This issue is meant as an homage to the outstanding career of Giuliana Garzone, whose scientific endeavors covered all the domains outlined in the title, with significant forays also in the field of literature. The collection of essays is devoted to the role of linguistic analysis in discourse, translation, and cultural studies, and aims to reclaim the centrality of linguistic approaches in the analysis of texts and discourse.

Language is, of course, the very matter texts, discourses and translations are made of, and there is no question of its centrality in all these domains. However, linguistic *analysis* – i.e. the study of linguistic aspects *stricto sensu* – is not always given the place it deserves, with some approaches to discourse tending to focus primarily on themes and topics, and often falling short of grounding the analysis of talk and text in the structural and functional properties of language. Likewise, translation studies sometimes neglect textual matter in favor of theoretical speculation.

The developments in linguistics in the last few decades of the 20th century have made it an eminently suitable means to address all aspects of meaning construction in communication. In the models that have emerged, language is conceived as a multidimensional system where the level of linguistic codification is governed by communicative and pragmatic factors, with a semiotic and cultural relevance. By reclaiming the centrality of linguistics in discourse and text analysis in all its forms, not only are all these dimensions acknowledged, but an overarching framework is provided for factoring them all in and accounting for the complexities of their interrelations.

The works collected in this special issue pay tribute to such a wide ranging and variegated scenario of models which, taken together, outline the key principles of a developing theory of language in use.

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The Place of Language: Discourse, Translation, Culture
Essays in Honor of Giuliana Garzone

a cura di

Paola Catenaccio
Chiara Degano
Francesca Santulli

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UNIVERSITÀ DEL SALENTO

2022

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THE PLACE OF LANGUAGE
Essays in Honor of Giuliana Garzone

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This special issue celebrates the outstanding career of Giuliana Garzone, whose scientific endeavors have covered all the domains outlined in the title of this issue, with significant forays also in the field of literature. Coming from a background steeped in the humanities in their broadest sense, and more specifically in literary studies, where her research interests initially dwelled, Giuliana then concentrated mostly on discourse analysis, in its various domains. The hallmark of her scientific endeavor is one, though: her attention to the linguistic data, and the investigation – also of a theoretical nature – of specific linguistic aspects, especially in the field of pragmatics. After a decades-long collaboration with Giuliana, we firmly believe that in Discourse analysis she found the ideal space where the different facets of her scientific profile could truly shine and make an impact in multiple domains. Cultural phenomena and translation, after all, are part of discourse, and in her contributions to these fields Garzone has not only made a definitive case for the centrality of linguistic research in discourse studies, but also left her sign as an outstanding linguist.

In these few introductory pages, we would like to start from the notion of discourse and draw, with large strokes, an outline of the multiple potentials of discourse analysis and the original ways in which Garzone realized them. We will start from her most exquisitely linguistic research, which laid the ground for all her other research endeavors by providing a sound methodological core, moving then on to the rich part of her production set within the broad framework of Discourse Studies. We will then close with translation as a cultural and discursive practice, a perspective that Garzone has always stressed in her works, and which has enabled her to come to a novel and fruitful classification of translation phenomena.

1. Discourse at the crossroads of disciplines

It is difficult to offer an overview of Discourse Studies covering all of its

most relevant aspects, mainly because there is no universally accepted definition of discourse.

Many researchers seem to identify the notion of discourse – albeit often implicitly – with language in use, thus emphasizing its performative component. This, however, leads to an overlapping of discourse analysis and pragmatics. Possibly with the aim to avoid reference to speech acts, other researchers refer to discourse as including both text and context – and this is also a genuinely pragmatic approach. Indeed, the distinction between text and context is in fact artificial, and actually only conceivable for the purpose of analytic precision, as any text inherently implies a context in which it originates. Yet the reference to context shifts the focus onto enunciation, including all deictic elements and giving prominence to the role of both addresser and addressees. Discourse is then conceived as a form of dialogic interaction, though sometimes only virtually enacted. In this respect, the nature of discourse seems to show strong analogies with the Aristotelian notion of logos, as described in Rhetoric, I/3: "For a speech is composed of three elements: the speaker, what he speaks about, and whom it is addressed to" (Rh., 1358a, 37-38).

Classical definitions aside, a comprehensive definition of discourse as understood and theorized today must go beyond its pragmatic (and rhetorical) origin to include other elements which are by right part of the very notion of discourse. As pointed out by Antelmi (2012), one such element is the necessary existence of a discourse community, i.e. a societal group that produces certain types of discourses, which, in turn, identify the community itself (Maingueneau 2009). The interaction, both diachronic and synchronic, of individual instances of discourse within and across discourse communities gives rise to interdiscourse – a network of mutually independent and at the same time interdependent discourses, each of them with their specific positioning in respect of the network itself. Each instance of discourse affects the discourse recipients, inevitably modifying their knowledge of the world – often deliberately so, with an overtly persuasive intent. The centrality of notions such as discourse community, interdiscourse and positioning in accounting for the working of discourse makes it evident that it can only be conceived as a socially-constructed practice.

Given the complex and multi-faceted nature of discourse, which includes social and communicative contexts, research on discourse is typically multi- and inter-disciplinary. Actually, discourse analysis is not a field of research proper; rather, it is an approach to discourse which exploits different methodologies, including the instruments typical of sociology, psychoanalysis, ethnology, media studies, as well as linguistics, rhetoric and argumentation. The development of Discourse Studies (DS) in the last few decades has given rise to different strands of research, each privileging one

aspect or another. Introducing a survey of the Italian contribution to DS, Antelmi (2011) singled out two main traditions, namely the French and the Anglo-Saxon, which, however, she would not consider "schools" proper. Rather, Antelmi noted that in the second half of the 20th century, two broadly different approaches to DS developed: one closely linked to ethnography and conversation analysis, sociology and communication studies, with a constant reference to Halliday's socio-semiotics (the Anglo-Saxon strand); the other strongly influenced by philosophy (Foucault), epistemology (Pecheux) and psychoanalysis (Lacan), and deeply rooted in Benveniste's linguistics of enunciation and Bachtin's genre theory (the French strand). Besides this distinction, which reflects the actual development of the main trends of DS (in Italy and abroad), a further element needs to be mentioned, i.e. the apparently reduced scope of linguistic analysis in the most recent developments of DS. As pointed out by Gee.

> some approaches to discourse analysis ignore grammar. These approaches tend to focus on themes in talk and text, but do not offer evidence for their analyses based on the structural and functional properties of language. […] Discourse — language-in-use — goes well beyond grammar, but its origins, nonetheless, are in grammar as the set of choices our language allows us to make about how to say what we say. (Gee, 2018: ix-x)

In this context, the work of Garzone – and indeed her whole academic career – shows how it is possible to draw from both the above-mentioned strands, giving prominence at the same time to the language component of discourse, thus exploiting to the full the entire range of analytical possibilities offered by linguistic analysis. Having taken Halliday's Functional Grammar as a theoretical reference, Garzone was strongly influenced by the Anglo-Saxon sociological and communicative approach. Yet, she also studied Benveniste, learning the lesson of one of the most important forerunners of DS, who built his pragmatic approach to language on the solid roots of a huge linguistic knowledge (both synchronic and diachronic). Benveniste gave a definition of discourse well before the rise to popularity of Discourse Studies as a discipline: "Discourse must be understood in its widest sense; every utterance assuming a speaker and a hearer, and in the speaker, the intention of influencing the other in some way" (Benveniste 1959/1971). This attention for the persuasive component of discourse naturally leads to a focus on rhetoric and argumentation, which became part of Garzone's methodological approach. Similarly, Garzone is deeply acquainted with Bachtin's theory, which has played a key role in stimulating her special interest for genres and genre analysis.

Against this theoretical background, language features prominently as the key to understanding discourse. Thus, it has been possible for Garzone's

research on grammar and pragmatics to become a distinguishing feature of her personal approach. The scope, depth and rigour of her linguistic analysis where the reasons which led the University of Montreal to award her an Honoris Causa PhD.

2. The core: language and method

The description of the English language is at the heart of Garzone's early research, resurfacing even in later stages of her work, and providing a sound theoretical and methodological basis for all subsequent works. Initially, she investigated phonetics and phonology with an applied interest [21, 22, 28], but, more importantly, she started to work on what was to become a sizable, and highly influential, body of research on performativity in legal discourse. In particular, she addressed the relationship between modality and performativity and the way in which the codification of performativity has evolved over time under multiple pressures [18; 33, 42, 47, 88, 135]. Beyond the verb system, Garzone has taken an interest in syntax in its relation with semantics and pragmatics, studying in particular causal and concessive relations [72, 121]. The focus on language is also a distinguishing feature of her work on translation (and interpreting), a field in which her research has consistently focused on the textual outcomes of linguistic practices, with specific attention paid to lexical and syntactic choices, beside and beyond the cultural approach which often dominates this area of research. By adopting an empirical perspective on the study of language, Garzone has also tackled the problem of combining qualitative and quantitative approaches to text analysis. Having been among the first to approach the discussion of how Corpus Linguistics can contribute to Discourse Analysis [60], she has frequently incorporated in her research the construction of ad hoc corpora, exploring them both to find quantitative corroboration for her hypotheses and to raise new questions to be further investigated.

Garzone put to work the theoretical and methodological tools above in the analysis of a wealth of discourse genres. This sophisticated toolkit has provided over the years a principled grid for the observation of patterns, always boosted by sharp intuitions. Whether coming from the data, in line with a data-driven approach, or tested against data, following a data-based approach, such intuitions have always warded off the risk of over-inflating method to the point of losing sight of the goal for which it is put to use. If one lesson that can be learned from Garzone's work is methodological rigor, the other is that one should not be strayed away by method. Huge classificatory efforts coming to nothing are certainly not found in her texts, where a point is always made, often strongly and in a characteristically unapologetic manner –

be it when exposing the weakness of the arguments for the abolition of the use of *shall* in legal discourse [135], criticizing the construction of women bodies in glossy magazines [74], calling out linguists on their presumption to uproot the use of war metaphors referred to Covid [201] or denouncing the hypocrisy surrounding surrogacy discourses (cf. below).

In terms of thematic broadness, Garzone's publications span both discourse analysis and translation and interpreting studies, ranging from (new) media and politics to business communication and legal texts, from science and its popularisation to different forms of cultural and literary expression. The diversity of her production testifies to an interest in language that goes beyond its purely applied aspects, bringing linguistics a bit closer to a theory of language as discourse. Such an endeavor reflects a trajectory in linguistics where the focus moved from an initial quest for generalization, meant to extract regularity from chaos, to the search for variation. Within the discipline, attention was accordingly turned from studying language as a system and describing standard languages, at different level of description (pronunciation, syntax terminology…), to exploring diversity and deviations from the standard – most notably, sociolinguistic variation, discourse and genres, but also English as a Lingua Franca, and socio-cognitive and communicative terminology.

3. Genre and genre variation

Among the dimensions of sociolinguistic variation, the one that has mostly attracted Garzone's attention is diatypic variation, with a strong emphasis on the concept of genre [148], which she explored both from a theoretical viewpoint and in its application to actual text and discourse production. On the one hand, Garzone's theoretical investigation of genres revolves around their evolution, especially in the web environment [130; 131, 125, 126, 143, 144], updating the tools of genre analysis to account for the changes brought about by digital affordances [76]. On the other hand, Garzone's applied analyses of genres span across several domains and different extents of specialization.

3.1. Scientific discourse

In the field of scientific discourse, she explored vertical variation, with special regard for the popularization of scientific knowledge [58, 71, 180, 199]. Here, Garzone's research focused on the metadiscursive aspects of science dissemination discourse, the codification of illocutionary force [58] and reliability issues as an effect of the rewriting process [140, 141]. Later

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on, her attention turned to the representation of the ethical and ideological aspects of knowledge dissemination [183, 186, 187, 188, 191, 193], extending the reach of Critical Discourse Analysis beyond its traditional field of application [190].

3.2. News discourse

In the domain of news discourse dealing with current affairs and politics, where the focus is on language as a means through which influential outlets inform public opinion, Garzone has explored conflict, identifying discursive patterns that reveal the ideological threads underpinning the text [93, 181, 184]. In such a context, she has focused especially on the linguistic strategies conveying implicit meanings to pass evaluations that go beyond explicitly codified opinions.

3.3. Corporate and professional communication.

The field of corporate communication has proved a particularly fruitful one for Garzone, with contributions covering multiple perspectives. An early interest was the investigation of intercultural aspects in business communication [80], which also included a focus on the needs for language education and training in corporate settings [30], and touched upon the centrality of culture and the importance of mediation (see below) in business communication practices. Another strand of research in this domain includes fine-grained analyses of the role of micro-structural elements in the pursuit of communicative goals warranted by established discursive practices, with a focus on annual reports [56, 72] and on letters to the shareholders [64, 66]. Special emphasis is also placed on the role of new media in corporate communication [149, 152] and, in particular on job advertisements, which Garzone has analyzed both as a genre and for their lexical features [174, 179]. As with previously mentioned strands of research, the scope of Garzone's analyses extends well below the surface, investigating underlying ideologies, with special regard for aspects of ethics. The latter has proven to be a theme particularly close to Garzone's heart, who has recently devoted a book to the topic [203].

3.4. Legal discourse

Another of Garzone's long-lasting interest has been that of legal discourse, where she has mainly investigated performativity (see above). Further studies are devoted to specific aspects of legal drafting, such as gender neutrality in legislative drafting [198], but also to novel genres within legal discourse,

including the "blawg" [153] and internet-based discussion groups [157, 178, 192], as well as to highly controversial topics at the intersection of legal, scientific and ethics discourse [175]. Within the broad area of legal discourse are also to be seen Garzone's studies on discursive practices in international commercial arbitration [106], in which attention is given to polyphony [127] and negation [155], as well as to the impact of local legal cultures on both the linguistic codification and the textual organization of arbitration rules [53].

4. Translation and interpreting studies

The interest for translation – both in its more traditionally studied written form and in its oral version, including various modes of interpreting (simultaneous, consecutive, liaison, and community interpreting) – runs as a red thread through Garzone's scientific and academic career. Not only has she carried out innovative research in the field, but she has also been a faculty member in renowned Italian schools for translation and interpreting studies, teaching translation and interpreting theory and actively contributing to training successful professionals. In this field, her theoretical speculation goes hand in hand with practical applications, both to the analysis of translated texts and to their exploitation in the educational context.

The focus on translation as a practice had led Garzone to reflect on the policies adopted by governments and international organizations, examining how the process actually takes place in different contexts, both in the written and in the oral mode. As translating is part of the discursive activities performed in a language community, the interest intersects the investigation of language attitudes and policies [43]. In this respect, translation studies include a sociolinguistic component, with ideological implications. On the one hand, Garzone has constantly advocated the recognition of the crucial role of professionals in the field; on the other, she has contributed to increasing their prestige. She has promoted high standards in training, focusing, at the same time, on the inherent value of translation both as a means to guarantee the right to use one's own mother tongue (above all in institutional contexts) and as an instrument for cultural development.

In Interpreting Studies proper, Garzone has tackled the problem of assessing quality in simultaneous interpreting, advocating the adoption of the concept of 'norm' to ensure more reliable results [45, 55, 150] She has used a discourse analytical approach to investigate the textual outcomes of interpretation practices, focusing both on conference interpreting in specialized domains [39], and on liaison and community interpreting [40, 116; 146, 167].

Garzone has also examined the specifically cultural function of translation, devoting special attention to translated literary texts as part of the 'polysystem' of the target culture, exploring different genres and historical periods [36]. In this area, she has considered both cultural and social contexts, examining the interaction of different constraints, which are part of the process and play a crucial role in the translator's choices. As in all her research, however, Garzone has never neglected the 'stuff texts are made of', and the analysis of traits occurring in translated texts has repeatedly surfaced in her linguistic investigations, contributing to a better understanding of how languages function both synchronically and diachronically. In particular, she has focused on the role of translated texts within the diasystem of the target language (level), exploring also their contribution to language change as a result of interference at the lexical, syntactic and textual level [59, 65, 69]. She has also analyzed translation in the context of various media: songs [26, 31, 124, 196], audiovisual genres ([189] devoted to subtitles, [77] regarding name translation), exploring how these differently influence the translation practice and, at the same time, discussing the cultural role of translated texts. [36].

In the legal domain, where language problems intertwine with cultural and institutional differences, she has examined translated texts in a target-oriented perspective [20, 27, 49], focusing in particular on arbitration documents [89, 91].

Yet we are convinced that her most relevant contribution to this area of linguistic research is the development of a theoretical model of translation, which re-defines the very concept of translation, making it possible to reconcile different approaches [50, 120, 154, 202 among others]. As testified by the numerous papers and books published throughout her career where the point is discussed, the idea has emerged in connection with her empirical research, showing how theoretical improvements are often (and, possibly, necessarily) interwoven with practical applications. In Garzone's work, a critical re-examination of both traditional and scientific approaches to translation reveals the inadequacy of binary oppositions to account for the complex process of translation and its multifaceted products. This, in turn, leads her to apply to the definition of translation a system of categorization, already exploited in linguistics (and especially in semantics), based on the notion of fuzzy set – which she had fruitfully applied herself to the analysis of the performative component of *shall* [33]. Using a gradual approach to text classification is all the more necessary in contemporary societies, where communicative exchanges have spread in unimaginable new ways and to unprecedented levels, calling for the need for a more flexible definition of translation in relation to different contexts, cultures, and needs. In Garzone's words,

la teoria deve muoversi ad un livello maggiore di astrazione, cercando di mettere a punto principi ad un tale grado di generalizzazione da risultare sempre applicabili all'immensa varietà di progetti traduttivi che vengono realizzati [67].

Nel concludere questa breve introduzione desideriamo ringraziare tutti i colleghi e le colleghe che hanno voluto contribuire alla realizzazione del volume con i loro scritti, talora traendo spunto da lavori di Giuliana, spesso ispirandosi a sue metodologie e convinzioni, sempre manifestando così apprezzamento per la sua ricerca, stima e affetto per la sua persona. A questo omaggio hanno partecipato amici e amiche di lunga data, con cui Giuliana ha condiviso momenti importanti della sua carriera, insieme a numerosi più giovani studiosi, tutti in qualche modo influenzati dalla sua ricerca, spesso veri e propri allievi. Ci piace ricordare qui l'impegno che Giuliana ha profuso nel seguire, sostenere e promuovere il lavoro di studenti di dottorato, titolari di assegni di ricerca, giovani ricercatori e ricercatrici. Il suo lascito alla comunità scientifica non è solo nella lunghissima teoria delle sue pubblicazioni, ma anche nell'insegnamento impartito alle nuove generazioni e nelle idee maturate dal continuo e proficuo confronto con più e meno giovani.

Milano, Ottobre 2022

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CORPORATE WEBSITE TRANSLATION AND EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES
The costs of language deficiencies

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Abstract – The growth of the Web has brought about a staggering increase in the volume of transactions and a widening of markets, given the possibility of crossing national borders and erasing the concept of space in terms of geographical areas. It has also fostered the spread of a language designed for international communication, namely English as a Lingua Franca. In recent decades, however, other languages have proved their presence on the Web, even if their use is well below that of English. This has led to considerable translation activity. A large number of multilingual sites crowd the Web, offering products and services. To be competitive, these sites need to be adapted to the needs of their target markets, because every business enterprise has the opportunity to operate globally through the development of the Web. To this end, multilingual communication is of strategic importance and the professionals in charge of these tasks play a key role. Yet, many small and medium-sized enterprises in Italy still struggle to understand the importance of these developments. The article is completed by a brief presentation of a project proposed to the students of a Master's degree course in Linguistic Sciences, which consisted in the presentation of a questionnaire to be administered to small and medium-sized companies operating in the wine sector. The questionnaire aimed to investigate the various options that companies use to manage multilingual communication. The aim of the project was to make students aware of the importance of multilingual communication and to draw a realistic picture of the sector in which they would be professionally employed.

Keywords: website translation; translator training; technical translation; website localization; multilingual websites.

