russian poet."[5]

His "fear of losing or corrupting, through alien influence, the only thing. . . salvaged from Russia—her language—became positively morbid."[6] For nearly twenty years then, supported by the many Russian journals, magazines and publishing houses in Berlin and Paris, Nabokov wrote and published in Russian several books of poetry, novels, collections of short stories, plays and translations of English works, mainly under the nom de plume, *Sirin.*

Nabokov chose *Sirin* "to distinguish him from [his father] V. D. Nabokov, whose byline appeared frequently in. . . the émigré press."[7] In addition, choosing the name of

a fabulous bird of paradise in Russian folklore also revealed "both his longing for Russia and his more unexpected link to Russia's bright supernatural forces."[8] He wrote,

> *I have read somewhere that several centuries ago there was a glorious variety of the pheasant haunting Russian woods. . . This wonder-bird made such an impression on the people's imagination that its golden flutter became the very soul of Russian art.*[9]

So too, Nabokov/Sirin hoped, would his poetry.

For the homeless wanderer, the word *Sirin* also echoed Russia's siren call,[10] a call Nabokov could answer for a time in his art, but never again in his life. In December 1938, stopping his ears as Odysseus had, Nabokov gave up his primarily Russian self and began his first English novel, ***The Real Life of Sebastian Knight.*** "Across the dark sky of exile, Sirin passed. . . like a meteor and disappeared, leaving nothing much else behind him than a vague sense of uneasiness."[11]

Despite this shift to English, Nabokov's Russian as well as several other languages continued to appear in his writing. Thus, to call him bilingual, to label him a Russian writer until 1939 and an Anglo-American one thereafter misses the mark. During his formative, pre-exile years, in addition to Russian he "thoroughly and early mastered English and French."[12] He also knew German well. More accurately a polyglot with "increased metalinguistic awareness,"[13] Nabokov created especially in his English novels—the focus of this study—a "polylinguistic matrix. . . [which was] the determining factor"[14] in his art.

Creating this polylinguistic matrix was at first most difficult, and writing ***The Real Life of Sebastian Knight*** in English was fraught with anxiety:

> *He was most anxious that this first novel in English should sound neither "foreign" nor read as though it had been translated into English.*[15]

Ten years later, however,

> *after almost a decade of self-imposed barriers and exclusions, Nabokov began to allow his polyglot nature to reappear. . .* [a]*t first, in* ***Bend Sinister,***[16]

set in Imaginary "Sinisterbend," which is both multi-lingual and multi-national. Although written in English, the novel contains a Russo-German combination that all characters speak and understand; French, the language of intellectuals and pseudo-intellectuals; and English, the language of artists and writers. By the middle of the 1950s, having completed ***Lolita,*** Nabokov was not only writing novels in English and within an American milieu; he was also translating from Russian into English: ***The Song of Igor's Campaign*** and ***Eugene Onegin.*** The publication in 1957 of ***Pnin,*** an English-language novel set in America and containing both a Russian protagonist (Pnin) and narrator (V.V.), indicated that Nabokov had lost his

> *insidious fear of involuntary contamination of one language. . .* [by another and] *confirmed the final consolidation of his awareness of himself as an intrinsically polyglot writer.*[17]

With ***Pale Fire,*** a polylinguistic, multi-cultural *tour de force,* Nabokov revealed in 1962 the immensity of his literary genius, his extraordinary ability to meld languages, literatures and histories: English, Russian, Finno-Ugric, Celtic and Germanic (West and North).[18]

Though written mainly in English and set primarily in the United States, ***Pnin*** and ***Pale Fire*** were pivotal in Nabokov's becoming an international novelist of the first order. Both recount the story of a Russian exile teaching at a northeastern United States university and trying to adjust to a new culture without losing his original, primary identity. While Pnin's and Kinbote's circumstances echo Nabokov's at Wellesley College and Cornell University, their experiences differ greatly from their creator's.

Perhaps not surprisingly, however, Pnin's and Kinbote's native (Russian) and adopted (English) languages become significant aspects of their lives and major formal elements of each novel.

On one level, the infusion of Russian (and to a lesser extent German and French) intensifies the illusion of reality in ***Pnin.*** As a non-native speaker of English, Pnin uses code-switching out of necessity to communicate his thoughts and ideas. To distinguish the Russian words, Nabokov italicizes and transliterates the Cyrillic alphabet into modern Western European. Of course, not using Cyrillic letters lessens the visual impact; however, transliteration enormously enhances the oral/aural effect. The English-speaking reader who does not know Russian can still recognize the italicized Russian words, and make a reasonable attempt at pronouncing them since Nabokov's transliterations are, for the most part, phonetically consistent. In addition, Nabokov typically provides a translation, often literal, and often in parentheses. For example, during the novel's opening sequence, Pnin checks his bag at a bus station:

> "*Quittance?*" queried Pnin, Englishing the Russian for 'receipt' (***kvitansiya***).[19]

Of course the clerk does not understand ("What's that?"), so Pnin must continue:

> "*Number?*" tried Pnin.

This early exchange precisely illustrates Pnin's difficulty with English which, in turn, epitomizes his inability to "fit in." With Americans, his code-switching usually involves interference, that is "deviation from the norms of one language [English] under influence from another [Russian]."[20] With his inadequate English, Pnin borrows from his native Russian in an attempt to fill the lexical gaps. Rather, he overlaps the two languages and inhibits communication.

While Pnin's listeners are confused both by his code-switching and his mispronunciations, readers are not. Thus, although "his difficulties with English. . . make him a comic legend throughout the campus," readers see him at first as a figure of fun but soon as an object of pathos.[21] Enabled by Nabokov's linguistic and textual strategies to understand most of Pnin's words, and privy to his thoughts, readers recognize the suffering exile has caused him. They see a more detailed portrait of the man in his professional life, in his relationships with acquaintances and friends (especially Russian émigré friends) and in his private world. Nevertheless, without knowing Russian, the readers, like Pnin's listeners, miss a good measure of the web of sense Nabokov creates to shape his character's life and the novel itself. In particular, certain Russianisms signal stages of Pnin's attempt to establish a past-present-future continuum so that he may adjust to life in the United States and, more importantly, create a new self.

Early in the novel, despite having lived in the United States for nearly ten years, "his English was still full of flaws" (***Pnin,*** 368), most probably because he continues to think in Russian. Another example occurs in the bus station scene: Unable to claim the bag he had checked, Pnin discovers to his relief that

> *It was there,* ***slava Bogu*** (*thank God*)*! Very well! He would not wear his black suit—****vot i vsyo*** (*that's all*) (***Pnin,*** 371).

Significantly, not only the language, but especially Russian memories dominate his thoughts and make integration into a new culture virtually impossible.

Nabokov's novels often include allusions to "real people," some readily recognizable (Tolstoy, Hans Christian Andersen, Freud, Ophelia), others apparent only to a knowledgeable few (Nikolay Lobachevski: nineteenth-century Russian mathematician; Ivan Sergeyevich Aksakov: nineteenth-century leader of Russia's Slavophiles).

To weave a subtext that suggests Pnin's fixation with his past, Nabokov creates a number of evocative, imaginary Russian names pertinent to Pnin's relationship with his past, his present and even his future. The three women in his life—Mira Belochkin, Elizaveta Innokentievna Bogolopov and Betty Bliss—poignantly illustrate this effect.

Mira Belochkin, his fiancee in Russia until "the Civil War of 1918-22 separated them. . . [and] history broke their engagement" (***Pnin,*** 465), represents Pnin's preoccupation with his Russian past. Her given name, *Mira,* means "world" and "peace" in Russian (*mir*), two things that the Revolution literally snatched from Pnin. Her surname, *Belochkin,* evokes an even richer pattern of meaning. Russian for "squirrel" (*belka*), it is part of an image pattern representing Pnin's painful loss of Russia and his difficulty adapting to the United States.