1. Web's impact on communication and the emergence of new genres

The spread of web communication has given rise to new genres, the so-called web genres, which have been described by Garzone et al. as early as 2007 (Garzone *et al.* 2007: 27; see also Cambria *et al.* 2012; Campagna 2012; Poppi 2011; and more recently Vettorel 2014; Pérez-Llantada 2021). Web communication is characterised by an innovative and constantly evolving character and has had significant effects on the promotional activities of

companies. Among the specific characteristics of the new genres intertextuality, multimodality and hypermedia should be mentioned (Garzone *et al.* 2007: 20-22, Norris and Maier 2014). The element that most strongly defines communication on the Web is hypertextuality, understood as:

> a text composed of blocks of words (or images) linked electronically by multiple paths, chains, or trails in an open-ended, perpetually unfinished textuality described by the terms *link*, *node*, *network*, *web* and *path* (Landow 1992: 3)

The second distinctive feature of the web genre is multimodality, i.e. its ability to combine different semiotic resources within a single communicative act. The combination of hypertextuality and multimediality gives rise to hypermediality (Catenaccio 2012: 30; Petroni 2011; Norris and Maier. 2014), whereby the semiotic resources involved in Web communication are considered as interacting elements.

Moreover, the Web has introduced the opportunity for global cooperation, and every user can potentially interact with the text. This leads to a degree of uncertainty regarding the role of the original author of texts published on the Web: indeed, the anonymity of the author is often a feature of the Web genre. Clear boundaries between the author and the recipient are blurred, and this threatens to undermine overall textual coherence. In addition, we are increasingly confronted with hybrid texts, i.e. texts composed of different text types (Campagna 2012: 13).

The development of the Web has thus led to a redefinition of the concept of textual genre itself. Indeed, the interaction between different genres that characterises the Web shifts the focus from the analysis of individual genres to the study of the relations between different genres in the communicative activity that takes place on the Web (Catenaccio 2012). Indeed, the term website itself can be regarded as a kind of all-encompassing word for the medium through which a wide variety of genres are realised.

These developments concern translation both as a product and a process, and also as a linguistic and semiotic practice (Grego 2010: 110; Boria *et al.* 2020). Web genre challenges the traditional notion of translation, i.e. an activity primarily concerned with textual aspects, and forces us to embrace a new perspective that goes beyond the written word and includes all the multimodal components and the way they relate with each other.

Translation in the internet age also raises the issue of quality. Indeed, the website requires immediate accessibility by everyone and therefore there is a tendency to translate content roughly and quickly, devoting little attention to the translation process (Jimenez-Crespo 2015: 39-40). Moreover, the loss of clear-cut boundaries between author and recipient increases the risk of text manipulation by multiple individuals. In the redefinition of the

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concept of quality that the Web has brought, we are witnessing a marked shift in focus to meet user needs. Users often assess the quality of a text on the Web simply on the basis of the speed, accuracy and usefulness of the information provided (Nielsen 2000: 161).

As more and more companies consider the whole world to be their market, consumers expect every company to have at least a bilingual website. As a result, the demand for translation work in this area has grown dramatically. Business websites are an effective means of both promoting products and services worldwide and building and maintaining business relationships with customers (Sissel 2013: 68). Today, a business website is a public relations tool promoting corporate identity. On the one hand, companies can exploit all multimodal components to foster dialogue with their stakeholders. On the other, the language of business communication via the web needs to be adapted to an international scenario.

In this paper we will focus on the hypertextual structure and multimodal nature of web genres, a hybrid combination not only of written text and images, but also of other elements such as audio, music or animation, all instrumental in engaging the reader's attention (Grego 2010: 101; see also Mehler *et al.* 2010; Petroni 2014). The written text is thus no longer seen as a dominant component, but merely as one of the many ways through which meanings are conveyed (Sissel 2013: 69).

Unlike other electronic genres such as chats or e-mails, the website displays a more regulated and refined language, as it fulfils a specific promotional and marketing function (Giltrow and Stein 2009). Furthermore, the interaction between the website publisher and the end user is asynchronous, and thus the publisher can devote more attention to the content (Crystal 2004: 9). The language used must include specific but accessible terms that allow users to quickly find the information they are looking for: indeed, conciseness is a very important feature of web pages, also because people do not normally read them word for word, but tend to scan texts quickly (Nielsen 2000: 106). These apparently obvious features have a strong impact on the translation process, which is not limited to the transfer of the verbal component from one language to another, but is part of a wider process, conventionally defined as localisation.

2. Websites localisation

As brands become globalised and yet users are more likely to identify with them when they are adapted to local linguistic and cultural specificities, localisation has taken on a strategic importance, especially in the business and IT sectors. The creation of a localised version of a product is perceived as necessary to enable companies to enter new markets, as immediate access to

information about a given product in a local language boosts demand for it (House 2014: 102).

From a business perspective, localisation offers advantages that go far beyond the initial costs: several studies have shown that web users spend up to twice as much time on websites that have been localised into their language of use, with such a positive attitude that they are almost three times more likely to decide to purchase a product (Baack and Singh, 2007; Singh and Pereira, 2005; Olvera-Lobo and Castillo-Rodríguez 2019: 35).

A website must therefore undergo a series of adaptations summarised in the acronym GILT: Globalisation, Internationalisation, Localisation and Translation (Munday 2008: 191). The terms internationalisation and globalisation are often used as synonyms to indicate the technical process required to introduce a product into the international market (Monti 2007: 176). In the field of information technology, this term refers to the process used to generalise a product, removing any culturally marked references so that it can easily reach users in different languages, without the descriptions having to be readjusted each time. However, not all commercial products lend themselves to internationalisation, as they risk losing their distinctive features, and this is where localisation comes in, which is known to be the adaptation of the product to the language and culture of a specific target market (Gouadec 2007: 37; Monti 2007: 176).

Some scholars have identified what is new about localisation compared to translation in terms of the media involved: information content is increasingly visualised rather than printed, and consequently the translation process uses multimodal tools to create a website (Di Sabato 2007: 251). Localisation includes, but is not limited to, translation, although this assumption has been debated (Pym 2004; Jimenez-Crespo 2013). Localisation in fact implies the adaptation of the content to new users and their needs from a technical point of view, which includes changes in terms of colours, fonts, box sizes, icons, etc. Changes also concern commercial and promotional aspects because the product description has to be adapted to the tastes and attitudes of the target market. Obviously, a strong adaptation from a cultural point of view is also required, with adjustments concerning geographical references, tourism and even legal aspects. In short, the website has to be made usable and user-friendly for the new target audience - although it could be argued that most translation activities also serve similar purposes.

According to Pierini (2007: 89-90) there are four strategies to be used in translating for the Web. The first consists in the full translation of the verbal component, while the non-verbal component remains unchanged. The second involves the adaptation of small sections (verbal and non-verbal) of the Web page; the third involves the localisation of the verbal content only,

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while the fourth and final one also localises the non-verbal components. In fact, website translation should be seen as a process of localisation of the verbal and non-verbal components, i.e. an overall cross-cultural transfer.

The translation of a website should best adapt it to the needs of the target audience and the search engine used. Therefore, the first component that needs to be adapted is the accessibility of the website itself, which concerns the structure of the whole site, from how to access the version in another language to the specific position of the various icons (O'Hagan and Ashworth 2003: 72). In fact, even a well-translated website, associated with culturally specific symbols, icons and images left unchanged, may cause comprehension problems for recipients belonging to a different culture from the website's origin. Localisation must therefore cover every single aspect of the website, even those that may seem insignificant: from the structure of the home page to the layout of individual screens, from fonts to colours, from audio files to animations, right down to icons and the position of links. For instance, some fonts may not be supported by all versions of search browsers and may make a difference in terms of formality and reliability of content. Colour coding also expresses values that vary from one culture to another, or can make reading easier or more difficult. Acoustic effects are also culturally specific and may evoke positive feelings or irritate the reader.

The localisation activity of many websites proves to be extremely creative, and has led some scholars to speak of adaptation or even transcreation (Katan 2014 and 2018; Author 2018) thanks to the great flexibility of the media compared to traditional two-dimensional texts on paper. On digital media it is indeed easy to modify not only portions of verbal text, but also all the other graphic and acoustic elements (O'Hagan and Asworth 2003: 67-68).

However, despite all these considerations, many websites still offer translations of verbal texts but leave the other semiotic elements intact, such as visual and audio. One must always keep in mind that the overall meaning of a text derives from the interplay of the different semiotic codes involved, both verbal and non-verbal, and this cannot be ignored during the translation process.

3. The impact of language management strategies on business activity

It has already been pointed out that a localised version of a product can open up new business opportunities for a company in foreign markets. In a world where information flows at light speed, consumers are increasingly aware of new products available on world markets. Therefore, if a given product is not

available in the local language at the time it is placed on the market, the economic losses in terms of lost sales can be significant (Cronin 2003). In particular, in a society where most companies rely on the Internet to reach new markets, the quality of a website translation can make the difference in terms of sales success or failure.

Failure to adapt the content, linguistic, visual or cultural aspects can lead to a breakdown in communication or to difficulties in using the information or products offered (Gouadec 2007: 38). In the Italian context in particular, there is often a tendency to use impersonal and formal language, which makes the translation difficult to understand for a wide audience that tends to be heterogeneous in terms of skills and cultural background. Poor quality translations can have serious consequences, especially when it comes to specialised texts: for example, an error in the translation of a contract or a commercial text can cause a loss of sales or even a legal dispute.

For all these reasons, the importance of a solid language management strategy to ensure the quality of information flow abroad should not be underestimated. This means offering quality translations of all business documents and appropriate interpretations for each individual business relationship, as well as adapting the website and advertising material in as many languages as possible (see "The Language Guide for Business", European Commission 2011[1]). With regard to the latter, the widespread use of the web has already helped many small and medium-sized enterprises to overcome some of the obstacles to their internationalisation. In fact, as early as in 2010, the IES report[2] showed that 60% of small and medium-sized enterprises had created their own website, which often appeared in both the local language and English. A positive relationship also emerged between e-commerce and increased productivity in export and import markets.

It is therefore clear that business websites play a key role for companies and that their multilingual versions can be strategic for expanding into new markets. Moreover, the quality of a website's translation has a significant influence on the image of the company itself. Indeed, the linguistic quality of a website is often iconically associated with the quality of the services and products offered (Cappelli 2007: 98). The accuracy and sensitivity with which product advertising is transposed from a cultural point

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[1] https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/8a7af623-4ec8-4cf6-8632-99fad992187c, last accessed September 2021.

[2] The IES report (Internationalisation of European SMEs) consisted of a survey conducted back in 2015 by the European Commission on a sample of 9480 small and medium-sized industries in 33 European countries. The aim of the study was to identify the main barriers to internationalisation and to propose improvement strategies. The survey looked at all activities of small and medium-sized companies that involved significant foreign contact and concluded that 25% of the companies surveyed exported abroad at least once in the previous three years. www.ec.europa.eu/enterprise/e_i/index_en.htm, last accessed September 2021.

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of view is often the most lasting impression a company can leave on its customers. In this sense, cultural differences should not be seen as an obstacle, but rather as an asset: understanding the mentality and culture of negotiation is an essential condition in international trade, because it demonstrates a company's flexibility and sensitivity (Jimenez-Crespo 2013).

However, cultural differences are probably one of the most neglected aspects in international business. Indeed, it often happens that a formally correct translation is matched by an incorrect understanding of the culture, image and objectives to be conveyed in the target language (Cosimato 2014). The translator must therefore bear in mind a number of crucial factors from the point of view of cultural transfer, such as the naming of brands, products and the formulation of slogans that may not be present in the client's language. Finally, humour in advertising is a sensitive issue, as it can be very effective in some cultures but unpleasant or even offensive in others (Chiaro 2010).

In the context of global trade, the correct command of the English Lingua Franca is essential to bring international business transactions to a successful conclusion. According to the Language Guide for Business published by the European Commission back in 2011[3], the majority of European small and medium-sized enterprises mentioned English as the main language used in business communications in major export markets, but other languages such as German, Russian and French were also noted. While English seems to be sufficient for establishing initial contacts with foreign customers, when deepening relationships and making medium-term investments, it became necessary to know the language and local customs of other cultures. In fact, even though English is spoken as a Lingua Franca, many cultures still associate this language with a strong Anglo-American cultural component, which is not always well accepted by customers from other cultures. Communicating in the language of the customer is therefore of fundamental importance to establish a relationship of trust that can turn into a solid business relationship.

Regarding the negative consequences of language deficiencies in business communication, a European Commission's report[4] was published as early as 2006 showing significant data. 11% of the companies surveyed had lost business contracts due to language and/or intercultural deficiencies worth between 8 and 25 million euros. Thus, back in 2006, this study recognised the

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[3] https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/8a7af623-4ec8-4cf6-8632-99fad992187c, last accessed September 2021.

[4] The ELAN study (effects on the European economy of lack of foreign language skills in business) was a survey conducted by the European Commission on a sample of about 2000 European exporting companies. This study aimed to estimate the lost revenue caused by the failure of some contracts with foreign companies and partners, whose main cause seemed to be the lack of language skills (Monge 2013: 94-95).

fundamental role of the multilingual corporate website and that of a good language management strategy on the part of companies. In fact, companies that invested in language management techniques were able to achieve higher levels of exports than those that did not.

Another European Commission research in 2011, the PLIMICO[5] study, looked at 40 European small and medium-sized enterprises and showed that in three out of four of them, turnover had increased by at least 16% as a result of actions taken in the area of languages, and that in several cases this increase in sales was due to the localisation of the website in different languages. In fact, some companies interviewed for this survey stated that if the website was available in the consumer's local language, sales and brand recognition improved. However, with regard to the websites of small and medium-sized Italian companies, it should be noted that a large proportion of them still only use English as their language of communication with foreign countries (Cosimato 2014).

The quality of translation is of paramount importance for a company wishing to expand into new markets through its website, and company headquarters must be aware of the importance of language management for business success. Accurate and timely translation of all commercial and technical information can give a big advantage over competitors, and good quality communication with foreign customers increases customer loyalty. It follows that the quality of the translation influences not only the credibility and reputation of the company, but also and above all the results in terms of turnover. Consequently, a company should choose its translation services carefully.

4. The role of the business/corporate translator

In small and medium-sized Italian companies there is often a tendency to consider translations as an extra expense, an activity to be carried out in a short time and as cheaply as possible: the main thing is to make the content of the message understandable in the foreign language, with little importance attached to the quality of the translation. However, we have pointed out that the quality of language communication can have important consequences in

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[5] The PLIMICO study (Promoting, Implementing, Mapping Language and Intercultural Communication Strategies) was a survey conducted by the European Commission in 2011 on a sample of 40 European small and medium-sized exporting companies "selected for their significant commercial growth due to the formulation and use of language management strategies" (see "Report on Language Management Strategies and Best Practices in European SMEs: The Pimlico Project": https://ec.europa.eu/assets/eac/languages/policy/strategic-framework/documents/pimlico-full-report_en.pdf, last accessed September 2021).

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terms of image and sales, and therefore the choice of a corporate translator is of strategic importance.

In this respect, companies can turn to internal or external agents. Larger companies usually entrust translations to in-house employees, who may be more or less specialised in translation. In fact, the profession of translator is not always considered a highly qualified activity, requiring not only good or even excellent linguistic competence, but also specific translation skills.

The main advantage of having in-house translators working on company translations is that they are familiar with the company, its products and the images they have to convey to the outside world. Moreover, these people have immediate access to all information about the company and can keep in touch directly with the the source texts' authors (Gouadec 2007: 93). They are therefore in a privileged position compared to external collaborators.

The second option, one of the most frequently used, is to turn to a translation agency, relying on trained professionals who, however, are not always able to handle detailed information on specific products right away. In several cases, they may need time to do some research work before they can make an accurate translation. Furthermore, it is very common for companies to divide the workload into several blocks and entrust them to different professionals, who may be translation agencies or in-house employees. This strategy risks producing a final product that is not homogeneous and coherent from a stylistic but also a communicative point of view.

However, the use of specialised translation agencies has advantages in the long term, when a lasting collaboration can be established. In these cases, translation agencies are able to acquire in-depth knowledge of the corporate culture and create a terminology database or translation memories that facilitate commissions from regular corporate clients.

Another option that many small and medium-sized companies often consider is of course to turn to independent freelance translators (Gouadec 2007: 99). The advantage of using such figures is the greater flexibility of the work and lower costs for companies: a freelance translator has lower costs than a translation agency.

5. The role of the business translator in wine firms in the province of Brescia

Having illustrated the various options that small and medium-sized firms use to manage interlingual communication, it is worth observing in practice which professional figures actually deal with translation of commercial

websites, in some small and medium-sized businesses in a well-defined territory, such as the province of Brescia, an area particularly oriented towards activities in the wine sector, in which this territory represents an important slice of the national market.

In 2018, as part of an English/Italian translation course at Master's level in a Degree Course in Linguistic Sciences in Brescia, a project was proposed to the students, which consisted in drawing up a simple questionnaire to be administered to small and medium-sized companies operating in the wine sector. The aim was to map students' awareness of the importance of interlingual communication in their surroundings. Three specific areas were identified: Franciacorta, Garda bresciano and the Colli Longobardi area. The wineries were selected following research on the web and the students chose 31 wine businesses.

The questionnaire included a series of questions concerning the size of the wineries, their turnover, their foreign relations and, above all, the way in which they managed interlingual communication. In particular, five questions concerned the latter aspect and were formulated in Italian as follows:

1. In which languages is your company brochure available?

2. Does your firm rely more on the printed brochure or on the business website to convey information abroad?

3. Which professionals does your firm employ to translate business information material?

4. Does your firm hire specialized translators to handle communication abroad?

5. If foreign relations, and in particular the translation of online or printed information material, are carried out by in-house staff, what kind of language skills are required of these staff?

The questionnaire was sent to all 31 companies and we received 17 answers, which corresponded to about 55% of the respondents. The collaborating firms were located respectively in Franciacorta (7), Garda bresciano (7) and Colli Longobardi (3). The data that emerged from the survey were extremely interesting and became the focus of classroom discussion. They are briefly reported below.

Fourteen out of seventeen wineries stated that they relied equally on the website and the printed brochure to convey information to potential foreign customers. Two firms stated that the website was more important than the brochure, while only one firm felt that the website was less useful for interlingual communication.

All the wineries had their printed information material translated at least into English, but eight of them (3 located in Franciacorta and 4 in the Garda Bresciano area) also relied on other foreign languages, mainly

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German. With regard to websites, however, all the businesses had localised their sites in English. These two data indicated the importance recognised by all the firms to translation in their communication with foreign countries, even though none of them had a proper multilingual website.

With regard to the professional figures in charge of communication with foreign countries, the students were surprised to note that none of the wineries surveyed had considered it strategic to hire a specialised translator to translate information and promotional material. Instead, companies tended to turn equally to external translation agencies or to in-house employees, who stated that they had language skills (in many cases only in English) but not translation skills. In addition, about 30% of the respondents said they used a native speaker, although it was not specified whether this person was a staff member or an external collaborator.

These data were then matched with the geographical areas in which the firms involved in the survey were located. The data showed that businesses in the Franciacorta area tended to use translation agencies. None of these firms entrusted translations to in-house staff and only in two cases did they use native speakers of English.

By contrast, in the Garda bresciano area most of the interviewed businesses tended to entrust translations to in-house staff with some knowledge of foreign languages, and only rarely to native speakers, mainly German. The data revealed only one case of a firm located in this geographical area using a translation agency. This choice of Garda businesses is surprising, given that this area is known for having the highest number of foreign relations, both in terms of exports and tourism.

Finally, the Colli Longobardi area seemed to represent an emerging reality in the sector, with a predominantly local market, which had only recently started to open up to foreign markets. However, the businesses interviewed in this area stated that they turned with equal frequency to native speakers (of German), translation agencies and in-house employees with some language skills.

6. Conclusion

In the era of globalisation, translation is an essential component for the success of companies wishing to establish or consolidate their relations with foreign countries. The first business card of these companies is the website, which is indeed the first contact that potential consumers have with the company. There is therefore a tendency to associate the linguistic quality of business websites with the quality of the products or services offered. A high-quality translation of a company's website is therefore of strategic

importance, not only in its verbal components, but also in its visual, iconic and acoustic aspects, as well as in other minor graphic components.

The spread of the web has led to the emergence of new text genres and to a redefinition of the very concept of translation and translator's skills. But is corporate culture today ready to grasp the importance of effectively managing interlingual communication? The case study conducted by a class of university students in a rather confined economic sector cannot be considered exhaustive, but it seems to indicate that the professional competence of qualified translators is not yet fully recognised in some areas in Italy.