Much has been written about Pnin's several encounters with squirrels.[22] His first occurs at age eleven when, with a high fever, "poor cocooned pupa, Timosha (Tim) lay under a mass of additional blankets" (***Pnin,*** 375), studying the squirrel carved on a wooden screen in his bedroom. In the United States every subsequent incident with squirrels signals Pnin's developmental stage: pain, confusion, even panic because he cannot relinquish his past (still cocooned) or attempted adaptation to a new life (emerging from the chrysalis). His recurring memories of Mira Belochkin, whom he lost because of the Revolution and who later died in a Nazi concentration camp, are always heart-rending.

Nabokov ironically names the next woman in Pnin's life, his former, notoriously unfaithful wife. She is Elizaveta (from the Hebrew for "oath of God"), Innokentievna (Russian patronymic, "daughter of Innocent"), Bogolepov ("*Russian calque of the Greek* ***theoprepaes,*** *'agreeable to God'*").[23] Unfortunately, Pnin cannot recognize Liza's true nature and continues to love her even a decade and a half after she jilted him.

In 1952 she visits Pnin to announce the end of her marriage to Eric Wind (the man for whom she left Pnin), to tell him of her new lover, George, and to ask Pnin to help pay for her son's private school education. As they converse, she and Pnin use and often overlap Russian and English. Nabokov's unusual failure to translate much of the Russian here intensifies the visual impact and suggests the terrible obstacle that Pnin's love for Liza poses to his moving on to a new life:

Suddenly he heard her sonorous voice ("*Timofey,* ***zdrastvuy!***") behind him, and. . . [t]here she was. She always felt hot and buoyant, no matter the cold, and now her sealskin coat was wide open on her frilled blouse as she hugged Pnin's head and he felt the grapefruit fragrance of her neck, and kept muttering: "***Nu nu, vot i horosho, nu vot***"—mere verbal heart props—and she cried out: "*Oh, he has splendid new teeth.*" He helped her into a taxi. . . "*By the way,*" interrupted Pnin, ducking and pointing, "*you can see a corner of the campus from here.*". . . (*Yes, I see,* ***vishu, vishu, kampus kak kampus:*** *The usual kind of thing*"). . .

"*Here we are. this is my* ***palazzo,***" said jocose Pnin . . . "*What a gruesome place,* ***kakoy zhutkiy*** *dom,*" she said, sitting on the chair near the telephone and taking off her galoshes. (***Pnin,*** 399-400)

Hoping that she will again be part of his life, that perhaps they may even remarry, Pnin instead learns that Liza has come to exploit his love for her once more. After she leaves, he mentions in conversation with his landlady, Joan Clements, two Lermontov poems which "expressed everything about mermaids" (***Pnin,*** 405). Probably referring to *The Mermaid* (1832) and *The Sea Princess* (1841), he retreats from life into the scholarly comfort of Russian literature. He does not, however, connect literature and life, does not overtly acknowledge that Liza is, like

Lermontov's "Sea Princess," actually a ghastly reptile. Devastated by "losing" her again, he cries pitifully: "I have nofing left, nofing, nofing!" (***Pnin,*** 406).

Pnin's love for Liza has also eliminated any possibility of future romance. A few days before her visit he holds hands with the third woman in his life, a twenty-nine-year-old graduate student, appropriately named Elizabeth Bliss. Although she nearly captures his interest (*bliz* is Russian for "near"), he rejects this Elizabeth because "his heart [still] belonged to another woman" (***Pnin,*** 390).

Three later incidents, and the Russian names connected to them, reveal Pnin's further attempts to shed the stifling cocoon of his past and emerge into a new and satisfying life. In April of 1954 Liza's son, Victor, visits, and little seems to go well despite Pnin's efforts. Afterwards, it is clear that he has established a lasting and meaningful bond with the boy, beginning with "a staid and decorous correspondence" which included a letter "followed by a picture postcard representing the Gray Squirrel" (***Pnin,*** 427) from Pnin to Victor, and culminating with a beautiful crystal bowl from Victor to Pnin. It is important that during the visit, Pnin identifies himself first in the traditional Russian manner as "Timofey Pavlovich Pnin," then immediately tells the boy to "call me simply Mr. Tim or, even shorter, Tim" (***Pnin,*** 441). Previously "greatly embarrassed by the ease with which first names were bandied about in America" (***Pnin,*** 441), Pnin adjusts easily with Victor.