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"DUE TO HEIGHTENED RISK"
Qualifying Risk in the Debate over Covid-19

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Abstract – Our paper presents an analysis of the conceptualisation and framing of 'risk' in the Covid-19 pandemic. We investigate all occurrences of risk-based vocabulary in two corpora dealing with the spread and the political/social/economic consequences of Covid19 from February 2020 to February 2021 (i.e. the InterDiplo Covid-19 corpus and the CORD-19 corpus). We apply a mixed-method approach to show how the concept of 'risk' is lexically qualified in the public communication of a hot issue such as the pandemic. Therefore, after a first recognition of all related expressions of the nominal realization of "risk" in the worldlists of the two corpora, we investigate their concordances to find typical collocations and phraseology used to qualify risk in Covid-19 epidemic. Our results show a clear tendency towards a negative thematisation of "risk" which is characterized by patterns highlighting uncertainty and fear in the fight against a disease spreading on an unprecedented scale and posing total threats that not only involve individuals but affect humanity globally. The focus on the phraseology around the lexical elements helps reconstruct communicative functions and approaches that characterize the two discursive contexts.

Keywords: risk communication; corpus linguistics; phraseology; collocations; Covid-19.

1. Introduction[1]

The Covid-19 pandemic has changed the world as we knew it. Our lives have been completely overturned as for what concerns our habits and social relations; we now live in a constantly evolving scenario and the way we live, relate, and communicate with others has been transformed permanently. In this context, risk communication has been a key element worldwide during the pandemic, with a view to maintaining an accessible and transparent relationship in the different flows and transmissions of information and

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[1] The article has been jointly planned by the two authors: Marina Bondi has dealt with sections 1, 2, 4.2.2 and the parts of the other sections dealing with the COVID-19 Open Research Dataset (CORD-19), while Silvia Cavalieri with sections 3, 5, 4.2.1 and the parts of the other sections dealing with the InterDiplo Covid-19 corpus.

communication, which is the premise of collective action (de Las Heras-Pedrosa et al. 2020: 2). In such unstable and precarious times, events are changing rapidly, and information is in constant evolution. As a consequence, risk communication has played a crucial role when conveying information in society. Covid-19 has determined a real need for risk communication management in terms of impact, preparedness, response, and mitigation by governments, health organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), mass media, and stakeholders (Zhang et al. 2020: 1). At the same time, with the urgency of the need for effective diagnostic and therapeutic solutions, scientific publishing has soared dramatically (Hyland and Jiang 2021) and the discourse of research has gained great prominence, especially in relation to open access issues.

Risk communication, however, needs to adapt according to the purposes, the receivers and the channels used and may involve different linguistic strategies to convey the message. In the field of health communication, a number of studies have dealt with the role of risk communication in the media, social media and governmental releases (see among others De Paula et al. 2022; Bernard et al. 2021; Dyer and Kolic 2020) but, to the best of our knowledge, little has been written specifically on the linguistic realizations of risk communication during Covid-19 pandemic. Müller et al. (2021) offer an interesting overview of expressions of uncertainty in the discourse of the press, but no studies have considered the phraseological profile of risk-related notions comparing scientific language and the discourse of international relations about Covid-19.

With this objective in mind, we take a discourse-analytical perspective on Covid-19 discourse focusing on the following research questions: 1) what role has risk-related vocabulary played in public and scientific communication at the outbreak of the most dangerous pandemic of the last centuries? 2) more specifically: how has the vocabulary of risk thematization been contextualised and used in international relations and scientific language? 3) Does the local grammar of risk-related terms change according to the different purposes of the two discourses analyzed?

The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 is devoted to the review of the literature of discourse analytical studies on the notion of risk and risk communication. Section 3 introduces the corpora for the analysis and the methodological framework adopted in this work. In Section 4 results from the two corpora are described starting with a quantitative overview of the risk-related terms and then moving on to a more qualitative perspective on their local grammar and phraseology. The conclusions summarize the comparative results.

2. 'Risk': a view from discourse analysis

A focus on the language of risk communication should be set more generally within the framework of a growing body of research on the discourse of risk communication. This is central to engaging with the public and promoting acceptance, compliance and policy support in ways that are shaped by institutional and sociocultural conditions (Rothstein et al. 2022), especially in matters of health communication (WHO 2017). Discourse analytic approaches have rapidly consolidated within this framework by looking at both general issues and specific language tools. Candlin et al. (2016: 5), for example, following Giddens (1998), remind us that communicating risk is not only associated with hazards, but also with positive projections and highlight the close link between risk communication and issues of power, categorization, distribution, regulation, negotiation, and mediation.

When focusing on the language of risk, on the other hand, an important starting point is provided by Fillmore and Atkins' (1992) seminal study on *risk* (verb and noun) as an illustration of frame semantics. The authors analysed the semantics of *risk* in terms of a "valence description", combining semantics and syntax into a representation of the conceptual structures associated to words (ibid.: 78), mapping formulation categories onto conceptual categories. Within the "risk frame", *risk* is considered as a polysemous word, taking into account both its positive meaning of 'chance' and its negative one related to 'harm'. Based on their analysis of a general corpus, the authors created different categories which were functional for the valence description of *risk*. These include Chance, which refers to the uncertainty of the future, Harm, which is potential unwelcome behaviour, Victim, the individual that suffers if Harm occurs, Valued Object, which is a valued possession of the victim seen as endangered, Risky Situation, a state of affairs where someone is at risk, Deed, the act that brings about a risky situation, and the Actor, which is the person that performs the Deed (ibid.: 81-83). They also included subcategories for the description of the Actors' intentions, such as Intended Gain (the Actors' hope-for gain in taking risk), Purpose (what an actor intends in performing the Deed), Beneficiary (the person for whose benefit something is done), and Motivation (the psychological source for someone's behaviour) (ibid.: 84-84).

In a corpus-based framework, work on risk-related lexis has often concentrated on collocations and positive or negative semantic prosody. Hamilton et al. (2007) have carried out a corpus-based study of *risk* as noun and verb across different domains using the Collins Wordbanks Online and the conversational Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English (CANCODE). Results have confirmed the negative semantic prosody; they have also shown that in both corpora *risk* is used more often in the context of health and illness

than in that of finance (2007: 169). Moreover, the connection to the medical semantic field is highly dependent on collocates associated with health and illness (*ibid.*, 178. Hamilton et al's (2007) work on how the semantics of risk is dependent on the specific context of use was further developed by Hardy and Colombini (2011) focusing on the collocations, semantic associations, and semantic prosody of the noun *risk* in the COCA corpus, a balanced sample of texts in terms of domains (Hamilton et al. 2007: 170-171). Outcomes from Hardy and Colombini's analysis confirmed the negative connotations of *risk* which are usually associated with medical discourse, mainly found in magazine and academic genres, even in apparently positive contexts such as *good risk*, *risk worth taking* and *x be worth risk.*

Others have looked at the semantics of risk and related concepts, such as causality (Boholm 2009), danger or threat (Battistelli and Galantino 2019, Boholm 2012), security and safety (Boholm et al. 2016) or uncertainty (Müller et al 2021). Boholm et al. (2016: 4) have also argued that risk associations are established by linguistic practices in a "layered model of risk association", revolving around the word *risk* (2016, 4). Boholm's (2016) "onion model" is presented as a framework to methodologically analyse the construction of *risk* in discourse (2016: 8) across four layers: the core and central layer including the noun *risk* and its compounds, the first layer including the morpheme *risk* and its derived words (e.g. verb *risk* and adjective *risky*), the second one gathering close synonyms of *risk* (e.g. *danger, hazard and peril*) and their derived forms (e.g. *dangerous*), the third one collecting *risk*'s antonyms (e.g. *safety* and *security*) with their derived forms and backformations (e.g. *safe*), while the fourth layer comprising other related words.

In a diachronic perspective, Zinn (2010) and Zinn and MacDonald (2018) analyze the diachronic change of the semantics of *risk* and related items over the news coverage of the *New York Times*, while claiming the need for corpus-assisted discourse analyses in research in order to carry out more empirical analyses. They notice for example that health-related risks actually became dominant only after the second world war. Müller and Mell (2022) also explore diachronically quantitative and semantic changes of the concept of 'risk' in the parliamentary discourse of the German Federal Republic from 1949 to 2017, underlining new emerging lexical paradigms.

Lexico-semantic choices in the area of the notion of 'risk' vary according to the specific contexts. If the discourse of *risk* seems to be key in the domain of health and illness (Zinn and MacDonald 2018), the discourse of *threat* often becomes dominant in the domain of war, terrorism and migration crises (Galantino 2020). The notion of *danger* also becomes central in the discursive representation of possible harm (Battistelli and Galantino 2019). Starting from Luhman's (1993: 23) distinction between the attribution

of negative outcomes to one's decision (as with *risk*) or to external sources (as with *danger*), the authors propose a representation of the semantic space of the three expressions based on the notions of agency and intentionality. The assumption is that the uncertainty about future harm ranges from the possibility of negative outcomes that can still be attributable to *positive* intentionality (*risk*) to the harm being produced by ill-intentioned actors (*threat*) or by negative circumstances (*danger*) (Battistelli and Galantino 2019, 70), as represented in Figure 1.
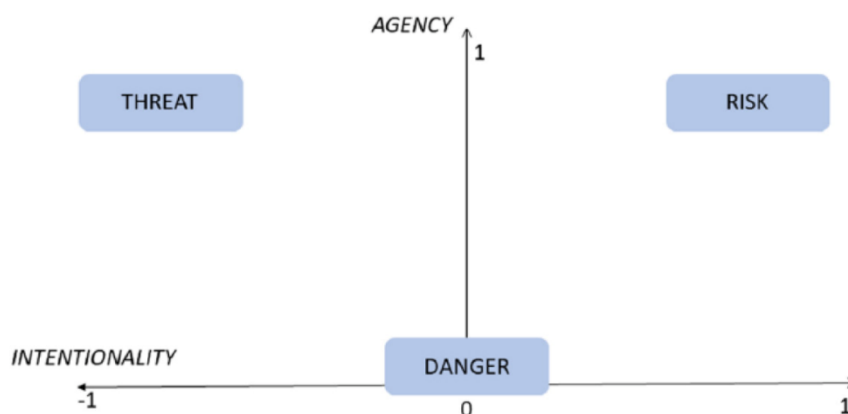
Figure 1
A typology of danger, risk and threat. (Battistelli and Galantino 2019: 70)

A growing body of corpus-based studies have contributed to developing risk research with specific reference to the pandemic. Semino (2021: 54), for example, has investigated different metaphors adopted in the communication of the pandemic, focusing on the Fire metaphor, and emphasizing how it conveys danger and urgency, the risk of contagion, the role of health workers or the connection with health inequalities. Wicke and Bolognesi (2021) have looked at the construction of the WAR frame in Covid-19 tweets, including the word *threat* in the building of their WAR frame. In a corpus-based perspective, Müller et al (2021) focus on an annotation scheme examining elements of personal and situational uncertainty in relation to 'risk' in British and German newspapers. Müller et al (2021) map different markers of uncertainty in a corpus of British and German newspaper articles and highlight different trends in the two contexts, showing for example that while markers of possibility and probability are similarly frequent, uncertainty is more often realized through reference to anxiety in the British context and to disagreement in the German context. Lexical markers like *risk*, *danger*, *threat* are actually classified as constructions of situational uncertainty (Danger) in their model.

Our own analysis aims at exploring the contextual meanings of different lexical markers of risk in different forms of public discourse: the discourse of international relations and the discourse of research.

3. Methods and materials

3.1. Materials

The analysis was carried out on two corpora of texts dealing with Covid 19 pandemic.

The first one consists of texts that were released as part of the COVID-19 Open Research Dataset (CORD-19). The CORD-19 is a free resource of more than 280,000 scholarly articles about the novel coronavirus for use by the global research community, produced by The Semantic Scholar team at the Allen Institute for AI, in partnership with leading research groups. The dataset is updated regularly and contains all COVID-19 and coronavirus-related research (e.g. SARS, MERS, etc.) from a range of sources: PubMed, the WHO COVID-19 database, bioRxiv and medRxiv pre-prints. It is thus taken to be representative of the discourse of scientific research in the most typical form of the research article.

The second is a corpus of interviews in which diplomats and international operators are interviewed on the spread and the political/social/economic consequences of Covid19, i.e. the InterDiplo-Covid 19 corpus[2]. This corpus is part of a larger corpus, i.e. the InterDiplo corpus, currently under construction at the Dep. of Foreign Literatures and Languages - University of Verona[3]. The interviews were collected from the most famous international broadcasting companies (e.g. BBC, CNN, CGNT, ARIRANG, SKY NEWS UK, FRANCE 24 ENGLISH) or, due to VPN issues, on their YouTube channel where they often publish complete interviews.

Diplomats and international operators are interviewed in English by journalists who do not share the same lingua-cultural background as they can be both native and non-native speakers of English. Videos were saved and then transcribed through Happy Scribe, a transcription software which uses speech recognition technology. It has an accuracy of up to 85% thus txt output files were then manually proofread. After transcription the txt files

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[2] Cavalieri, S., S. Corrizzato & R. Facchinetti (2021). The InterDiplo-Covid 19 Corpus.

[3] Project of excellence: "Le Digital Humanities applicate alle lingue e letterature straniere" – Dep. of Foreign Languages and Literatures – University of Verona

were transposed in xml and tagged for metadata, parts of speech, discursive features, questions and answers.

The InterDiplo-Covid 19 corpus includes 80 interviews, and it was collected within a year timespan from February 2020 February 2021. It consists of 236,000 tokens and, to have a balanced corpus, the 80 interviews were grouped into 4 sub-corpora: 1) 20 interviews in which the interviewer and the interviewee are both native speakers of English; 2) 20 interviews in which the interviewer is a native speaker of English whereas the interviewee is a non-native speaker of English; 3) 20 interviews in which the interviewer is a non-native speaker of English whereas the interviewee is a native speaker of English; 4) 20 interviews in which the interviewer and the interviewee are both non-native speakers of English.

3.2. Methods

We adopted a mixed-method approach, i.e., a data-driven quantitative and qualitative analysis (Baker 2006; Müller 2017; Müller and Stegmeier 2019; Müller 2022; Taylor and Marchi 2018) in which corpus linguistics tools are combined with a discourse analytical perspective to investigate the development of *risk* thematization in the two corpora. As for the corpus tools used, we relied on the ones offered by *Sketch Engine*, i.e., the wordlist and concordance analysis.

First of all, we generated a wordlist in the two corpora to identify the most frequent vocabulary nominal realizations associated to the notion of 'risk' and we then extracted its possible related expressions with a normalized frequency higher than 10 pmw. This allowed us to compare the frequency patterns of *risk* and semantically similar nouns in order to map its lexical field in the pandemic. Indeed, as shown by the literature, 'risk' concepts can be expressed not only with the word *risk*, but also by synonyms to emphasize certain aspects of the risk frame.

Risk-related vocabulary was selected according to the definition provided by the Merriam-Webster dictionary online[4] (e.g., *danger, challenge, threat*) and also taking into consideration the list of near-synonyms in the thematization of *risk* provided in Müller and Mell (2022).

Secondly, for all the selected items, concordances were analyzed looking for collocational and phrasal patterns (Sinclair 1996, 2004), starting from an analysis of their collocation, colligation and semantic preference. We identified the semantic sequences in which the vocabulary of *risk* is involved, and then we studied elements of local grammar (e.g., patterns of pre- and post-modification) of 'risk' and its related expressions. In this way, we

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[4] https://www.merriam-webster.com/thesaurus/risk (Last accessed on December 10, 2021).

determined the phraseological contexts of risk thematisation and could thus identify the most frequent communicative functions of risk in Covid-19 pandemic in a discourse perspective.

4. Results

4.1. Frequency list: risk and semantically related words

The first step of our analysis consisted in the selection of nominal realisations of the notion of risk in the wordlists of the two corpora. To do so, we relied on the definition of *risk* provided by the Merriam-Webster Dictionary online and on the listed risk-related terms:

Risk (noun)
1. *something that may cause injury or harm*
danger, hazard, challenge, imminence, menace, peril, pitfall, threat, trouble
2. *the state of not being protected from injury, harm, or evil*
danger, distress, endangerment, harm's way, imperilment, jeopardy, peril, trouble

A wordlist was then generated, and the focus was placed in particular on the frequency list of nouns to detect the nominal realization of the notion of 'risk'. An overview of the frequency wordlist of nouns in the two corpora offers an interesting picture of the thematization of 'risk'. Table 1 reports rank, frequency and normalized frequency (per million words, pmw) of the top lexical items within the first 10,000 positions.

CORD-19				INTERDIPLO-COVID19			
Rank	Word	Frequency	Pmw	Rank	Word	Frequency	Pmw
182	*risk*	157,958	562.60	334	*risk*	77	314.24
398	*challenge*	76,586	272.78	413	*challenge*	64	261.18
1,246	*threat*	23,036	82.05	489	*threat*	52	212.21
2,397	*distress*	10,003	35.63	1,018	*danger*	22	89.78
2,889	*hazard*	7,593	27.04	--------	--------------	--------------	-----------
5,358	*danger*	2,937	10.46	--------	--------------	--------------	-----------

Table 1
Wordlist of "risk"-related nouns in the corpora.

*L*ingue e
*L*inguaggi

As Table 1 shows, the nouns related to the notion of 'risk' are semantically connoted by the "reference to the possibility of an unwelcome outcome" (Fillmore and Atkins 1992: 79). All the nominal expressions found suggest that *risk* and semantically related words convey the idea of uncertainty for the future which is defined between the two semantic sub-frames identified by Fillmore and Atkins (1992: 81-84) of *chance* and *harm*.

Interestingly, we can see that in the InterDiplo-Covid 19 corpus the notion of risk seems to develop from a positive valence description to negative ones. On the one hand, the most frequent semantic realization of 'risk' is *challenge* (98 occurrences), which can imply a positive experience that usually involves the accomplishment of a difficult task. On the other hand, the other three "risk"-related nouns carry a negative value (a possibility of being exposed to danger or loss) that goes from one that can still be attributable to *positive* intentionality (*risk*, 84 occurrences) to the harm being produced by ill-intentioned actors (*threat,* 52 occurrences) or by negative circumstances (*danger*, 22 occurrences) (Battistelli & Galantino 2019: 70). Quantitatively speaking, this thematic development of the notion of "risk" in the corpora concerning agency and intentionality seems to perfectly fit the typology proposed in Battistelli and Galantino (2019: 70)

In the CORD-19 corpus, on the other hand, the emphasis of scientific discourse lies very much on *risk*, which is by far more frequent than the more positive (or neutral) *challenge*. In terms of intentionality and agency, we notice the same cline, from positive intentionality to negative intentionality to negative agency, but the range of values is much wider: the use of *risk* is much more frequent in scientific discourse (the frequency is almost double), whereas reference to *threat* and especially *danger* is much more limited.

The presence of *distress,* on the other hand*,* points in a totally different direction, which is not associated to any probabilistic notion of risk. The word is clearly marked in the CORD-19 by its terminological use in classifying pathological states (e.g. *respiratory distress*) and in identifying diagnostic and therapeutic processes: *distress experienced by, characterized by respiratory distress, as respiratory distress progresses, respiratory distress requiring intubation, alleviate distress*, etc. It is thus mostly used to refer to pathological states, rather than to a state of danger or risk. We will therefore exclude it from the qualitative analysis of risk-related terms.

To explore the use of the word *risk* and the other semantically similar nouns identified with reference to this framework, we need to study their contextualization. Thus, in the next section, we will pay close attention to the phraseology involved in the qualification of risk in the corpora.

4.2. Local grammar of "risk"

4.2.1. The InterDiplo-Covid19 corpus

Taking into consideration the phraseology around the notion of risk in the two corpora, we discuss elements of the local grammar (Hunston & Su 2017) of the most frequent semantically related words identified in the wordlist. The focus is on pre- and post-modification of each noun, as well as on its verbal collocates.