Later, the first positive squirrel appears and with the bowl completes a linguistic transformation. At his house party where he uses Victor's bowl, Pnin explains that,

> *Cendrillon's* [Cinderella's] *shoes were not made of glass but of Russian squirrel fur—**vair,** in French. It was, he said, an obvious case of the survival of the fittest among words, **verre*** [French for "glass"] *being more evocative than **vair** which, he submitted, came. . . from **veveritsa,** Slavic for. . . winter-squirrel fur* (***Pnin,*** 484-485).

Here French supplants Russian. Similarly, just after he tells Victor to call him "Tim," Pnin tries to converse with the boy in French, which he "speak[s] with much more facility than in English" (***Pnin,*** 441). Unfortunately, Victor comprehends "*Très un peu,*" so they return to Pninian English. Although Pnin is adept in Russian and French, his progress with English stopped around 1950. However, because Victor has heard many Russians speak English, he has no difficulty understanding him, unlike the members of the Waindell College community.

The second incident during which Russian names suggest Pnin's attempts to shed his past occurs in the summer of 1954 when he visits Cook's Place, a haven for Russian émigrés. Having just learned how to drive, he arrives despite being unable to follow a mimeographed-sketch map from Cook and directions from a gas station attendant. When he steps out of his car, Varvara Bolotov exclaims,

> "*Avtomobil', kostyum—nu pryamo amerikanets (a veritable American), pryamo Ayzenhauer!*" (***Pnin*** 454).

Only partially translated in the text, the full statement reads, "That car, that suit—a veritable American, a veritable Eisenhower!" Although Varvara Bolotov proclaims assimilation—indicated by Pnin's car, suit and resemblance to Eisenhower—the conversation and the ambiance at Cook's remain Old Russian, filled with memories of the past. In fact, although Cook, "a Business Executive, a Mason, a Golfer," has Americanized his name and speaks "beautifully correct, neutral English, with only the softest shadow of a Slavic accent" (***Pnin,*** 450), the shadow is there. Formerly Aleksandr Petrovich Kukolnikov (***kukolka*** is Russian for "chrysalis"), Al Cook seems to have emerged from his cocoon and completed his metamorphosis, his own assimilation. However, his devotion to Russian people, language and culture suggests that his

new name is, like Pnin's car and suit, "make believe," a "disguise" (*kukol'nyi* in Russian).

The third incident during which Russian names suggest Pnin's attempt to emerge from his past involves his much hoped-for tenure after nine tenuous years at Waindell as an assistant professor: "oh, not next year, but example given, at hundreth anniversary of Liberation of Serfs" (***Pnin,*** 493). During his houseparty, at the precise moment when he expresses this hope, he learns that he is to be fired, not tenured. Afterwards, just before he leaves Waindell, Pnin thinks he sees among the

> *fresco portraits of faculty members in the college dining hall. . . the preliminary outlines of a ghostly muzhik* [Russian serf] *on the wall* (***Pnin,*** 509).

Painted by his nemesis and gadfly, reactionary Sovietophile Oleg Komarov (appropriately, *komar* is Russian for "gnat"), the unfinished portrait enrages Pnin. Believing that his face will appear "above that [muzhik's] blouse," Pnin loses "all control over what English he had" (***Pnin,*** 509). Denied tenure despite his tremendous efforts, he will not gain the liberation the serfs did a century before. Instead, he will remain symbolically enslaved by his historical and linguistic past, not a Russo-American intellectual, not an honored member of the faculty, but a misunderstood *muzhik*.

As the novel closes on February 15, 1955 (Pnin's birthday), Pnin drives away from Waindell with the little white dog he has taken in, and seems to the narrator V.V. "free at last. . . [for] there was simply no saying what miracle might happen" (***Pnin,*** 511). Indeed, when we next encounter him four years later in ***Pale Fire,*** he has become head of the Russian Department at Wordsmith College. While only sparse information about Pnin's new life comes from an unreliable source—Charles Kinbote, the central character and mad first-person narrator of ***Pale Fire***—it is consistent with what we already know. He

reappears as "a bald-headed suntanned professor in a Hawaiian shirt. . . with a fat little white dog"[24] and a name "all find it difficult to *attack*. . . [but] Think of the French word for 'tire': *punoo* [actually *pneu*]" (***Pale Fire,*** 268). Despite the continued interference his name causes, miraculously now Pnin seems "to fit in." At Wordsmith his liberation has finally occurred.