Starting with the InterDiplo-Covid19 corpus, the noun *risk* is qualified by pre-modifying adjectives indicating the degree and we find collocates such as *potent, main, great/greatest*, *high/highest*, *increased*, and *significant risk.* All these patterns highlight the perception of Covid 19 as a disease of unprecedented dimension that has changed societies and are often used to describe the risks associated to chronic conditions or advanced age. Examples 1 to 2 provide instances of these patterns:

(1)   […] if someone has **heart disease** and they're collecting fluid in their lungs they're going to be **at greater risk** well if *someone has poorly managed diabetes mellitus* they will be **at greater risk.**

(2)   it seems that the **main risk** at the moment is *older people* and *those with preexisting medical conditions*

Moreover, the noun *risk* is also qualified with post-modification, mainly realized through prepositional phrases (*risk of ..., risk for...*) used to describe the types of risks brought about by Covid19 (*zoonotic disease, death, dying, serious conditions, infection, exposure, severe complications, developing serious illness*) or by its quick spreading *(risk of the disease spreading like wildfire, risk of spread is high, risk of global catastrophe, risk of a pandemic worldwide, risk of the transmission throughout the world)* as shown in example 3:

(3)   We can't say it's not acceptable it must stop but we can say that all the evidence suggests that wet markets and the eating of bushmeat and similar practices are con- contributing to **an increased risk of zoonotic disease**

However, the representatives of world diplomacy also focus on the Coronavirus as a risk that needs to be accepted and mitigated/minimized and reduced through specific measures such as social distancing. This is shown by the frequency of verbs collocating with the noun *risk* as object, such as: *manage/minimize/mitigate/accept/reduce.* Examples are provided in 4 and 5:

(4)   You're going to reduce your risk of exposure to the virus. So the outside of 10 Feet you're going to **reduce the risk** and the outdoor environment is going to have much more potential to dilute

(5)   Our approach has been from the very beginning by default respecting the people's right to freedom of movement and then to implement measures where necessary and proportionate to the needs to **manage the risk** and and now because the risk factor comes with the people traveling coming from overseas into the countries we have placed all travelers coming from outside the country to 14 days of self isolation either in their homes or in government sponsored facilities

The local grammar of *risk* highlights how, in the case of Covid19, this notion seems to be affected by human decisions and by deliberate choices between alternative courses of action (Battistelli & Galantino 2019, 70), i.e. protecting people with pre-existing medical conditions, adopting social distancing.

Moving on to the noun *challenge,* which is the most frequent risk-related noun in the InterDiplo-Covid19 corpus, Covid19 is perceived as a "global challenge" and is often connoted by pre-modifying adjectives of size (*big/biggest, enormous, unprecedented, huge*). The local grammar of "challenge" shows that the pandemic experience involves the accomplishment of a difficult task that can only be faced by nations all together. Thus, 'cooperation' becomes a key notion in the context around the noun *challenge*, as in examples 6 and 7:

(6)   This pandemic is a huge wake up call for all of us in terms of giving ourselves the means globally in a **cooperative** manner to fight a **global challenge** that knows no border that knows no passport called coronavirus

(7)   This is a a **challenge** that we have to **overcome together** as a **global community**

When we consider post-modification, the noun *challenge* is also often characterized by the globality of its nature. We often find that challenge is followed by prepositional phrases introduced by *for* plus expressions involving the people facing the challenge - *the world, all of us, most countries, the entire world, the entire humanity, the democratic governments*. These patterns highlight again the need for a collective action to face Coronavirus as shown in (7) and (8):

(8)   Yes covid-19 I think him as a as a big crisis **big challenge for the entire humanity** so Pakistan was no exception

(9)   So it was a painful process of discovery more learning more about this virus and knowing how to deal with it I think **this is a challenge for all of us**

Another interesting pattern in the local grammar of *challenge* is its post-modification through *that-clause*. Once more, Covid19 is described as a global challenge that could only be faced by the world as a community (e.g. *a global/big challenge that knows no border/we have to overcome together/we cannot win alone*)

The cooperative action of nations is also reflected in the verbal patterns around the noun *challenge* when it is used as direct object. These include verbs of action that express the need of dealing with the pandemic (*face the challenge, meet the challenge, address the challenge*) sometimes also recurring to stronger verbs such as *fight* as in example (9):

> (10)   This pandemic is a huge wake up call for all of us in terms of giving ourselves the means globally in a cooperative manner **to fight a global challenge** that knows no border

Similarly to what has been observed for *risk,* the noun *challenge* seems to be used in the language of diplomacy in patterns where the action of governments and people is perceived as fundamental to overcome the pandemic

Moving on to *threat,* we find pre-modification patterns that are similar to those of *risk. I*t is possible to observe frequent elements that qualify the intensity and the globality of the threat posed by Coronavirus (e.g. *global, common, transnational*), as well as its possible reiteration (e.g. *continuing, constant*). A further instance of pre-modification of *threat* deals with the nature of the threat described (e.g. *health, Covid19, public health, pandemic*). See the examples below:

> (11)   The really important point is to stress that it's not going to suddenly go away it's going to stay with us for the foreseeable future so this capacity to defend against it and to learn how to live with **the constant threat** of the virus is going to be the key for the future of humanity.
>
> (12)   [...] we are fighting together a common threat and there is a **common threat** that which **transnational threat** which doesn't respect borders.
>
> (13)   [...] last week the United Nations chief described the pandemic as the most challenging crisis we have faced since the Second World War the secretary general called for a coordinated global response to the **health threat** with an emphasis on developing nations reminding countries that we are only as strong as the weakest health system in our interconnected world

Post-modification of *threat* is extensively realized by prepositional phrases introduced by *to* and identifying the entities concerned by the threat. As it was for *challenge,* these consist of people perceived as a global community:

e.g. *a common threat to the whole world, to every country, to the wellbeing and the life of people.* The noun *threat* is also post-modified by prepositional phrases with *for* that qualify the kind of threat (e.g. *threat of Covid-19, of the virus, of Coronavirus).*

The most frequent verbs collocating with *threat* are *pose, face, fight* and they are used with a twofold purpose: on the one hand, to establish the existence of the threat when the noun is used as subject (*the threats posed by Coronavirus*); on the other hand, to describe the need for a common action of people when *threat* is the object of verbs such as *face* or *fight* as in the following example:

> (14)   […] every country needs to do both at the same time **fight covid-19 threat** but also address the other threats and challenges which are faced […]

The last risk-related term for frequency in the InterDiplo-Covid 19 corpus is *danger* which is far less used by diplomats and international operators. As for *threat, danger* is qualified through pre-modification to highlight its intensity (*huge, great, grave*) and it is often post-modified by prepositional phrases indicating the type of *danger* (*of viruses, of pandemics*).

If we compare the core notion *risk* to the other risk-related nouns found in the InterDiplo-Covid 19 corpus using the the Wordsketch difference tool in Sketchengine, the most interesting variation we observe is when we compare the collocational patterns of *risk* and *challenge* (Figure 2). They only include verbal patterns, but the difference concerns the kind of actions needed to deal with those two issues: on the one hand, *risk* can only be identified (*be),* differentiated or reduced, so with a limited agency and intentionality; on the other hand, *challenge* requires more interventions to be addressed, met or even fought.
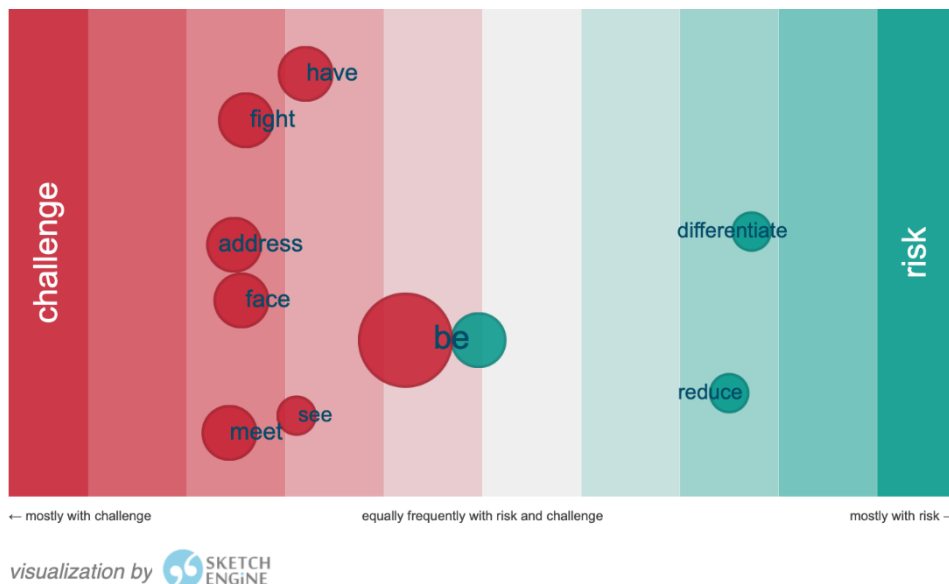
Figure 2
Risk and Challenge compared in terms of their associations.

In the next section, the phraseology around the notion of risk-related terms will be discussed in relation to the CORD-19 corpus considering their local grammar.

4.2.2. The CORD-19 corpus

The key role played by *risk* in the CORD-19 corpus and the nature of the corpus may concur in determining a wider range of pre-modification forms. If the most frequent elements qualify the intensity and the probability of the risk (*high, greater, relative, potential, low, elevated, significant, serious risk*), another interesting set of pre-modifiers qualifies the nature of the risk in question (*infection, health, transmission, disease, exposure, mortality, zoonotic, public, occupational, fatality, personal, cancer risk*). Pre-modification often combines with post-modification in introducing types of risks with the prepositions *of* and *for*: *risk of severe complications, the relative risks of cardiac failure, the potential risks of infectious agents; the potential risk for public health, additional risks for infectious complications, risks for errors; the risk of covid-19 for hospital staff and patients,* etc.

A study of verbs collocating with *risk* as object or subject provides an overview of the contexts in which risk is discussed. The verbs that have *risk* as object can be roughly divided into three main semantic categories:

- Verbs of change (increase/decrease): *increase, reduce, minimize, decrease, assess, mitigate a risk;*
- Verbs that establish a relational connection between risk and a potential agent of risk: *pose, carry a risk;*
- Verbs of (risk) assessment (with a potential "senser" of risk): *assess, perceive, associate, estimate, predict, model a risk.*

The examples below illustrate typical contexts in which hypotheses are formulated as to what helps contain risk (example 15), what poses a risk (and why) (example 16), and how risk can be assessed (example 17):

(15) Conservation of wildlife and limits of the exposures of humans to wildlife will be important **to minimize the spillover risks** of coronaviruses from wild animals to humans.

(16) This phenomenon is well documented in many viral zoonoses, yet Coronaviruses **pose exceptional risk to human populations due to** the variety of potential reservoirs and the virulence of the emergent pandemics they cause

(17) By combining three different modelling approaches, we created a tool to **assess the risk of** 2019-nCoV outbreaks in countries outside of China.

Similarly, verbs with *risk* as subject often refer to processes establishing the risk as such (as in example 18), providing an explanation of risk in terms of its causes (as in example 19) and providing its relative position and assessment (20):

(18) Nevertheless, **a finite risk exists** of droplet and airborne disease transmission while traveling in a commercial airplane.

(19) **This risk depends on three key parameters**: the cumulative number of cases in areas of China which are not closed, the connectivity between China and the destination country, and the local transmission potential of the virus.

(20) Given the **risk of death conditional on** disease of 0.6% for the group of 50-60 yrs old, **the daily mortality risk outweighs** the wages lost due to absenteeism (around $170 per day in the US) for most workers assuming the value of statistical life of $3mln.

A distinctive feature that characterizes the representation of *risk* in our academic corpus is also the higher frequency of modality markers hedging the degree of (un)certainty in the calculation of risk. Epistemic modal markers like *may*, *appear* and *seem* are particularly frequent around the notion, highlighting risk assessment as a key issue in science:

(21)   The risk of recombination involving other attenuated veterinary herpesvirus vaccines has not been evaluated comprehensively, but **the risk appears to be higher** in some viruses (such as EHV-4) and lower in others (such as EHV-1). The results from this study suggest that the risk for FHV-1 vaccine recombination **may** also **be low**.

As shown in the preliminary overview, *challenge* is far less used in scientific discourse. It is preferably pre-modified by adjectives expressing the relevance of the challenge (*major, great, big, unique, significant, key, serious, main*) and more often associated with the challenges of scientific research than with the notion of specific health risks, as in the following examples:

(22)   **One of the major challenges** of the current pandemic to date **is** disease detection and diagnosis.
(23)   **To tackle this major challenge, we developed** a geo-stratified debiasing estimation framework based on the following observation.

Similarly, post-modification shows a preference for prepositional elements introduced by *for*, which typically identify either the nature of the challenge itself or the people facing the challenge: *for doctors, for the globe, for clinicians throughout the world* etc.

     The verbs collocating with *challenge* as subject or object are widely dominated by relational verbs, establishing the existence (or persistence) of a challenge: *pose, face, address, present, meet, arise, exist, encounter* etc. These contribute to identifying the problem, monitoring the situation and highlighting the relevance of the issues dealt with, rather than specifying elements of interpretation and assessing what is actually taking place. Examples are provided below:

(24)   Cities outside Hubei are also **facing great challenge** and require implementing of effective and feasible strategy in precision diagnosing novel coronavirus pneumonia (NCP).
(25)   So far, there is no specific drug for SARS-CoV-2, and **challenges remain**.

Elements of interpretation become really prominent when a *threat* is identified. Not only is *threat* qualified in a wider range of ways; it is also more often subjected to interpretative processes.

     Pre-modification shows that the word is qualified in terms of intensity (*serious, major, great, significant*), but also of dimension (*global, worldwide*), epistemic status (*potential, constant, real, ongoing*) and in terms of type of threat (*health, public, pandemic, disease, security, infectious, biological, bioterrorism, microbial*). Post-modification is widely dominated

by prepositional phrases introduced by *to* and identifying the entities affected by the threat: e.g. *a serious threat to public health, to human health, to the unprotected population of southern Brazil, to the poultry industry, to the patient, to FMD-free countries, to the environment, to tourism, to front-line health workers*.

Verbs collocating with *threat* include words like *pose* and *face,* used to introduce the notion and establish the existence of a threat (*pose a threat, facing the threat, constitute a threat*), but also more interpretative verbs of projection, perhaps required by the negative semantic meaning of *threat* in terms of agency and intentionality. Verbs like *perceive, represent, consider, recognize* emphasize the interpretative task required by using the word *threat*, while verbs of change like *emerge, remain, become, arise, continue* emphasize the need to be on the alert in a constant re-interpretation of events as threats:

> (26)   The continuing pandemic of coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) caused by severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2, previously known as 2019-nCoV) **has now become an international public health threat**, causing inconceivable loss of lives and economic instability

Hazard and *danger* are also clearly related to *risk* and *threat,* though typically referred to contextual circumstances. As shown by the Wordsketch difference tool in Sketchengine (Figure 2), *danger* is more clearly associated with *difficulty* and *fear*, whereas *hazard* is associated both to issues of *vulnerability* and *communicabilty* and to its potential nature and consequences (*chemical, disaster*). Modifiers of the two words also mark a slight difference between the two nouns: *danger* is qualified by its epistemic status and intensity (*imminent, impending, grave, mortal*), while hazard is more often classified into types (*occupational, moral, smog-related, biological, environmental*) and generally recognized as a specific object of study in occupational medicine (as a condition arising from exposure to agents potentially affecting normal physiological mechanisms). Verbs collocating with the two words also show a higher presence of mental interpretative processes such as *perceive, realize, sense* in collocation with *danger*, thus perhaps confirming the view that *hazard* refers to a situation where danger is always only potential, whereas reference to *danger* rather indicates a probability of the negative outcome.
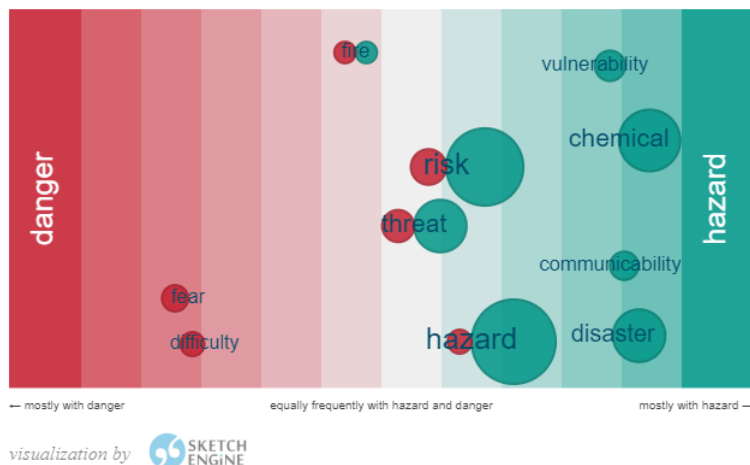
Figure 3
Danger and hazard compared in terms of their associations.

The various lexical realizations of the notion of 'risk', however, are often closely related and not always clearly distinguished, as we can see form the contextual use of *risk, threat, danger* and *hazard* in the next example:

(27)   […] at least 2 broad methods exist for analyzing the role of **risk** in social science, and the choice of method is important. […] The most common approach is the realist approach, in which **risk is seen as an objective threat or danger** that can be measured independent of the social context within which it occurs […]. The alternative is the social constructionist approach, which describes **risk as being based on objective facts about danger and hazard,** amenable to rationalistic calculations, which are then mediated, perceived, and responded to in particular ways through social, cultural, and political processes

5. Conclusions

Our paper has delved into the conceptualisation and framing of 'risk' in the Covid-19 pandemic. We explored occurrences of risk-based vocabulary on two corpora dealing with the spread and the political/social/economic consequences of Covid19 from February 2020 to February 2021 (i.e. the InterDiplo Covid-19 corpus and the CORD-19 corpus). Our aims were to study the role of risk-related vocabulary at the outbreak of the most dangerous pandemic of the last centuries focusing in particular on the thematization of risk in two widely differing contexts: international relations and scientific language. To reach these purposes, we adopted a mixed-method approach, i.e., a data-driven quantitative and qualitative analysis (Baker 2006, Müller 2017, Taylor and Marchi 2018) in which corpus linguistics tools were combined with a discourse analytical perspective to investigate the development of *risk* thematization in the two corpora. Therefore, after a first recognition of all related expressions of the nominal realization of "risk" in the worldlists of the two corpora, we analyzed their concordances to find typical collocations and phraseology used to qualify risk in Covid-19 epidemic.

Starting with quantitative results, risk vocabulary is more varied in the CORD-19 corpus where we find 6 risk related lexical items (*risk, challenge, threat, distress, hazard* and *danger)* with normalized frequency higher than 10 pmw. In the InterDiplo-Covid 19 corpus, we observe only 4 risk related lexical realizations (*risk, challenge, threat, danger*) and the notion of risk swings from a positive valence description to negative ones. This may of course depend on the huge size difference between the two corpora, but what is most interesting is the different relative importance of the various lexicalizations. Considering frequency, the most frequent element in the InterDiplo Covid-19 corpus is *challenge*, which is often found in relation to a positive experience usually involving the accomplishment of a difficult task. Whereas the other three risk-related nouns carry a negative value (a possibility of being exposed to danger or threat). On the other hand, in the CORD-19 corpus, the situation is reversed, and the emphasis of scientific discourse seems to lie more on *risk*, which is by far more frequent than the more positive (or neutral) *challenge*. In terms of intentionality and agency, we noticed the same cline in the two corpora, from positive intentionality to negative intentionality to negative agency, but the range of values is much wider: the use of *risk* is much more frequent in scientific discourse, whereas reference to *threat* and *danger* is much more limited.

Moving on to the phraseology involved in the qualification of *risk* in the corpora, and to the communicative functions realized through this phraseology, we observed some differences due to the different aims that

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communication tries to fulfil according to the discourses. Indeed, in the academic corpus the main purpose seems to be finding an understanding within the scientific community on the on how to assess the risks of the pandemic in terms of identifying risks as such, their nature, the subjects affected and the likely causes. On the other hand, diplomats and international relation experts are more inclined to evaluate the pandemic risk as for its dimension and global relevance in order to shift the focus on its consequences on world communities and the necessity for a joint effort of all countries to fight Coronavirus.

A similar trend is actually found with *threat:* diplomats are on the whole more interested in threats (with their implied negative intentionality) than scientists, but this also involves giving people a more active role in facing the threat, while scientific discourse is more interested in the more neutral notion of risk, but phraseology and the communicative functions involved – whether with risk or threat - have more to do with finding tools for assessing risks and threats.