In dramatic contrast, Charles Kinbote of ***Pale Fire,*** another exile teaching at a northeastern United States college, is an outrageous misfit. Where in ***Pnin*** Nabokov presented a rather straightforward story of painful adjustment to a new country and culture, in ***Pale Fire*** he creates

> *a structural surprise: the symbolic level, the fantastic, the poetic, lies on its surface and is obvious, while the factual, the realistic is only slightly hinted at, and may be approached as a riddle.*[25]

(Nabokov once "observed that the unravelling of a riddle is the purest and most basic act of the human mind.")[26] Mary McCarthy first noted that Kinbote is not the exiled King of Zembla, but really Vseslav Botkin, an American scholar of Russian descent who stole John Shade's poem. Furthermore, Shade was not shot and killed by the Zemblan assassin, Jakob Gradus, who meant to shoot Kinbote, but by Jack Grey, an escaped psychopath who mistook Shade for Judge Goldsworth.[27] Taking part in this riddle-like game of discovering concealed identities and hidden motives surely will offer attentive readers a delightful challenge. Likewise, Nabokov's style, which interweaves words and literary (as well as historical) allusions from several languages and cultures, as well as rare, obscure and sometimes non-existent English items, will send conscientious readers scrambling about the reference section of their library.

As I noted earlier, through his narrator, Kinbote, Nabokov presents in ***Pale Fire*** a Gordian Knot of languages, literatures and histories: English, Russian, Finno-

Ugric, Celtic and Germanic (West and North). The code-switching, language mixing, arcane words and neologisms have high visual impact, and therefore allow—as well as require—greater effort than ordinary reading. Consider, for example, Kinbote's description of Zembla, his imaginary native, "crystal land":

Zembla, my dear country. . . Everybody, in a word, was content—even the political mischiefmakers who were contentedly making mischief paid by a contented Sosed (Zembla's gigantic neighbor). . . The last king of Zembla . . . had become. . . passionately addicted to the study of literature. . . [H]*e had attained such a degree of scholarship that he dared accede to his venerable uncle's raucous dying request: "Teach, Karlik!" Of course, it would have been unseemly for a monarch to appear in the robes of learning at a university lectern and present to rosy youths* **Finnegan's** [sic] **Wake** *as a monstrous extension of Angus MacDiarmid's "incoherent transactions" and of Southey's Lingo-Grande ("Dear Stumparumper," etc.) or discuss the Zemblan variants, collected in 1798 by Hodinski, of the* **Kongs-skugg-sio** (**The Royal Mirror**), *an anonymous masterpiece of the twelfth century. . .*

During these periods of teaching, Charle Xavier made it a rule to sleep at a **pied-à-terre** *he had rented, as any scholarly citizen would, in Coriolanus Lane, a charming, central-heated studio with adjacent bathroom and kitchenette.* (**Pale Fire,** 74-76)

A labyrinth of visually prominent linguistic, literary, and historical twists and turns marks the above passage. Some corridors are simple and straightforward, for example *pied-à-terre* (French for temporary lodging) and *Sosed* (Russian for neighbor), both italicized to indicate they are "foreign words." Other avenues, consisting mainly of proper names and titles, make one's head spin. For example, a monolingual reader would not know that *Karlik* is

Russian for "dwarf" (and part of an image pattern I will discuss later). Astute readers would recognize ***Finnegan's*** [sic] ***Wake,*** and perhaps connect Kinbote's "*Zembla*" with Alexander Pope's, but would they see the relationship to the Russian *Zemlya* (land), or realize that "*Kongs-skugg-sio*" does mean Royal Mirror in Old Icelandic and alludes to "the most important scholastic work of medieval Scandinavia?" [28] Likewise, "Southey" is obviously the British historian, critic and Poet Laureate (1813), but what in the world is "Lingo-Grande ('Dear Strumparumper,' etc.)"? And "Angus MacDiarmid"? Is this somehow an allusion to Scottish poet Hugh MacDiarmid? And why the allusion to Shakespeare's ***Coriolanus***?

In his next novel, ***Ada*** (and later in ***Look at the Harlequins!***), Nabokov will go even further and allow

> *surface interference and interreference* [to] *permeate the entire fabric. . .* [He will] *behave linguistically very much as polyglots behave when they communicate with each other, rather than with monoglot speakers of any of their languages.*[29]

As a result, fully comprehending ***Ada*** will be virtually impossible for most monolinguals. With ***Pale Fire*** the challenge is imposing but not hopeless.

Pale Fire's central character and narrator, Charles Kinbote, is adept with English; yet like Pnin he is mocked by his colleagues. Unlike Pnin, however, Kinbote is mentally unhinged, enormously self-centered and unabashedly homosexual; his colleagues continually ridicule these qualities.[30] To cope with the anguish of exile, he "construct[s] the compensatory refuge of Zembla,"[31] where Vseslav Botkin, disdained professor of Russian at Wordsmith College, becomes King Charles the Beloved. Deviating from

> *set modes of expression and conventional registers of style. . .* [he invents] *new and arresting word combinations, employing high-flown, recherché vocabulary,*[32]

and a web of language mixing.

The Zemblan language which Kinbote creates is "a synthesis of Slavic and Germanic roots. . . often combined in a single word."[33] For example, he terms an "unshaven dark young [sentinel] ***nattdett*** (child of night)" (***Pale Fire,*** 95). Indeed, *natt* comes from the Germanic *nacht-,* and *dett* from the Slavic *det-,* so Kinbote's parenthetical translation is, as usual, accurate. According to Priscilla Meyer, through Kinbote's Zemblan language,

> *Nabokov merges his Russian and English childhoods, his Russian and Anglo-American cultural strains, in the regal realm of the imagination.*[34]

However, although Kinbote's Zembla mirrors Nabokov's Russia, the image is distorted. Furthermore, neither the form nor the substance of Kinbote's foreword, commentary and index illuminate Shade's poem, *Pale Fire.* Instead, they strive to create an identity which will earn Vseslav Botkin admiration, adulation and respect rather than contempt, disdain and rejection. He believes that his transformation depends on Shade, for when Shade transmutes Charles the Beloved's story into poetry, "the stuff *will* be true, and the people *will* come alive" (***Pale Fire,*** 214).

Although Kinbote nearly always provides in parentheses an accurate, literal translation of the Zemblan common nouns, verbs and adjectives that he interjects into his commentary, the proper nouns frequently contain significant, hidden, emotionally charged meaning. Thus, besides the overt code-switching, which seems to establish empirically that Zembla and its exiled king do exist, there is covert polylingualism through which Kinbote unintentionally affirms his true nature and identity.

Kinbote's Russian heritage certainly affected his life as V. Botkin, for it enabled/influenced him to become a professor of Russian at Wordsmith College. Although he rejects his ethnic identity, it persistently pulls aside his Zemblan mask, particularly for the bilingual reader who knows both English and Russian. In this context, the eye-catching names Kinbote assigns to people and places reinforce his denigration of heterosexuality, his exaltation of homosexuality and the "flimsy nonsense" of his autobiography. He treats nearly all of the heterosexuals he describes as threatening, repulsive or somehow pathetic. First among them is Sybil Shade. Kinbote believes that she forced her husband to

> *tone down or remove from his Fair Copy everything connected with the magnificent Zemblan theme which I* [Kinbote] *kept furnishing him* (***Pale Fire,*** 91).

Because she threatens Zembla, she becomes his second (to Jakob Gradus, who threatens his person) greatest enemy.