Another interesting difference between the *two* corpora concerns the use of modality markers in the representation of risk. In the CORDIS-19 academic corpus, the frequency of modality markers is high, and they are used to hedge the degree of (un)certainty in the calculation of risk. Thus, risk assessment can be considered as a key issue in science when dealing with a pandemic. On the other hand, in the InterDiplo Covid-19 corpus, modality is almost absent, and the key focus is placed on action against the risk in its globality without any epistemic evaluation, pointing rather at issues of risk management.

Moreover, the two corpora also show a different perception of risk when we consider the phraseology around the noun *challenge:* in the CORDIS-19, *challenge* is more often associated to scientific research than with the notion of specific health risks, hence expressing a more neutral and objective interpretation that includes the identification of the problem and the monitoring of the pandemic situation. In the InterDiplo-Covid19, conversely, *challenge* acquires a far more positive connotation and frequently collocates with verbs indicating the possibility of overcoming the pandemic thanks to a strong cooperative effort of people.

This study is a preliminary investigation, and the findings should be seen in light of some limitations: first of all, it would be interesting to address the diachronic development of risk-related items following the development of the pandemic and study its evolution also after the vaccination diffusion process. A closer study of the lexico-grammatical patterns around the key lexical elements could also lead to a more precise study of the grammatical patterns of the clauses in which nominal elements are found. Comparison of nominal and verbal elements expressing the notion of 'risk' would also add to

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the picture. Finally, the data are limited to specific contexts and specific lexical elements, which could probably be further illuminated by a wider perspective on the whole range of expressions related to the notion of uncertainty (cf. Müller et al. 2021) or by further comparison with the language of the media.

On the other hand, we hope to have illustrated how an analysis of the collocation, colligation and semantic preference of risk-related vocabulary can contribute to identifying the common (and divergent) communicative functions of different genres and discourses. We also hope to have shown how studying the representation of risk and its phraseological lexico-grammatical patterns can actually contribute to identifying not only different communicative functions, but ultimately different thematizations across discourses, e.g. highlighting the centrality of risk assessment in scientific discourse or risk management in diplomatic discourse.

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"A VOICE! A VOICE!"
Heart of Darkness, la radio e Orson Welles

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Abstract – The essay tackles two neglected radio adaptations from *Heart of Darkness* broadcast by American CBS in 1938 and 1945. Even though both related to the actorial and authorial figure of Orson Welles, they show an entirely different approach to Conrad's text, in particular for what concerns the crucial concept of "horror". If the first adaptation shows an indictment of Western colonialism aligned with Conrad's message, the second establishes a connection between the epitome figures of Kurtz and Hitler as a direct consequence of the new world scenario. The "horror" is therefore reinterpreted according to the political targets that shape and re-direct the radio adaptations. Furthermore, these plays are instrumental in the process of canonization of Conrad in the US and in the affirmation of Welles's reputation as *engagé* writer.

Keywords: voice; silence; radio; Orson Welles; horror.

> *"This has been verified as Col. Kurtz's voice."*
> *(Apocalypse Now, 1979, 12'26)*

1. Prima persona singolare

La carriera radiofonica di Orson Welles ha, nel complesso, ricevuto meno attenzione di quella cinematografica. Ciò è dovuto da un lato allo straordinario successo riscosso da Welles (come regista e come attore) nella settima arte, che ha polarizzato sforzi e analisi, e dall'altro a quel calo di attenzione, soprattutto critico, che ha subito la radio negli anni una volta perduta da quest'ultima la battaglia con la televisione per la centralità, anche domestica, nell'orizzonte di fruizione del pubblico.

Tuttavia, il ruolo di Welles nella radio americana, come regista e come attore, non deve essere sottovalutato. Esso è stato straordinariamente rilevante, innovativo e anche decisivo per quanto riguarda il processo di canonizzazione in America di alcuni autori letterari non americani, non ultimo Joseph Conrad con il quale Welles intrattenne una sorta di dialogo ininterrotto. La transcodificazione di un romanzo, aldilà delle sue varie forme "di arrivo" (radiodramma, *serial* radiofonico, televisivo o altro) può costituire infatti una delle tappe "by means of which novels become classic novels, and

[…] by due process join the literary canon, become part of the valued cultural heritage and inherited by subsequent generations" (Giddings and Selby 2001, x). Il lavoro per la Columbia Broadcasting System condotto, com'era tipico in quegli anni, a un ritmo frenetico e talvolta non accreditato, comportò inoltre l'introduzione da parte di Welles di importanti innovazioni registiche destinate a mantenersi stabilmente nel tempo, tra cui l'uso massiccio e variegato di una voce narrante in prima persona quale parte integrante del testo radiodrammatico (Welles and Bogdanovich 1992, 88). Si trattava, tutto considerato, di un tipo di *performance* che molto aveva in comune con il tradizionale spettacolo teatrale, dove tutto avveniva rigorosamente *live* e spesso davanti a un pubblico seduto in sala (Hand 2006, 18).

Il contributo di Welles, concentrato negli anni 1938-40 (e poi ripreso, anche a sostegno della politica di Roosevelt, negli anni della guerra), si era reso possibile trasportando di peso in radio la sua compagnia teatrale, *The Mercury Theatre Company*, per dar vita prima a uno show intitolato, significativamente, *First Person Singular*, poi ribattezzato *The Mercury Theatre on the Air* e infine *Campbell Playhouse*, una volta che la Campbell Company, la cui lattina di zuppa doveva poi essere immortalata da Andy Warhol, diventò lo sponsor della trasmissione imponendo l'inserimento di *commercials*. In questo modo, si agganciava il marchio a un prodotto di evidente qualità artistica, che a sua volta guadagnava in popolarità aumentando il suo status di classico (Giddings and Selby, x-xi), sia pure al prezzo – come avrebbe ben capito Warhol – di una reciproca assimilazione a *commodity*. L'impegno politico di Welles segnerà in modo chiaro il suo approccio al classico letterario, Shakespeare in particolare, contribuendo a ridurre quella distanza che ancora separava l'attore americano (in generale) dall'attore inglese, implicitamente ritenuto il depositario del giusto approccio alla recitazione del bardo. Questo impegno contrassegnerà anche il ritorno di Welles in radio nella fase più propagandistica, durante il secondo conflitto mondiale e all'interno del programma *This Is My Best* (sponsorizzato, questa volta, dai vini Cresta Blanca).

2. Guerra dei mondi e battaglia del bardo

"I think it's particularly well suited to radio" (Hand 20). Così si esprimeva Orson Welles nel 1945 in riferimento a *Heart of Darkness* e in occasione della trasmissione d'esordio del citato *This is My Best*, serie radiofonica dell'americana CBS destinata alle trasposizioni di autori allora considerati poco conosciuti (Hand 20).[1] *Heart of Darkness* rappresentò per Welles poco

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[1] Basti pensare che alcuni giornali annunciarono la trasmissione come *Hearts In Darkness*, oppure *Heart in Darkness*, *The Hearts In Darkness*, *The Hearts Of Darkness*. Si veda per questo

meno di un'ossessione, dal momento che lavorò a lungo a un progetto cinematografico (mai realizzato, ma del quale rimane la sceneggiatura) e svolse un ruolo di primo piano in due adattamenti radiofonici per il pubblico americano, uno del 6 novembre 1938 e l'altro del 13 marzo 1945, molto diversi fra loro a testimonianza di un approccio al testo mai definitivo o riconciliato.

La natura "orale" della narrazione di Marlow, che racconta le sua storia a un gruppo di "pellegrini" di chauceriana memoria in un momento di stasi del loro viaggio per mare, sembra anticipare con naturalezza uno scenario in cui "radio listeners become surrogates for Marlow's auditors on the *Nellie*" (Billy 2002, 177), come aveva precocemente intuito Welles e come hanno forse meno capito i critici a venire, di norma poco interessati non solo agli adattamenti radiofonici da Conrad (Hand 17) ma anche, come si diceva, alla ricca e feconda carriera in radio dell'attore e regista americano (Ortoleva e Scaramucci 2003, 947).[2] Eppure Welles fu tra i primi a comprendere appieno la specificità del mezzo e del linguaggio radiofonico, come dimostrò subdolamente la celeberrima trasmissione dell'adattamento di *The War of the Worlds* di Herbert George Wells, che fece credere a molti americani di essere sotto attacco marziano. Welles fu poi tra i primi (anche se non il primo in assoluto) a esplorare le potenzialità di Shakespeare per la radio americana, inserendosi di prepotenza in quella "battle for the bard" che infuriò negli anni Trenta e che instaurò un *do ut des* tra l'autorità del bardo e l'ascesa, anche commerciale, della radio americana – una battaglia combattuta senza esclusione di colpi e raccontata dalla stampa di allora "with the nomenclature of boxing" (Jensen 2018, ix). Welles contribuì inoltre ad accelerare il passaggio del radiodramma americano da un'occasione leggera e di intrattenimento a un prodotto autoriale *tout court*, avvicinandosi al mezzo radiofonico con la stessa professionalità e lo stesso rigore che applicava al cinema, gestendo personalmente "all aspects of production, from scripting and casting to direction and sound design to hosting and acting" (Lanier 2002, 197).

In tutto lo scenario romanzesco di *Heart of Darkness*, la dimensione acustica gioca peraltro un ruolo preponderante, esclusivo. Non è forse Kurtz mera voce? "The man presented himself as a voice" (47), "was very little more than a voice" (48), ricorda Marlow. "What else had been there?" si chiederà Marlow subito dopo la sua morte (69). La sua è una voce che, nel confronto, annichilisce tutte le altre: da quella "lamentable" del "chief agent"

[2] Significativo, in tal senso, l'errore di Seymour Chatman (1997, 207) che attribuisce il *doubling* wellesiano di Marlow e Kurtz alla versione del '38 (e non del '45). Vedi *infra*.

(19) a quella "commonplace" del *Manager* (21), da quella "hurried, indistinct" (58) del giovane *trader* russo a quella prima "very low" poi "muffled" (76) dell'*intended*. Kurtz non lo si immagina nel "doing", ma nel "discoursing" (47). Ascoltarlo è un privilegio (48); la sua è una voce che rimane "grave, profound, vibrating" (60) anche se l'uomo è ormai consunto dalla malattia, e anche a distanza di anni sempre attanaglia "the echo of his magnificent eloquence" (70). "A voice! a voice!" (60) esclamerà Marlow ancora pieno di sorpresa, ricordando la prima volta che lo sentì parlare. Lo stesso Marlow, del resto, diventa presto sulla *Nellie* "no more […] than a voice" (28), nient'altro che una fonte sonora capace di avviluppare gli astanti nell'oscurità senza fondo ("pitch dark", 28) della notte di Gravesend. E la terribile verità, il progetto di liquidare Kurtz dalla sua stazione in Africa, giungerà a Marlow sempre come una voce, anzi due, del *Manager* e di suo zio, udite mentre egli è disteso, non visto, sul ponte del suo vaporetto (31-32).[3]

　　　Significativamente, la versione cinematografica di *Heart of Darkness* sarebbe dovuta andarsi a incastonare tra i due adattamenti radiofonici, a testimonianza di un dialogo ininterrotto con il testo conradiano fatto di abbandoni, ritorni e reciproche influenze, oltre che di un sentito confronto con la figura epitome di Kurtz, che da sempre affascinava Welles per il suo sprezzo delle leggi della morale ordinaria e per la sua aura di grandezza decaduta e in cui, forse, l'attore e regista americano voleva ravvisare anche segni del suo personale divenire (Billy 172). Quella autentica "incantation" a cui Welles stesso faceva riferimento nella sua introduzione al *broadcast* era tuttavia inscindibile dalla prosa conradiana. Se gli fosse stato possibile, Welles avrebbe fatto di *Heart of Darkness* "a film in the first person" (Welles and Bogdanovich 1992, 31), vale a dire in costante soggettiva – alla maniera, per intenderci, di Robert Montgomery per *Lady in the Lake* (1947), dove il *private eye* di Chandler è identificato *in toto* con la prospettiva della macchina da presa. La venerazione per l'inglese di Conrad era tale che per la prima stesura della sceneggiatura cinematografica Welles tagliò e incollò le pagine di *Heart of Darkness* su fogli di carta, limitandosi a riempire gli spazi tra un passo e l'altro con brani di raccordo (Carringer 1985, 3). "I don't see how you can do Conrad without all the words", avrebbe poi detto lo stesso Welles a Peter Bogdanovich. "There's never been a Conrad movie, for the

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[3] In *Apocalypse Now* (1979) di Francis Ford Coppola la parte di Kurtz sarà affidata a Marlon Brando e alla sua esse blesa. Il capitano Willard avrà l'opportunità di ascoltare la voce di Kurtz su nastro molto prima dell'incontro finale: "I heard his voice on the tape and it really put the hook in me" (23'44), dirà esaminando la documentazione relativa al colonnello all'inizio della sua missione di "recupero" lungo il fiume Nung, in Vietnam. Nella versione italiana, Brando sarà doppiato come di prammatica dalla voce tonante di Sergio Fantoni, finendo col dissipare quella sorta di incanto mesmerico della versione originale.

simple reason that nobody's ever done it *as written*" (Welles and Bogdanovich, 32, corsivo mio).

Il linguaggio conradiano rimane dunque al centro della vocazione transmediale di Welles, sia nel suo magistero puramente linguistico, mai disconosciuto e abbandonato solo con riluttanza, sia nella sua dimensione metanarrativa, svelata progettualmente nel suo artificio. Le potenzialità suggestive della parola di Conrad appaiono per Welles inesauribili, capaci di una costante riattualizzazione e da declinare *ad libitum* con il mutare degli scenari storici e di fruizione del testo. Dell'"orrore" conradiano è accolta la sfida, il dilemma posto dalla sua significazione, e risolto nei termini di una disambiguazione e risemantizzazione al mutare degli snodi della Storia.

3. *The horror! The horror!*

Il primo *script* radiofonico qui considerato, del 1938, è formalmente da attribuirsi alla mano del drammaturgo Howard Koch, anche se la partecipazione di Welles alla scrittura è indubbia *in primis* per quello che era, in quel momento, il suo stilema narrativo, vale a dire la tecnica soggettiva che Welles stesso avrebbe poi voluto adottare per la versione cinematografica del romanzo, già in agenda alla RKO (Billy, 171-172; DeBona 1994, 16).

Uno dei lasciti più evidenti dell'attività radiofonica di Welles sarebbe stato appunto l'uso descrittivo di una narrazione in prima persona effettuata da personaggi direttamente coinvolti nella storia (Carringer 5). Passato sulle frequenze CBS ancora sull'onda del *succès de scandale* di *The War of the Worlds*, l'*Heart of Darkness* del Mercury Theatre on the Air rappresenta, come si accennava, un importante passo verso la definitiva "canonizzazione" di Conrad, una sorta di viatico garantito dal processo adattativo (Giddings and Selby 2001, x). Questa versione mantiene la cornice narrativa dell'ipotesto, e Welles opterà per un *doubling* piuttosto anodino, riservando per sé la parte dell'anonimo narratore della cornice oltre a quella centrale di Kurtz. Ray Collins, un veterano del Mercury Theatre, presterà la propria voce a Marlow mentre il raccordo tra i vari segmenti narrativi verrà attuato attraverso l'inserimento di canti tribali e tamburi. Questi forniranno, sì, "colore" alla vicenda, secondo una concezione ancora stereotipata e hollywoodiana dell'Africa nera, di quel "aboriginally loathsome" menzionato da Welles nell'introduzione alle trasmissioni del '38 e del '45, ma saranno anche da intendersi come il frutto di un'accurata ricerca etnografica, certamente un derivato della collaborazione con Asadata Dafora Horton per le danze di *Vodoo Macbeth* (1936). Una ricerca che localizzava puntualmente il clan tribale degli Abamulele, udibile nei canti, come originario delle regioni dell'Africa centrale (Esikumo 2020, 2; Hilb 2014, 665). Gli esiti di

questo primo studio sono peraltro da intendersi come preparatori al di poco successivo lavoro per il film, per il quale è noto dall'intervista con Bogdanovich come Welles avesse svolto "enormous research in aboriginal, Stone Age cultures" (DeBona 23) oltre ad aver considerato la possibilità – assolutamente rivoluzionaria per i tempi – di girare il film direttamente in Congo con un nutrito cast di nativi (DeBona 25). Un Congo che, coerentemente con le esplicite finalità di denuncia del testo, è ora svelato – a differenza che in Conrad, come è noto – quale teatro della vicenda. L'"orrore" conradiano, come si accennava, si declina diversamente a seconda del mutato scenario storico e della differente dialettica wellesiana: nel 1938, l'avorio è il *primum movens* delle attività commerciali degli europei in Africa, la loro unica ragione d'essere – aldilà della patina umanitaria che ricopre ipocritamente le loro azioni – e che spiega il loro spingersi verso luoghi drammaticamente inospitali ma funzionali alla loro brutale politica imperialista di espoliazione. È ciò che ha trattenuto Kurtz in quella "stinking jungle" (30'30[4]) e che ne ha fatto un idolo per la Compagnia: egli è un prodigio (14'22) capace di accumulare da solo più avorio di tutti gli altri agenti (14'27). "Ivory" è una parola che risuona nell'aria (13'41), la grande divinità a cui sono votati i "white men with long sticks in their hands" (13'30) che camminano oziosamente per la stazione in cui Marlow è costretto a sostare, per settimane, in attesa dei pezzi di ricambio per il suo *steamer*. L'avorio è l'ossessione dell'uomo bianco "in the Belgian Congo" (20'39), la ragione di vita che si sclerotizza e che reclama a sé le anime dei suoi adepti, riconosciuta nella sua vera natura orrifica soltanto a un passo dalla fine: "Horror! Horror!" (31'47) rieccheggia infatti a breve distanza "The ivory, the ivory!" (31'41) nel delirio di un Kurtz morente, stabilendo un'analogia implacabile e definitiva tra i due ambiti semantici.

La versione del '45, anch'essa per la CBS, appare più controllata nella struttura, in ossequio a un principio di economia narrativa qui maggiormente avvertito. La cornice ipotestuale è eliminata *in toto*, mentre il lavoro sullo *steamer* sarà trovato a Marlow direttamente dall'*intended* per conto della Compagnia in cerca di un esperto "navigator" (4'48) che vada a recuperare Kurtz. Le varie *stations* africane si ridurranno di numero, confondendosi tra loro e abbreviando il percorso (Manzoni 2009, 325). Il dramma appare anche più audace in alcune scelte registiche, a partire dalla decisione di Welles di ricoprire entrambi i ruoli di Marlow e Kurtz, come avrebbe dovuto essere nel film. Di quest'ultimo progetto abortito si avverte nitidamente l'influenza, segnatamente nella condanna al nazi-fascismo e nel profilo di Kurtz, consapevole tanto dell'importanza del suo ruolo quanto del suo imminente

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[4] Il minutaggio indicato fa riferimento alla registrazione disponibile sui siti dedicati (vedi bibliografia).

fallimento (Billy 173-174). Il commento musicale diventa più "cinematografico", accompagnando i salti temporali e i colpi di scena, e si fa più "occidentale", meno tribale nella ricerca etnografica forse anche per l'influenza di Bernard Herrmann, amico personale di Welles che aveva già diretto le musiche di *The War of the Worlds* e che lo avrebbe seguito alla RKO prima di contribuire con successo alle sonorità di Alfred Hitchcock (Rondolino 1991, 112). Il ritmo è incalzante, frenetico, quasi un affrettarsi verso la fine con chiare risonanze simboliche e catastrofiche, secondo la dimensione politica che Welles aveva voluto predominante in questa fase della sua carriera e che lo aveva già impegnato, oltre che con il già citato progetto cinematografico abbandonato, con la variegata testualità imperniata sul Cesare shakespeariano (Wilkinson, 2021). L'azione si apre in un'area portuale americana con Marlow – americano anch'egli – che racconta la sua storia a un paio di amici che ha incontrato. La vetrina che separa il giovane Marlow dalla mappa dell'Africa è anche l'algida superficie in cui si riflette per la prima volta il viso dell'*intended* che qui parla, come quasi tutti i personaggi, con accento tedesco, profilando una opposizione America *vs* Germania che, in questo preciso momento storico, assume chiari risvolti ideologici. Cassato nella prima versione, l'incontro con il medico viene invece recuperato nella seconda, *calipers* e il resto (6'21 – 7'12), anche se ora l'incursione conradiana nella frenologia di fine Ottocento riluce dei bagliori infernali dell'eugenetica nazista. Perché, se nel primo testo radiofonico, l'enfasi era posta sull'avorio e le squallide dinamiche della realtà coloniale a esso connesse, nel secondo il bersaglio è il nazi-fascismo e Kurtz conduce direttamente a Hitler se consideriamo l'accento dei personaggi (Billy, 174), o a Mussolini se consideriamo l'"ivory ball" (18'29) della sua testa nuda oltre alla già citata drammaturgia wellesiana coeva, in cui l'attore Joseph Holland diventava un Cesare in orbace (Wilkinson 164, nota 5).[5] L'ingombrante figura di Kurtz grava senza tregua sin dall'inizio, già durante il colloquio con l'*intended* ("The dark country is the beginning only. His plans will change the world!", 5'12), quindi attraverso gli untuosi resoconti degli agenti della Compagnia nelle varie stazioni ("A genius! A genius!", secondo il *Manager* e il suo assistente, 10'20), fino al ***denouement*** che sancisce l'aggancio con la figura epitome del dittatore: "You know, Marlow, there's a man now in

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[5] Va infatti tenuto presente che Mussolini e la sua iconografia imperiale erano tutt'altro che sconosciuti al tempo in America, e non vi era affatto una "egemonizzazione" della figura del dittatore in termini unicamente hitleriani. Mussolini era una presenza costante nei notiziari e *Mussolini Speaks* si intitolava un popolare documentario distribuito dalla Columbia nel 1933 (si vedano per questo Wyke 2010; Minervini 2019; Wilkinson 2021). Quando Philip Marlowe, il ben noto e già citato PI / *private eye* creato da Raymond Chandler, va a far visita al capo della polizia di Bay City, in *Farewell, My Lovely* (1940), non può non notare come il suo ufficio "was cool and large and had windows on three sides. A stained wood desk was set far back like Mussolini's, so that you had to walk

Europe trying to do what I have done in the jungle. In his madness, he thinks he cannot fail, but he will" (21'10). L'incontro finale con l'*intended,* richiama, o meglio evoca direttamente la figura di Kurtz sulla barella improvvisata (22'50), e con lui le sue ultime parole e in particolar modo quell'"horror" che riecheggia lugubre per tutta la conversazione, capolinea di una corsa veloce verso la fine, verso lo scacco e l'amara constatazione di una diffusa, ubiquitaria complicità. Rispetto alla quale nemmeno Marlow potrà dichiararsi estraneo, se è vero che aveva cercato di sminuire l'operato di Kurtz perché limitato a rapporti con "a bunch of savages" e i loro elefanti (5'04). D'ora in poi vi potrà essere soltanto un residuo di reticenza, di menzogna ("Should I have told her the truth?", 24'49), e il riannodarsi di un percorso ciclico di espoliazione e prevaricazione: "The dreams of men, the seed of commonwealths, the germs of empires" (25'28), chiosa Marlow.

Meno noti e clamorosi, nei loro rispettivi esiti, rispetto alla epocale trasmissione di *The War of the Worlds*, i due adattamenti radiofonici di *Heart of Darkness* presi qui in considerazione ebbero tuttavia una serie di conseguenze di non piccola entità. Innanzitutto, come si accennava, contribuirono all'affermazione di Conrad quale autore di alto canone anche negli Stati Uniti; secondariamente, Welles dimostrò come la scuola attoriale americana potesse appropriarsi, e con finezza, del classico inglese, contribuendo a smussare gli angoli di quel complesso di inferiorità che l'attore americano (in generale) sperimentava davanti al classico shakespeariano e alla tradizione attoriale britannica. Ma fu una scoperta che passò in larga misura attraverso il ruolo sociale e culturale svolto dalla radio, intesa quale luogo di distribuzione e soprattutto di produzione dell'industria culturale americana ed europea. Relegata, con l'affermazione schiacciante della televisione, a un ruolo sempre più marginale (senza contare, naturalmente, la sua resurrezione dagli anni 2000 con nuovi supporti digitali e nuove modalità di fruizione), la radio rappresentò per lungo tempo, in Europa come negli Stati Uniti, una via maestra di accesso al classico letterario per ampi strati di popolazione.

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LA PARTICELLA DISCORSIVA *GUARDA*
Aspetti pragmatici e sintattici

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Abstract – This paper discusses the pragmatic and syntactic properties of the Italian discourse marker *guarda*, with comparative observations with its equivalents in other Romance languages and in English. In addition to an overview of its discourse function(s), the syntactic analysis of *guarda* is provided, based on its distribution (initial, medial, final position), the type of sentence in which it may occur (declarative, interrogative, imperative), and its morphological form (inflected, uninflected). Two different particles *guarda* should be assumed, one occurring in sentence-initial and the other in sentence-internal position. Sentence–final *guarda* is subsumed under the latter case by syntactic derivation, i.e., the proposition moves to the left of *guarda* as it does with right-dislocated constituents. Crosslinguistic evidence suggests that discourse markers are sensitive to the sentence type on a par with modal particles, *pace* Waltereit and Detges (2007). Sentence-internal (including sentence-final) *guarda* is indeed sensitive to the type of sentence in which it occurs. It is also suggested that the pragmaticalisation of *guarda* from verb to discourse marker may be considered to be a synchronic process and not necessarily a diachronic process.

Keywords: discourse markers; *guarda*; pragmatics; syntax; Italian.

1. Introduzione[1]

Le particelle discorsive, o segnali discorsivi, o marcatori discorsivi/ pragmatici, *discourse markers* in inglese (Schiffrin 1987), sono elementi, omofoni ad elementi di altre categorie grammaticali come congiunzioni, avverbi e verbi, che non contribuiscono al significato proposizionale delle frasi in cui ricorrono ma al loro utilizzo nel discorso. Per comprendere la funzione delle particelle discorsive è pertanto necessario andare oltre l'analisi della singola frase e considerare il contesto in cui la frase viene prodotta. Ciononostante, vi sono importanti aspetti sintattici da tenere in considerazione quando si voglia analizzare una particella discorsiva. Ad es., va considerata la posizione nella frase, per quelle particelle che hanno a disposizione più di una posizione, e va considerata la forza illocutiva della

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frase, codificata sintatticamente in una precisa posizione chiamata Force (Rizzi 1997), nonché la forma morfologica della particella. L'analisi sintattica non è rilevante solo all'interno delle più recenti ipotesi in ambito di linguistica formale, secondo cui molte proprietà pertinenti per l'analisi pragmatica sono codificate in sintassi (si veda Rizzi 1997, 2013, Cinque e Rizzi 2010, Haegeman e Hill 2013, tra i molti altri). Già all'inizio delle riflessioni sulle particelle discorsive esse erano considerate "a part of the grammar of a language" (Fraser 1988: 32) e si riteneva necessario analizzare la posizione iniziale che molto spesso le ospita come integrata in qualche modo nella frase che segue (cfr. la nozione di *pre-front field* in Auer 1996; v. anche Aarts e Oostdijk 1997).

Molte particelle sono derivate da avverbi, un sottogruppo da verbi, in particolare dalle forme imperative dei verbi di percezione e del dire e dalle forme indicative di altri verbi, come *guarda*, *senti*, *ascolta*, *diciamo*, *capisci*, *sai*, *vedi*, *credo*, ecc. in italiano, e *look*, *listen*, *say*, *you know*, *I mean*, *you see*, *see*, ecc. in inglese. Si tratta di un fenomeno di grammaticalizzazione, o di 'pragmaticalizzazione' (*pragmaticalisation*, Dostie 2004, Diewald 2011), molto frequente e presente in moltissime lingue, in particolare con il verbo di percezione visiva ("guarda") (per l'italiano, Fedriani, Ghezzi e Molinelli 2018). È su questa particella che ci concentreremo in questo articolo, analizzandone le proprietà pragmatiche e sintattiche e discutendo la natura del processo che porta un verbo ad assumere la funzione di una particella discorsiva perdendo le sue proprietà lessicali, in particolare la struttura argomentale e il significato letterale.

Guardare è un verbo transitivo, il cui complemento oggetto esprime l'individuo, l'oggetto o il punto verso cui il soggetto della frase indirizza lo sguardo. Nell'uso imperativo del verbo, il parlante chiede all'ascoltatore di indirizzare lo sguardo verso l'entità indicata dal complemento oggetto. L'oggetto può anche rimanere non espresso lessicalmente, nel qual caso il verbo deve essere accompagnato dal gesto di ostensione, da un cenno della testa o dal movimento dello sguardo in direzione del punto da osservare.

Nell'uso come particella del discorso, *guarda* non è accompagnato da alcun argomento, né espresso lessicalmente né realizzato da elementi non verbali quali l'ostensione, il movimento del capo e/o dello sguardo. In questo uso *guarda* non ha il significato letterale di percezione visiva intenzionale ed è collegato al significato metaforico di "considerare", "prendere in considerazione", "fare attenzione", che si trova all'imperativo con un complemento frasale: *guarda che potresti fare così*, *guarda cosa è successo a Maria*, *guarda che puoi cadere*, *guarda di non metterti nei guai*. A differenza di Badan (2021), e come Ghezzi e Molinelli (2015: 24) (i marcatori discorsivi "non ammettono complementazione"), riteniamo che quando *guarda* ricorre con un complemento, come negli esempi appena visti, non vada considerata

una particella discorsiva.

2. Le proprietà pragmatiche

Già uno dei primi lavori sistematici sulle particelle derivate da verbi imperativi nelle lingue romanze (Lamiroy e Swiggers 1991) evidenzia che non si tratta più di verbi che operano ad un livello sintattico, ma di particelle che hanno una funzione pragmatica a livello del discorso, con un ruolo interpersonale e testuale: "they establish a link between speaker and hearer," e "they "connect" segments within an utterance" (p. 140).

Anche i primi lavori sull'italiano *guarda* distinguono tra usi interazionali e metatestuali e collocano *guarda* tra i segnali discorsivi dalla parte del parlante, assegnandogli la funzione di "richiesta di attenzione" (Bazzanella 1994: 153-154) e di "rinforzo dell'enunciato" (Bazzanella 1995: 230-231).

Secondo Fagard (2010: 249), le particelle come *guarda* nelle lingue romanze attirano l'attenzione dell'interlocutore su tre macro-aspetti: sul topic del discorso, sulla valutazione da parte del parlante su ciò che viene detto, e sull'organizzazione del discorso (in quest'ultima categoria vengono incluse le esitazioni e l'introduzione del discorso riportato). Fagard conclude che

> [t]his hierarchization of DM [discourse markers] uses reflects Traugott and Dasher's (2002:170) subjectification cline, going from propositional to textual, expressive and finally intersubjective meanings. (Fagard 2010: 249)

Ricerche successive sull'italiano *guarda* aggiungono altre funzioni discorsive; si veda tra gli altri Manili (1983), (1986), Waltereit (2002), (2006), Bazzanella (2006a), (2006b), Ghezzi e Molinelli (2014), e una presentazione riassuntiva in Fuschi (2013: 37-45), che elenca ben sedici diverse funzioni individuate nella letteratura.

A questa operazione di classificazione puntuale delle funzioni di *guarda* viene presto affiancato il tentativo di individuare un nucleo semantico/pragmatico unico. Come osservano Fox Tree e Schrock (2002) per le particelle inglesi *you know* and *I mean*,

> [i]t seems like *you know* and *I mean* can take on new meanings every time they are used. […] the multifunctionality of each marker is […] worrisome. If *you know* and *I mean* can do so much, how do we know what they are doing at all? (Fox Tree e Schrock 2002, p. 736)

Propongono pertanto di raggruppare in un unico significato di base le molte funzioni individuate nella letteratura, rispettivamente "an invitation to infer the speaker's intentions" e "forewarning upcoming adjustments".

Anche per *look* è stato individuato un significato globale: "pay attention", "heed me", or "listen (up)" (Brinton 2001: 180). In una prospettiva simile, Fuschi (2013) arriva ad attribuire a *guarda* una unica funzione discorsiva, così riassunta:

> the observed multiplicity of functions can be subsumed under and explained by one more basic function, which is precisely that of **signaling to the addressee that the speaker can be trusted with respect to the utterance(s) produced.** [grassetto nell'originale] By virtue of this message, the marker can be used to convey a speaker's attitude towards what is said and the addressee, for a variety of interactional purposes; at the same time, as the marker announces – when preposed to the scope – that some stretch of talk is going to be produced and creates expectation for it, it can become useful for turn-managing tasks. (Fuschi 2013: 99)

Ghezzi e Molinelli (2015) attribuiscono invece a *guarda* la seguente funzione:

> è possibile individuare un valore fàtico primario, di natura deittica, in cui attraverso l'uso di forme quali *vedi* e *guarda* si invita l'interlocutore a indirizzare in senso figurato la vista e lo sguardo verso qualcosa, in particolare verso l'atto di enunciazione che il parlante sta per compiere o ha appena compiuto. (Ghezzi e Molinelli 2015: 28)

Come vediamo, la questione delle funzioni pragmatiche di *guarda* è complessa e ben lungi dall'essere risolta univocamente.

In quanto segue ci concentreremo sulle proprietà sintattiche e morfosintattiche della particella *guarda*. Come vedremo, la funzione discorsiva di *guarda* è diversa a seconda della sua collocazione nell'enunciato. Con questa correlano altre proprietà, quali il tipo di frase con cui la particella può ricorrere e la sua forma morfologica. Queste proprietà sembrano suggerire che in italiano vadano distinte due particelle *guarda*, una conclusione avvalorata dalla comparazione con altre lingue.

3. Le proprietà sintattiche

Nella loro analisi delle particelle derivate da verbi, Lamiroy e Swiggers (1991: 139) osservano già che il contributo pragmatico di un segnale discorsivo può variare a seconda della sua posizione nella frase e forniscono esempi con le particelle francesi *tiens* e *voyons*.

L'italiano *guarda*, che può ricorrere sia in posizione iniziale sia in posizione finale, assume funzioni diverse nelle due posizioni. In posizione iniziale, *guarda* richiama l'attenzione dell'interlocutore "stabilendo una base comune d'intesa" (Bazzanella 1995: 230). La particella può avere una

intonazione ascendente e può essere separata da una breve pausa, segnalata dalla virgola in (1a), ma tale pausa non è obbligatoria, come indicano le parentesi nell'esempio (1b), tratto da Bazzanella (1994: 154):

(1)   a.   [Dando un'indicazione stradale ad un amico:] guarda, non puoi
                  sbagliare.
        b.   No (-) guardate (-) il problema non è questo.

Nella posizione finale di frase, *guarda* assume una funzione diversa. Rientrando nei meccanismi di modulazione, *guarda* "rinforza l'enunciato, sottolineando la convinzione del parlante" (Bazzanella 1995: 230-231; 238-240). In questo caso è sempre presente un cambio di intonazione tra *guarda* e quanto precede, segnalato dalla virgola:

(2)   No, te lo meriti, guarda.

In entrambi i casi, si tratta di una funzione interattiva, in cui "i segnali discorsivi ancorano implicitamente l'enunciato in cui si trovano all'atteggiamento del parlante verso l'interazione in corso" e vanno considerati "dalla parte del parlante in corso" (Bazzanella 1995: 232-233).

       Guarda ricorre frequentemente anche in posizione centrale dopo il verbo *dire*, introducendo il discorso riportato. Si veda il seguente esempio tratto dal corpus LIP:[2]

(3)   a XYZ gli ho detto comunque XYZ *guarda* c'ho questo problema qua gli ho pure
        detto *guarda* probabilmente ci conviene partire domani mattina

Waltereit (2002: 993) analizza questo uso di *guarda* come "part of the quote". Tralasciando quindi (3), che può essere considerato come un sotto-caso della particella *guarda* iniziale, possiamo ipotizzare che esistono due particelle *guarda* in italiano: una che ricorre in posizione iniziale e una che ricorre in posizione finale, con funzione discorsiva (parzialmente) diversa (v. anche Ghezzi e Molinelli 2014), in maniera simile a quanto succede con le particelle corrispondenti nelle lingue romanze (Fagard 2010: 257). Come vedremo sotto, altre proprietà differenziano i due casi.[3]

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[2] Anche Fuschi (2013: 96) osserva che questo uso è molto frequente, trovandosi in 41 dei 141 casi da lei analizzati.

[3] Questa proposta sembra contraddire il tentativo di Fuschi (2013), visto sopra nel paragrafo 2, di attribuire a *guarda* una unica funzione discorsiva. D'altra parte, solo il 10% dei casi analizzati da Fuschi contengono *guarda* in posizione finale (10 su 100 casi, p. 106) e l'analisi potrebbe essere dunque fortemente influenzata dall'altro 90%. A p. 94, nota 82, Fuschi segnala comunque esplicitamente che "a sense of commitment is also present in utterance-final *guarda*. *Guarda* has the effect of adding force to the utterance exactly *because* it indicates that we can trust the speaker" (corsivi nell'originale).

È interessante osservare che le due particelle *guarda* italiane contribuiscono al discorso in maniera molto simile a quanto fanno i due corrispondenti in fiammingo occidentale, analizzati da Haegeman e Hill (2013):

> Clause-initially, […] *zé* (with rising intonation) […] draw[s] attention to the content of the utterance. Clause-final *zè*, with falling intonation, expresses epistemic vigilance, qualifying the speaker's source of evidence for his utterance. The particle *zè* signals the speaker's authority with respect to the content of the utterance and with respect to the addressee, thus inspiring more confidence in his interlocutor, and making him more likely to pay attention to it and (where relevant) to act upon it (21a):
>
> (21) a. *Zé men artikel is gedoan, zè*
>   'Look, my article is finished, there you are.'
>
> (Haegeman e Hill 2013: 376)

Come si vede nell'esempio riportato, le due particelle possono ricorrere nello stesso enunciato. Si tratta pertanto necessariamente di due particelle diverse e non di due occorrenze della stessa particella. Le due particelle possono anche trovarsi entrambe in posizione finale, rispettando un ordine preciso, come segnalato in (4). Insieme all'esempio, riportiamo anche la traduzione inglese fornita da Haegeman e Hill (2013: 385), per l'evidente difficoltà di rendere il significato in altre lingue:[4]

(4)   Men artikel is gedoan zè zé / *zé zè.
       'My article is finished, you see, look.'

Cercando di riprodurre i dati in italiano, si ottengono enunciati possibili con le due particelle *guarda* iniziale e finale, in particolare se distanziate da molto materiale lessicale. Anche la possibilità di co-occorrenza è dunque compatibile con l'ipotesi di due particelle *guarda* diverse:

(5)   Guarda, Maria non si è mica comportata bene, guarda.

Segnaliamo che la distribuzione in posizione iniziale o finale può essere verificata solo per quegli elementi che sono vere particelle discorsive e non per i casi, menzionati alla fine del paragrafo 1, nei quali *guarda* è utilizzato come verbo. È pertanto irrilevante che in questi casi *guarda* non possa ricorrere in posizione finale, perché in italiano il verbo precede sempre il proprio complemento. Si vedano i seguenti esempi in cui *guarda* avrebbe il significato di "warning" e "adversative", rispettivamente (Badan 2021: 152-153):

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[4] Per la complessa questione della traduzione delle particelle discorsive, si veda tra gli altri Aijmer, Foolen e Simon-Vandenbergen (2006).

(6) a.   Guarda che se non sparisci ti meno.
      b.   *Se non sparisci ti meno guarda.

(7) a.   Guarda che Marco viene alle cinque, non alle sei.
      b.   *Marco viene alle cinque, non alle sei guarda.

Altrettanto da escludere sono i casi ai quali Badan (2021: 148-149) attribuisce la funzione "surprise", poiché *guarda* seleziona qui una frase wh- e anche in questo caso l'ordine non può essere modificato:

(8) a.   Guarda che cosa stupida ha fatto!
      b.   *Che cosa stupida ha fatto guarda!