Less obvious are Zemblans such as Count Otar, "heterosexual man of fashion and Zemblan patriot" (***Pale Fire,*** 311). On one hand, to fabricate his loyal subject, Kinbote draws upon Ottar the Black, court poet and historian to King Olaf of Norway. On the other hand, the name echoes the Russian for "flock (of sheep)," for though a patriot, Otar's sexuality is for his king mundane, merely a herd instinct. Likewise, Kinbote names the heterosexual queen "who drowned in an ice-hole with her Russian lover" (***Pale Fire*** 315), Yaruga, suggesting the Russian for "I scold" (*ya rugayu*). He also associates heterosexuality with cold on other occasions, notably when he links a Zemblan saying with his wife, Disa, who loves him despite his rejection of her:

> ***belwif ivurkumpf wid snew ebanumf,*** *"A beautiful woman should be like a compass rose of ivory with four parts of ebony"* (***Pale Fire,*** 206).

Comparing the Zemblan with its inaccurate translation will provide a merry chase for any linguist, but keeping to my purpose here, *wid snew ebanumf* offers a Slavic-Germanic combination of note: "they copulate" (Russian *ebanut*) "with snow" (*withro snoigwh-*), certainly not a romantic depiction of conjugal love.

Although he has transformed his homosexuality into kingship, throughout his tale Kinbote continually expresses moral qualms about his "sinful practices," and dreads yet expects to be punished. Thus, in addition to feeling ennobled and exalted by his sexuality, he also feels threatened and debased. Dwarf imagery consistently represents his ambivalence. For example, during his escape, Kinbote suffers "a shiver of alfear (uncontrollable fear caused by elves)" when he discovers that his reflection in a small mountain lake is actually "a red-sweatered, red-capped doubleganger" (***Pale Fire,*** 143). He later wonders if "a dwarf in the [Zemblan] police force [could] pose as a pig-tailed child" (***Pale Fire,*** 146). His loyal supporters, perhaps not surprisingly, echo his ambivalence: the "Karlists" endorse and defend "King Charles"; on the other hand, their name closely resembles the Russian for "dwarf" (*karlik*), and Kinbote even gives himself (as King Charles) the diminutive *Karlik*.

Other bilingual clues to the truth behind Kinbote's mask appear in the doubles he creates. For example, he abhors his Wordsmith colleague Reginald Emerald for rejecting his homosexual advances. He also vilifies the Zemblan, Isumrudov (Russian for "emerald"), for opposing his monarchy. Similarly, his supporter Odon has a half-brother, Nodo who opposes the king. Perhaps they are "one and the same" (*odin* in Russian; also, Odon is Nodo backwards), or perhaps they express Kinbote's sexual dilemma: "Oh do! No don't!"[35] "Sudarg of Bokay" and "Jakob Gradus" certainly reflect his dichotomous identity and world. The first, an artisan who manufactured "a truly fantastic mirror. . . a secret device of reflec-

tion" (***Pale Fire,*** 111), represents Kinbote's "brilliant invention." The second, an assassin sent to kill the king, represents reality breaking through. The Russian in these two names reveals the characters' underlying sameness and reinforces the idea that Kinbote's fragmentation/doubling only hides and distorts true identity. Since Jakob Gradus represents "the real," he is the dull, mundane aspect of a single "personality": "I" (*ya*) am a "degree" (*gradus*), a part of the whole. In contrast, Sudarg of Bokay represents the fantastic with its permutations, so he appropriately is the "ruler" (*gosudar'*) of the other "side" (*bok*) of "me" (*ya*).[36] However, neither Jakob Gradus nor Sudarg of Bokay exists, for Kinbote has transformed the psychotic killer, Jack Grey, to his own ends.

Just so with Botkin, himself, with whom Nabokov plays a bilingual joke. As Andrew Field observed,

> *The direct anagram of Botkin in Russian is* ***nikto,*** *the Russian for "nobody." Botkin has. . . the same superfluous "b"—the Russian is* ***zemlya*** *and means "land"—we find in the Popean Zembla,*[37]

and of course in Kinbote's Zembla. Ultimately, the man and the place then are "nobody" and "nowhere."

His creator, however, was indeed someone and somewhere. When he fled Russia in 1919, Nabokov left behind his homeland and his Russian self. With him he took his memories and the imaginative genius and passion to become V. Sirin and Vladimir Nabokov. His immense legacy to readers is marked by a richness that grows geometrically as we explore more deeply the "webs of sense" that he left us, as we learn more about our world's histories, literatures and languages from reading—and from studying—his writings.