      Funzioni diverse a seconda della posizione sintattica sono state attribuite anche all'inglese *look* da Blackwell (2000), (2009), che distingue tra usi primari e secondari. I primi riguardano l'uso di *look* per rivolgersi direttamente al destinatario e sono associati alla posizione iniziale, come in (9a). I secondi riguardano invece il discorso riportato, in cui *look* viene attribuito a qualcun altro o al parlante in un momento precedente e può trovarsi anche all'interno della frase, ad es. tra un verbo del dire e il suo complemento, come in (9b):

(9) a.   Look, you've got to be here on Sunday.
      b.   Yeah but the ANC are saying look equality for blacks.

Blackwell (2009: 12) riporta che nel corpus Cobuild Bank of English, gli usi secondari sono il doppio degli usi primari: "secondary usage is twice as frequent as primary usage: in other words, "*look*" is twice as likely to appear in a reconstruction of someone's purported speech than in their actual original words". Dati quantitativi simili sono riportati da De Clerk (2006).
      In ottica comparativa, va osservato che *look* non sembra poter ricorrere in posizione finale (Van Olmen 2010). Non si tratta di una restrizione generale dell'inglese perché altre particelle, come ad es. *actually* (Aijmer 2002: 30, 258-9), *you know* e *I mean* (Fox Tree e Schrock 2002) e *you see* (Van Olmen 2021), sembrano invece possibili in tale posizione.

3.1. Il tipo di frase

È noto che le particelle derivate da avverbi siano sensibili al tipo di frase in cui ricorrono (Thurmair 1989, tra i molti altri). Meno noto è che anche quelle derivate da verbi siano sensibili a questa proprietà. Haegeman e Hill (2013) segnalano che alcune particelle discorsive del rumeno (*uite* 'guarda') e del fiammingo occidentale (*wè* 'sai') sono sensibili al tipo di frase, ad es. non possono ricorrere prima di una frase interrogativa. Van Olmen (2010) segnala

che le particelle inglese *look* e olandese *kijk* sarebbero possibili solo con domande retoriche e non con domande vere e proprie. L'italiano *guarda* può ricorrere con frasi dichiarative, ma non è possibile con frasi interrogative e imperative (Cardinaletti 2015: 73):

(10)   a.   Non sei simpatico, guarda.
       b.   *Sei pronto, guarda?
       c.   *Fa quello che ti dico, guarda!

Questa restrizione caratterizza la particella *guarda* in posizione finale, mentre la posizione iniziale risulta compatibile con tutti i tipi di frase (Cardinaletti 2015: 79):[5]

(11)   a.   Guarda, non puoi sbagliare.
       b.   Guarda, sei pronto? Perché dobbiamo uscire subito.
       c.   Guarda, fa quello che ti dico!

Da una parte, questa proprietà sembra confermare l'esistenza in italiano di due diverse particelle *guarda*, come abbiamo argomentato nel paragrafo 3. Dall'altra, conferma che le particelle derivate da verbi possono essere sensibili al tipo di frase, al pari delle particelle modali.

Waltereit e Detges (2007) distinguono tra particelle discorsive (che operano a livello del discorso) e particelle modali (che operano a livello degli atti linguistici). Le particelle discorsive:

> overtly indicate the relationship of a given chunk of discourse/text to a wider stretch of the same discourse/text. Put more generally, they concern the structure or *form* of discourse, independent of its content, whether illocutionary or propositional. (Waltereit e Detges 2007, pp. 62-63)

Le particelle modali invece

> function at the speech-act level. Put differently, they are sensitive to illocutionary content. More precisely, they are conventionally tied to particular speech-act types. (Waltereit e Detges 2007, p. 63)

Se la proprietà distintiva è la sensibilità al tipo di frase e di atto linguistico, i dati appena presentati sembrano suggerire che *guarda* iniziale sia una

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[5] Non trovando nel corpus esempi con *guarda* che precede una domanda, Fuschi (2013: 116) afferma che *guarda* iniziale è incompatibile con le domande: "the message encoded in *guarda* – that the speaker can be trusted with respect to her utterance – is obviously not appropriate for a question: we may well underline our reliability when presenting some content to our interlocutors, but not when we ask them for one." Se anche *guarda* iniziale dovesse risultare sensibile al tipo di frase / atto linguistico, la questione del rapporto tra particelle discorsive e modali, per cui si veda più sotto nel testo, verrebbe sollevata anche per *guarda* iniziale.

particella discorsiva (ma v. nota 5), mentre *guarda* finale sia piuttosto una particella modale. Questo a sua volta implica che anche le particelle modali possano derivare da verbi. Tuttavia, in tutti gli studi cross-linguistici analizzati le particelle derivate da verbi sono trattate come particelle discorsive. Se queste analisi sono corrette, dovremmo adottare la stessa analisi per *guarda* finale e concludere che anche le particelle discorsive possano essere sensibili al tipo di frase e di atto linguistico. Si tratta di una questione complessa che necessita di una attenta analisi comparativa. Come abbiamo visto all'inizio del paragrafo, alcune osservazioni tratte da lingue diverse vanno in questa direzione.

Molte sono le aree di sovrapposizione tra le due classi di elementi e i confini non sono facili da descrivere. Mentre Bazzanella (2006a) propone che le particelle modali rientrino nella grande categoria delle particelle discorsive, Degard, Cornillie e Pietrandrea (2013) concludono che:

> DMs and MPs are two subclasses of the general class of pragmatic markers. They both have an indexical function. DMs relate items of discourse to other items of discourse, whereas MPs qualify speech acts with regards to a pragmatic presupposed context. (Degard, Cornillie e Pietrandrea 2013, p. 16)

Nelle analisi che codificano sintatticamente le proprietà pragmatiche, la differenza può essere colta inserendo le particelle discorsive e quelle modali in punti diversi della struttura. Torneremo su questo punto nel paragrafo 3.3.

3.2. Le proprietà morfosintattiche

In italiano la particella discorsiva *guarda* può apparire flessa per il numero e la persona, seguendo il paradigma dell'imperativo del verbo da cui deriva: *guarda*, *guardate* (e *guardi*, *guardino* per la forma di cortesia). Questa proprietà è condivisa dalle particelle analoghe che si trovano nelle altre lingue romanze (Fagard 2010: 254-255). Non trattandosi più di una forma imperativa del verbo, la flessione non è da considerarsi di tipo verbale. Ne è conferma il fatto che le particelle possono ricorrere anche in frasi al passato e al futuro anche se la loro forma è presente:[6]

(12) a.   Maria non si è mica comportata bene, guarda.
      b.   Maria non ce la farà, guarda.

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[6] Rossari (2006: 172) osserva una differenza tra le due frasi francesi in (i) e (ii) rispetto al tempo, che non sembra riscontrarsi nelle equivalenti italiane. Questa restrizione può essere attribuita al fatto che *regarde* iniziale ha solo l'uso lessicale (Fagard 2010: 252):

(i)   a.   Il a dû avoir un problème ?Regarde, il avait l'air très perturbé.
      b.   Deve aver avuto un problema. Guarda, aveva l'aria sconvolta.
(ii)   a.   Il a dû avoir un problème. Regarde, il a l'air très perturbé.
      b.Deve aver avuto un problema. Guarda, ha l'aria sconvolta.

Inoltre, le particelle non possono essere flesse per il tempo. Questo non è solo banalmente vero delle particelle come *guarda* derivate da forme imperative del verbo, che non possono essere flesse per il tempo, ma anche di quelle particelle che derivano da forme indicative del verbo, come *sai*, *sapete*:

(13)   a.   Maria non si è mica comportata bene, sai /*sapevi/*hai saputo.
        b.   Maria non ce la farà, sai/*saprai, a superare l'esame.

La forma morfologica della particella suggerisce che la flessione di numero e persona esprima il destinatario, rappresentato, nelle analisi formali, in una testa frasale molto alta nell'albero sintattico chiamata SpeechAct(Hearer) (Haegeman e Hill 2013: 381). Il tempo è quello dell'enunciazione, essendo la particella "directly anchored in the speech event" (Haegeman e Hill 2013: 376).

La particella può assumere anche la forma invariabile *guarda*, usata dunque non solo con un unico interlocutore ma anche quando il parlante si rivolge a più interlocutori, come mostra la sua possibile ricorrenza con un verbo indicativo o imperativo plurale:[7]

(14)   a.   Guarda, non dovete pensare che le cose stiano così.
        b.   Guarda, fate così!

La forma invariabile è ammessa in posizione iniziale, ma non in posizione finale. Questo conferma l'analisi proposta nel paragrafo 3 che nei due casi abbiamo a che fare con due particelle diverse:[8]

(15)   Non dovete pensare che le cose stiano così, *guarda / guardate.

A causa della povertà morfologica della flessione inglese, *look* è una forma che non flette per numero. Si sono però sviluppate altre forme, lessicalizzate, della particella discorsiva, come ad es. *lookyhere*, *lookahere* e *lookit*, frequenti in particolare nell'inglese americano (Brinton 2001: 179).

Lamiroy e Swiggers (1991: 137) e Bazzanella (1995: 230) osservano infine che le particelle non ricadono nella portata della negazione frasale e che non possono essere negate.

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[7] Anche altre particelle derivate da verbi possono assumere una forma invariabile (per *sa* vs. *sai/sapete* v. Cardinaletti 2015). Per il caso interessante in cui una forma plurale della particella ricorre con un interlocutore singolo, si veda Lamiroy e Swiggers (1991: 134):
(i)   Allez, arrête ces bêtises.
[8] Poiché la posizione finale non è disponibile con le frasi all'imperativo (v. sopra (10c)), non è possibile verificare le proprietà di accordo con questo tipo di frasi.

3.3. Guarda e gli elementi dislocati

L'ipotesi che nelle due posizioni iniziale e finale si tratti di due particelle diverse è rafforzata dall'interazione di *guarda* con gli elementi dislocati a sinistra e a destra. I dati suggeriscono che la sua posizione è in questi casi interna alla frase e ci permetteranno di concludere che anche la particella finale è da assimilare a questi casi.

Guarda può essere seguito da un costituente dislocato a destra, come in (16) (Cardinaletti 2015: 76):

(16)   No, te lo meriti, guarda, questo premio.

Adottando l'analisi della dislocazione a destra come derivante dal movimento dell'intera frase oltre l'elemento dislocato (Kayne 1994, Cardinaletti 2002), e aggiungendo la particella discorsiva, si deve concludere che gli elementi sono inseriti nella struttura come in (17a). La parte proposizionale della frase (*te lo meriti*) si muove alla sinistra della particella *guarda*, come in (17b), e la sequenza 'proposizione – *guarda*' si muove a sua volta alla sinistra dell'elemento dislocato *questo premio*, producendo l'ordine in (17c), corrispondente a (16) (si veda Cardinaletti 2015: 76):

(17)   a.   Ordine iniziale: *questo premio* > *guarda* > proposizione
        b.   Ordine intermedio: *questo premio* > proposizione > *guarda*
        c.   Ordine finale: proposizione > *guarda* > *questo premio*

Oltre a (16), anche gli ordini in (18a) e (18b) sono possibili, il che suggerisce che entrambi i movimenti indicati nella derivazione in (17) siano opzionali. La frase (18a) corrisponde a (17a), la frase (18b) a (17b):

(18)   a.   No, questo premio, guarda, te lo meriti.
        b.   Questo premio te lo meriti, guarda.

Si osservi che il movimento della proposizione alla sinistra della particella illustrato in (17b) permette di derivare anche la posizione finale della particella, come in (2) e in (18b). Possiamo pertanto ipotizzare che la posizione finale della particella corrisponda in realtà ad una posizione interna alla frase, quella in (17).

Rispetto alla sensibilità al tipo di frase, la particella che segue un elemento dislocato a sinistra (19) e quella che precede un elemento dislocato a destra (20) si comportano come la particella finale, confermando l'opzionalità del movimento in (17):

(19)   a.   Su Gianni, guarda, non ci puoi contare.
        b.   *Su Gianni, guarda, ci puoi contare?
        c.   *Su Gianni, guarda, contaci!

(20)   a.   Non ci puoi contare, guarda, su Gianni.
        b.   *Ci puoi contare, guarda, su Gianni?
        c.   *Contaci, guarda, su Gianni!

Per verificare questa proprietà con gli elementi dislocati a sinistra è necessario utilizzare sintagmi preposizionali, come abbiamo fatto in (19), ed evitare sintagmi nominali, perché questi possono essere dei Temi sospesi (*Hanging Topic*). I Temi sospesi sono sempre sintagmi nominali (v. anche il termine tradizionale *Nominativus Pendens*) e sono del tutto esterni alla frase, analizzabili come enunciati a sé (Cinque 1977, 1983). La particella discorsiva che li segue va pertanto analizzata come quella iniziale di frase, e non è sorprendente che essa sia compatibile con tutti i tipi di frase (v. (11) sopra). Si confronti (19) con (21). Il confronto con (20) non è possibile perché i Temi sospesi sono agrammaticali nella periferia destra della frase, (22b)-(23):

(21)   a.   *Gianni / Suo fratello, guarda, non puoi contare su quel farabutto.*
        b.   *Gianni / Suo fratello, guarda, puoi contare su quel farabutto?*
        c.   *Gianni / Suo fratello, guarda, contaci!*

(22)   a.   *Gianni, non puoi contare su quel farabutto.*
        b.   **Non puoi contare su quel farabutto, Gianni.*

(23)   a.   *Non ci puoi contare, guarda, Gianni.
        b.   *Ci puoi contare, guarda, Gianni?
        c.   *Contaci, guarda, Gianni!

Infine, nella posizione che segue un costituente dislocato a sinistra (24) e in quella che precede un costituente dislocato a destra (25), la particella non può ricorrere nella forma invariabile, comportandosi come nella posizione finale (cfr. (15)), il che conferma l'analisi proposta sopra:[9]

(24)   Su Gianni, *guarda / guardate, non ci potete contare.

(25)   Non ci potete contare, *guarda / guardate, su Gianni.

Anche in questo caso un Tema sospeso si comporta diversamente, potendo precedere la particella invariabile iniziale di frase. Si confronti (24) con (26):

(26)   Gianni / Suo fratello, guarda, non potete contare su quel farabutto.

Come abbiamo visto, in posizione finale la particella *guarda* si comporta come quando segue un elemento dislocato a sinistra o precede un elemento

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[9] Poiché la posizione finale non è disponibile con le frasi all'imperativo (v. sopra (10c) e nota 8) non è possibile verificare le proprietà di accordo neanche in questo caso.

dislocato a destra. Questi dati confermano pertanto che la posizione finale corrisponde alla posizione interna alla frase vista in (17). È interessante osservare che Aijmer (2002: 30) arriva alla stessa conclusione per le particelle inglesi (come *actually*, *sort of*) che ricorrono sia in posizione parentetica interna alla frase sia in posizione finale: "utterance-final and parenthetical particles can be represented by the same grammatical schema."

In conclusione, la posizione iniziale di *guarda* è molto alta nella struttura sintattica, identificabile con le posizioni di SpeechAct, come nella proposta di Haegeman e Hill (2013) per la particella corrispondente in fiammingo occidentale (e di Cardinaletti 2015 per l'italiano). Questa posizione è più alta di Force e non è sensibile pertanto alla forza illocutiva della frase. La posizione in (17), invece, è più bassa, nello *scope* di Force, sensibile pertanto alla forza illocutiva, e di SpeechAct, sensibile pertanto alla persona e al numero dell'interlocutore. Questa posizione, esterna alla proposizione ma interna alla frase, è occupata anche dalle particelle modali, come ad es. *poi* in *L'ha comprata, poi, la casa?* (Cardinaletti 2015).

4. Il processo di grammaticalizzazione

Molti studi sono stati dedicati al processo che modifica il significato proposizionale di alcune parole in un significato a livello del testo e del discorso. Questo processo è particolarmente interessante nel caso in cui l'elemento originario è una frase, come nel caso delle particelle derivate da verbi.

Brinton (2001) ha ricostruito la storia della particella inglese *look*: dalle frasi indipendenti contenenti l'imperativo del verbo *look* nell'inglese medio, si svilupperebbe un uso pragmatico in cui l'imperativo "gives a pragmatic instruction to the hearer to 'be careful'", che porta alla particella discorsiva dell'inglese moderno nel quale l'imperativo "conveys the speaker attitude of impatience".

Fagard (2010) ha ricostruito un processo di grammaticalizzazione simile per le forme corrispondenti delle lingue romanze, da un uso letterale del verbo a un uso metaforico che serve a richiamare l'attenzione fino a un uso extra-frasale in posizione iniziale. Tutte le lingue romanze hanno particelle discorsive derivate dal verbo di percezione visiva, con proprietà e funzioni simili, a parte il francese la cui particella *regarde* sembra mostrare funzioni più limitate (v. anche Rossari 2006).[10] Per la storia dell'italiano *guarda*, si veda anche Waltereit (2002). La sua ipotesi è che l'imperativo

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[10] Probabilmente perché alcune di queste funzioni sono state assunte da altri elementi tra cui un altro verbo di percezione, *écoute* 'senti'.

guarda sia stato usato per interrompere l'interlocutore, non attendendo il naturale evolversi dello scambio comunicativo e segnalando che il parlante ha un bisogno urgente di intervenire ("I have something important to say that justifies an interruption", p. 999). Questo uso "improprio" dell'imperativo avrebbe dato origine alla principale funzione discorsiva di *guarda* come presa del turno, da cui deriverebbero le altre funzioni individuate.

Data la frequenza del fenomeno e la sua probabile natura universale, e data l'improbabilità che in stadi precedenti della lingua particelle discorsive come *guarda* e *look* non fossero presenti,[11] riteniamo più promettente l'ipotesi per cui la 'grammaticalizzazione' o 'pragmaticalizzazione' di certi elementi sia un processo che può avvenire in sincronia (oltre che ovviamente in diacronia, dal momento che il mutamento può coinvolgere anche questo tipo di parole). Accanto all'uso verbale o avverbiale, con significato lessicale pieno, alcune parole possono assumere funzioni a livello del discorso in cui il loro significato è "bleached", ma spesso riconducibile al significato lessicale. Brinton (2001: 181) ad es. osserva che "It should be noted that all of the *look*-forms retain literal (perceptual) meaning" e propone che questo non è inatteso se si considera il concetto di "persistenza" nei fenomeni di grammaticalizzazione (Hopper 1991).

Nell'ipotesi che il processo di pragmaticalizzazione avvenga a livello sincronico, le stesse parole opererebbero o sul piano proposizionale o su un piano più ampio, contribuendo, da una parte, all'evento espresso dalla proposizione e avendo, dall'altra, portata (*scope*) su tutto l'enunciato, dove l'enunciato, come abbiamo detto sopra, contiene posizioni sintattiche che codificano i partecipanti all'interazione, il tipo di frase e la forza illocutiva (per proposte simili sulle particelle discorsive derivate da avverbi, si veda Squartini 2013 e Manzini 2015). A seconda della posizione occupata, la relazione sarà con il "linguistic context" o con il "situational context" (Degand, Cornillie e Pietrandrea 2013: 15).

5. Conclusioni

In questo contributo abbiamo analizzato la particella discorsiva italiana *guarda*, con alcuni cenni all'analisi comparativa con altre lingue romanze e con l'inglese. Molto lavoro è stato fatto sulle proprietà pragmatiche delle particelle discorsive, sul loro contributo al discorso, e sull'origine diacronica di questa funzione a partire dalle forme lessicali da cui derivano, nel nostro caso le forme imperative del verbo. Come ci auguriamo di aver mostrato in

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[11] Si veda ad es. la documentata presenza in italiano antico e in latino di particelle derivate da forme imperative del verbo (Bazzanella 2010, Ghezzi e Molinelli 2015).

questo articolo, è importante analizzare anche il contesto sintattico in cui la particella ricorre, in particolare alla luce delle più recenti ipotesi secondo cui molte proprietà rilevanti per l'analisi del discorso sono codificate in sintassi.