Notes

[1] Coincidentally and appropriately, *Nadezhda* is Russian for "hope."

[2] Boyd, Brian. 1990. *Vladimir Nabokov: The Russian Years*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 160.

[3] Nabokov, Vladimir. 1966. *Speak, Memory: An Autobiography Revisited.* New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 275.

[4] Meyer, Priscilla. 1988. *Find What the Sailor has Hidden: Vladimir Nabokov's Pale Fire.* Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 4.

[5] Beaujour, Elizabeth Klosty. 1989. *Alien Tongues: Bilingual Russian Writers of the "First" Emigration.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 86.

[6] Nabokov. *Speak, Memory,* 265.

[7] Boyd. *Vladimir Nabokov: The Russian Years,* 180.

[8] Boyd. *Vladimir Nabokov: The Russian Years,* 181.

[9] Cantaboff, V. [another Nabokov pen name] 1923. Painted Wood. *Carousel* 2:9.

[10] *Sirin* closely resembles *Sirena,* Russian for siren.

[11] Nabokov. *Speak, Memory,* 288.

[12] Beaujour. *Alien Tongues,* 95.

[13] Beaujour. *Alien Tongues,* 102.

[14] Beaujour. *Alien Tongues,* 101.

[15] Noel, Lucie Leon. 1970. Playback. *Nabokov: Criticism, Reminiscences, Translations and Tributes,* Appel, A. Jr., ed. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 215.

[16] Beaujour. *Alien Tongues,* 99.

[17] Beaujour. *Alien Tongues,* 101.

[18] For a close analysis of *Pale Fire's* multi-lingual and multi-literary components, see Beaujour. *Alien Tongues.*

[19] Nabokov, Vladimir. 1968. *Pnin* in *Nabokov's Congeries,* Stegner, P., ed. New York: Viking Press, 371. Subsequent references to *Pnin* will be parenthetically listed in the text.

[20] Haugen, Einar. 1978. Bilingualism, Language, Contact, and Immigrant Languages in the United States: A Research Report 1956-1970 in *Advances in the Study of Societal Multilingualism,* Fishman, J., ed. The Hague: Mouton, 21.

[21] Boyd. *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 271.

22 See Nicol, Charles. 1971. Pnin's History. *Novel* (Spring): 197-208 and Barabtarlo, Gennadi. 1989. *Phantom of Fact: A Guide to Nabokov's Pnin.* Ann Arbor: Ardis, 21-23.

23 Gennadi. *Phantom of Fact,* 157.

24 Nabokov, Vladimir. 1962. *Pale Fire.* New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 155. Subsequent references to Pale Fire will be parenthetically listed in the text.

25 Berberova, Nina. 1970. The Mechanics of Pale Fire. *Tri-Quarterly,* 17: 147-148.

26 Boyd. *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 158.

27 McCarthy, Mary. 1962. Vladimir Nabokov's *Pale Fire. Encounter* 19: 71-84. See also McCarthy, Mary. 1962. A Bolt From the Blue. *New Republic.* 146:21.

28 Meyer. *Find What the Sailor has Hidden,* 50.

29 Beaujour. *Alien Tongues,* 108.

30 Boyd. *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 434.

31 Boyd. *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 433.

32 Beaujour. *Alien Tongues,* 105.

33 Meyer. *Find What the Sailor has Hidden,* 88.

34 Meyer. *Find What the Sailor has Hidden,* 88.

35 Field, Andrew. 1967. *Nabokov: His Life in Art.* Boston: Little, Brown, 311.

36 In *Nabokov: His Life in Art* 303, Field claims that *gosudar* is to be understood in the more humble, modern corruption of the term" as "sir," not "lord." Actually, *gosudar'* meant and means "sovereign," except in the prerevolutionary epistolary formula, *Milostivyj gosudar'*, equivalent *only here* to "sir" or "Dear Sir."

37 Field. *Nabokov: His Life in Art,* 314.