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FURTHER RESEARCH ON PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF TEACHING CODES OF ETHICS AT TERTIARY LEVEL

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Abstract – The present paper is a second step into the study of the integration of codes of ethics (CoEs) into the syllabus of a Business English course in an Italian public university. As highly specialized corporate documents, CoEs represent a specific genre, as intended by Swales (1990). They are commonly used to implement ethical principles into business practice (Krč 2015), however, studies on the pedagogical implication of using CoEs in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) courses, especially in Italy, are scarce. On one hand, CoEs as a specific genre are expected to reveal their potentiality in providing students with the necessary tools to meet the needs of disciplinary communication (Bhatia 2002). On the other hand, they could be considered useful in raising content, communication, cognition and culture-related skills in EFL learning, thus exemplifying the integration of content and language in education at large. Previous findings (Giglioni & Patat 2020) suggested that CoEs are functional pedagogical tools for students in terms of lexicon enhancement and overall engagement in corporate communication and behaviors. Within the theoretical framework of genre analysis and its possible implications for language teaching, this paper addresses issues raised in the first phase of the study. More specifically, this second stage of the research, which provides data for comparison, focuses on students' perceptions and achievements in their EFL learning process with special attention to language awareness at a micro-textual level. Even if based on a small sample, it is believed that this qualitative and quantitative approach to CoEs allows for learners' improvement in language proficiency without neglecting corporate discourse.

Keywords: codes of ethics; ESP; genre-based instruction; corporate discourse.

1. Introduction

English, as the global language of business, has become a mandatory, common corporate communicative code that aims at facilitating communication and performances across diverse business endeavors and practices. English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and English for Academic Purposes (EAP) tackle the teaching of language in context in an attempt to

provide students with the necessary linguistic tools and strategies to operate effectively in an international or multinational corporate environment. Therefore, in the interest of defining appropriate theoretical and pedagogical frameworks and insights, genre-based teaching emerged to address issues such as variations in discourse; thus, largely, genre theory has also been concerned with how a typified text can foster learning.

The term 'genre' could broadly indicate a "different type of spoken and written text" (Hyon 2018: 2) or, more specifically, a set of communicative purposes shared by a collection of communicative events (Swales 1990: 46). This broad umbrella term encompasses also corporate documents, such as codes of ethics (CoEs), which are conceived in response to specific and, often recurring, social and rhetorical needs.

In previous research on the implementation of CoEs as teaching tools in ESP courses (Giglioni & Patat 2020), on the one hand, it was suggested that CoEs could be functional in the enhancement of both students' linguistic and business-related communicative competences. On the other hand, the scarceness in literature, especially in Italy, of studies that delve into this genre and genre-based approach was highlighted. Moreover, as findings suggested a general ease in identifying macro-features in CoEs' analysis, it was decided to concentrate on micro-features only (see 2.1).

The present study aims at overcoming one of the limitations of the previous research, more precisely the lack of data for comparison. Hence, this paper is to be considered a second step into the exploration of CoEs into a Business English course in an Italian public university. The rationale is the belief that CoEs typical traits can be taught to students to enhance both language and content acquisition. Therefore, in this further stage into better understanding the didactic impact and potential use of CoEs, the two hypotheses remain unchanged:

Hp1: Generating awareness of CoEs' main features is functional in the enhancement of students' linguistic competence

Hp2: CoEs assist in developing business-related communicative competence.

However, two are now the main questions to be addressed:

RQ1: What is the impact of using CoEs written in English in a Business English course for L1 Italian speaking learners of English as a foreign language?

RQ2: When compared to previous research (Giglioni & Patat 2020, see 2.1.), are previous findings on the impact of using CoEs written in English in a Business English course for L1 Italian speaking learners of English as a foreign language validated in this second phase of the study?

2. Theoretical framework

ESP curricula are increasingly planned on the basis of genre pedagogy in view of building learners'generic competence including rhetorical, linguistic and sociocultural awareness of a particular situation (Yang 2012: 53). The effectiveness of genre-based approaches (GBAs) to teach ESP has been widely acknowledged, although examination of learners' perception and attitudes towards genre-based learning seems to be more limited.

      Genre pedagogy, as highlighted by Hyland (2007a:160), elaborated an explicit model, represented by the teaching-learning cycle. The key stages – which have been considered also for this study – are: setting the context (*i.e.* revealing genre purposes and the settings in which it is commonly used), modelling (*i.e.* analizing representative samples of the genre), joint construction (guided, teacher-supported practice), and comparing (*i.e.* relating what has been learnt to other genres and contexts to understand how genres are designed to achieve particular social purposes). The cycle is flexible, so that students can join depending on their knowledge of the genre and instructors can go back to the first stages for revision. For this reason, the cycle is suitable for application to language teaching at various levels, and it was therefore deemed to fit this study.

      Within the theoretical framework of genre analysis – and its possible pedagogical implications – if genres could be considered as communicative events based on conventions and embedded within professional practices (Bhatia 204: 23), then corporate discourse and the investigation of textual artefacts in their context is promoted to shed light on the interactions of the members of a discourse community (Bhatia 2002: 6). Corporate discourse and corporate practices are intertwined, thus, "analyzing discourses through which corporate practices are constituted can be a way into this hidden world of corporations" (Jaworska 2020: 667). As representative of corporate discourse, CoEs are specialized texts that broadly refer to the representation of a company's ethical principles on a global scale and they are addressed both to internal and external stakeholders. Written to guide behavior, CoEs are a specific corporate genre; as authentic material – which increases students' learning experiences (Tamo 2009: 75) – they could potentially help learners in their prospective professional environment since they can provide "opportunities for learning by allowing students to experience the same problem-solving challenges in the curriculum as they do in their daily endeavors" (Herrington et al. 2014: 402).

3. Methodology

Drawing from previous considerations on methodologies (Yin 1994; Hyland 2007b), a case study based on a small-scale sample, which is considered to be suitable for genre practices, and on multiple (*i.e.* qualitative and quantitative) methods is appropriate for investigating a phenomenon within its real-life context.

3.1. Study context

As corporate documents of varying length, CoEs set the guidelines designed to inform all the parties of a company's ethic stance; they became a firm's 'business card' that ensure professionalism.

Previous research on CoEs (Langlois & Schelegelmilch, 1990; Pierce & Henry, 1996; Farrell & Farrell, 1998; Wood, 2000; Farrell & Cobbin, 2000; Adams, Tashchian, & Shore 2001; Singh, 2011; Somers, 2001; Pollach, 2003; Wood & Rimmer, 2003; Singh et al., 2005; Fairfax, 2007; Long & Driscoll, 2008; Stevens, 2008; Kaptein, 2011; Holder-Webb & Cohen, 2012; Krippendorff, 2013; Chua, 2015; Andrade, Hamza, & Xara-Brasil, 2017) focused on aspects other than the pedagogical implications of using CoEs in ESP courses. In Italy, particular attention should be devoted to the works by Catenaccio & Garzone (2017) and by Giglioni (2019; 2020). The former focused on the distinction between legalistic and commitment-oriented codes (Catenaccio & Garzone, 2017), whereas the latter pointed to the main features at macro- and micro-textual level for each type (Giglioni 2019) and used those in comparative studies for both foreign and Italian codes (Giglioni 2019; 2020). Giglioni emphasized the connection between the prevalent adoption of legalistic CoEs and the national legislative framework which introduced the concept of the liability of institutions (Gazzetta Ufficiale, 2001), therefore implying that (non)compliance with codes may have legal consequences.

In CoEs analysis, in order to differentiate between code types (*i.e.* legalistic vs. commitment-oriented) some features at a macro-textual level were identified for each type: legalistic codes tend to be much shorter, they often feature lists, definitions, and contract-style layouts. On the other hand, commitment-oriented codes are crammed with visuals and comprehension aids, they frequently have *ad-hoc* titles and a CEOs' message (Giglioni 2019). At a micro textual level, legalistic codes feature long sentences, formal words, phraseological units, extreme precision, overuse of 'shall', nominalization. All these features are extremely much rarer in commitment-oriented codes where impersonal style, simple lexicon, and figurative language were instead observed.

The previous study on the pedagogical implications of CoEs (Giglioni

& Patat 2020) pointed to the beneficial contribution of the implementation of the genre in ESP in terms of leaners' linguistic and professional education. At first, that is before students were instructed about codes' typical features, detecting micro-features was a challenging process, often illustrated by incorrect examples. The post-treatment results showed however an increased awareness towards the language structures at both lexical and syntactical levels, thus, confirming Hp1 (*i.e.* generating awareness of CoEs' main features is functional in the enhancement of students' linguistic competence). Likewise, a post-questionnaire validated Hp2, that is CoEs assist in developing business-related communicative competence, as all learners perceived CoEs as a useful instrument in approaching the corporate environment.

3.2. Research design

The present exploratory research has been conducted in an Italian-medium university in Milan (Italy). The sample group consists of 24 students (see 3.1.1) who attended an 80-hour Business English course as part of their first-level master program in Marketing Management during the academic year 2020-2021. In line with the previous study, both the same syllabus, which explored business-related topics and the four macro-skills in accordance with the B1-B2 level (CEFR), and the same quasi-experimental framework were followed. The five-week (from 19.01.21 to 16.02.21) study started by asking students to first answer a ten-question pre-questionnaire (see 3.1) and then complete a pre-test (see 3. 2) that concentrated on CoEs' micro features. It ended with a post-test (see 3.2) and an abridged questionnaire (see 3.3).

3.2.1. Participants

Participants were 24 students enrolled in a public university in Milan (Italy) who were attending a one-year master program in Marketing Management. They ranged in age from 22 to 31, with a mean age of 22.89. The majority of the participants were female, 78.3%, while 26.1 % were male. All students but one, who was a Spanish native speaker, were Italian mother tongue. All participants had previously studied a foreign language other than English: Spanish 70.83% (n.17) ranging from A1 to C1 (ECF) levels, French 50% (n.12) A2 to B2, Chinese, German, and Russian, respectively 8.33% (n.2) at generally A2 level, according to students' self-evaluation. As to English, all participants had studied English before; in particular, n.2 students had spent more than a year in an English-speaking country. After one-to-one interviews with one of the researchers, participants were divided into two groups: A) 13 students were considered at B1 level and B) 11 at B2 or higher level.

3.2.2. Instruments

Following the above illustrated quasi-experimental framework, data was collected through several instruments.

1. A pre-questionnaire that consisted of ten open-ended questions in Italian aimed at evaluating participants' knowledge of CoEs (maximum allocated time 20 minutes).

2. A pre-test to assess participants' critical thinking and linguistic competence. Based on previous research (Giglioni 2019), the pre-test concentrated on CoEs' micro-features (see 2.1.) by analyzing two codes, one legalistic and one commitment-oriented (maximum allocated time 40 minutes)

3. A post-test to evaluate post-treatment knowledge

4. An abridged post-questionnaire (maximum allocated time 15 minutes). The post-questionnaire focused on participants' evaluations and perceptions on the use of CoEs in the ESP course.

3.2.3. Data collection and analysis

To guarantee anonymity, pre-questionnaires and pre-tests were administered electronically (via email) in class on the same day. They were then collected in a folder on the researcher's drive. After a five-week period, post-tests and abridged questionnaires were submitted electronically and collected with the same modalities. To guarantee conformity, open-ended questions were formulated in Italian.

The data collected from the pre- and post-tests were processed quantitatively by using the proportion measurements and the compare mean due to the small sample size. As to questionnaires, both quantitative and qualitative approaches were implemented; response categories were identified and positive, individual multiple responses were analyzed quantitatively.

3.2.4. Treatment

The treatment consisted in a two-hour lesson on CoEs given by the instructor to the group as a whole. The lesson focused on an overview on codes presenting the macro and micro traits (see 2.1). Further in-class activities concentrated on pre-reading exercises, which involved skimming and scanning selected codes focusing on audience, authors, and content. Jigsaw reading of selected sections allowed students to work on lexical and grammatical features as well. During a two-hour, self-study session, students were asked to retrieve a code of their choice and analyze it on the basis of the

exercises carried out in class. Discussion sessions were then designed to shared ideas, perceptions, and opinions on CoEs.

4. Findings

4.1. Questionnaires

Questionnaires included ten questions in Italian, to allow all participants to express themselves at their best, and were used to explore learners' previous knowledge and opinions on CoEs.

All students (95.8% n.23) offered a definition of a CoEs (Q1), insisting on some key words that see codes as collection of social (13% n.10) and/or ethical (9% n.7) norms (*insieme di norme*, 28% n.21), behavior (*comportamenti*, 17% n.13), or values (*valori*, 7% n.5) implemented at work (*lavoro*, 14% n.11) or other contexts (11% n.8). As to predicted topics in CoEs (Q2), participants thought in terms of ethical-moral (14% n.8) norms (13% n.7) and behaviors (30% n.17) for the display of respect between employees and toward employees' health (20% n.11); the reference to issues such as gender equality (4% n.2), discrimination (4% n.2), exploitation (2% n.1), and language (2% n.1) is noteworthy, albeit minor. When questioned about style (Q3), 39% (n.12) claimed that they expected a direct, communicative style and 13% (n.4) predicted for a more legalistic approach while 23% n.7 believed that CoEs should combine both styles. In addition, 23% (n.7) added the words "clear" and "understandable" next to "direct" and "communicative".

Questions 4 and 5 focused, respectively, on authorship and the moment of code writing. With reference to Q4, n.10 (33%) participants thought top management (*vertici o dirigenti*) is directly involved, while n.6 (20%) suggested it is a company's director (*il direttore o capo dell'azienda*) or more generic members of the company (n.4 13%). This last answer already indicated some vagueness, which is then reflected in n.3 (10%) who declined knowledge but then provided a tentative answer while only one did not offer a response. N. 3 (10%) believed that HR is responsible for writing CoEs whereas n.2 (3%) assigned the task to a lawyer or the chief executive. Regarding Q5, participants maintained that CoEs are generally written when a company is established (35% n.15) or in time of significant changes or needs (16% n.7).

Q6 tried to explore learners' ideas on the reasons behind code drafting which, according to their responses, were regulating (50% n.15) and communicating (13% n.4) principles of conduct or coordinating (15% n.5) and directing (7% n.2) the various parties, employees and external entities. Code retrieval was the subject of Q7: n.8 (30%) responded online, on the company's website, n.4 (15%) at the company (on a notice board), n.10

(37%) provided other locations (ex. in a company's statute or report, in a presentation or in a contract).

Q8 required students to name other types of text that could belong to corporate communication and it posed a challenge: n.11 (41%) claimed not knowing any other genre, n.6 (22%) mentioned the financial statement (*bilancio e bilancio consolidato*), and n.2 (7%) mentioned reports.

The last two questions aimed at assessing participants' perceptions on the usefulness of knowing CoEs (Q9) professionwise and their potential impact on English learning (Q10). As to Q9, 58% (n. 15) reckons that reading a CoEs allows potential employees to know how to behave and interact within a company and the corporate environment, while 31% (n.8) believed that CoEs are useful in understanding and evaluating a company's ethical stance. Regarding Q10, one answer in particular seems to summarize them all: "I think studying CoEs could be very useful, both to expand my vocabulary and improve my communication skills and command of the language; also to learn to deal with more complex issues in a language other than my native; and to eventually discover the cultural differences that are typical of this domain". As to percentages, 47% (n.17) detected a potential improvement in vocabulary, 22% (n.8) in understanding the cultural aspects, 14% in exploring new content, and 6% (n.2) in improving communication skills.

4.2. Pre and post tests

Table 1 and Table 2 show the distribution of the participants' analysis of the traits of legalistic (Code V) and commitment-oriented (Code B) codes at a micro-textual level. Table 1 reports Group A's compared results while Table 2 indicates Group B's compared answers.

		GROUP A Pre-Test						GROUP A Post-Test					
		CODE V			CODE B			CODE V			CODE B		
		+	-	NA	+	-	NA	+	-	NA	+	-	NA
LEGALISTIC	TRAIT												
	Formal words	45.5	45.5	9.1	82	9.1	9.1	30	50	20	100		
	Phraseological units		9.1	91	9.1		91	20	20	60	20	10	70
	Extreme precision	73	18	9.1	73	18	9.1	80	10	10	70	20	10
	Overuse of shall		100	1	91	9.1		10	90		90	10	
	Nominalization	9.1		91		9.1	91	70	10	20	60	20	20
	Prevalence of long Sentences	36	64		82	18		30	70		100		
COMMITMENT-ORIENTED													
	Prevalence of short sentences	73	27		36	64		80	20		10	90	

	+	-	NA	+	-	NA	+	-	NA	+	-	NA
No impersonal style	64	27	9.1	55	45		70	30		70	30	
Simple, clear lexicon	100			55	36	9.1	100			10	90	
Figurative language	27	18	55		45	55	50	10			50	50

Table 1
Pre & Post-test GROUP A: Participants' analysis of CoEs at a micro-textual level
(+=presence, - = absence, NA= not answered in %) - Response rate 100% / Response rate 83.3%.

While in the post-test results a generic tendency to homogeneity is to be noted in the majority of the traits (formal words, overuse of shall, prevalence of short or long sentences, simple lexicon), some features still create doubts; this is the case of phraseological units, nominalization, and figurative language. On the whole, though, an improvement in terms of agreement is to be noted with a decrease in the number of NA answers.

		GROUP B Pre-Test						GROUP B Post-Test					
		CODE V			CODE B			CODE V			CODE B		
		+	-	NA	+	-	NA	+	-	NA	+	-	NA
LEGALISTIC	TRAIT												
	Formal words	25	58.3	16.7	75	16.7	8.33		100		100		
	Phraseological units	41.7	16.7	41.7	25	33.3	41.7	100			8.3	83	8.3
	Extreme precision	75	25		83.3	16.7		100			92	8.3	
	Overuse of shall		100		91.7	8.33			100		92	8.3	
	Nominalization	33.3	16.7	50	41.7	16.7	41.7	100			92	8.3	
	Prevalence of long sentences	16.7	83.3		75	25			100		100		
COMMITMENT -ORIENTED	Prevalence of short sentences	91.7	8.33		25	75		100				100	
	No impersonal style	25	75		75	25			100		92	8.3	
	Simple, clear lexicon	91.7		8.33	50	41.7	8.33	100			8.3	92	
	Figurative language	33.3	16.7	50	8.33	50	41.7	100				100	

Table 2
Pre & Post-test GROUP B: Participants' analysis of CoEs at a micro-textual level
(+=presence, - = absence, NA= not answered in %) - Response rate 91.7% / Response rate 100%.

Group B, the relatively most proficient group, showed an unquestionable tendency to unanimity on the legalistic code and a clear pattern of homogeneity when it comes to the commitment-oriented code. NA questions were few in the pre-test and almost null in the post-analysis. Even for what concerns those features that were considered particularly difficult in the pre-

test (*i.e.* phraseological units, nominalization, and figurative language), Group B members showed great improvement and agreement.

4.3. Abridged final questionnaire

To conclude this study, two open-ended questions were asked to participants (response rate 58.3%): *Q1: Perché potrebbe essere utile conoscere un codice etico? Spiega.* (trans. Why could it be useful to know the content of CoEs? Explain.) *Q2: Secondo te, può lo studio dei codici etici in inglese contribuire al tuo apprendimento della lingua? Per quali aspetti?* (trans. In your opinion, could the studying of CoEs in English contribute to your language learning process? In which terms?).

The answers to Q1 showed that students think that studying CoEs is a useful tool to get to know the values and principles (n. 10), the mission (n. 7), the vision (n. 3), and the responsibilities (n. 4) of a company so that potential candidates behave accordingly or maybe better decide how to present themselves at a potential job interview.

The answers to Q2, which aimed at evaluating participants' perception of the impact of working on CoEs on linguistic competences, indicate that, even if some students found CoEs a challenging material language wise, they still consider CoEs functional in i. enhancing vocabulary (n. 4), ii. learning specific jargon (*i.e.* Business and Legal English) (n. 9) but also in iii. comparing formal *vs.* informal language (n. 4) and iv. understanding how foreign companies convey their ideologies and values when compared to Italian companies (n. 4).

5. Conclusions

This second step in the study of the implementation of CoEs in a Business English syllabus confirms that the analysis of micro-features, as reported in Table 1 and 2 in the previous study (Giglioni & Patat 2020), has posed some challenges for the participants enrolled. In particular, phraseological units and nominalization are constructions that students are unfamiliar with; nevertheless, the treatment seems to be effective, even though some differences between groups with different language levels are to be recorded. The validity of Hp1 (*i.e.* generating awareness of codes' main features is functional in the enhancement of students' linguistic competence) is confirmed by the post-treatment re-analysis of the two codes for both groups while Hp2 (*i.e.* codes assist in developing business-related communicative competence) was corroborated by the clear connection students made between CoEs and their potential future carrier.

Overall, post-treatment and post-test results show a clear tendency to a

greater awareness with regard to the micro-textual traits. Furthermore, the establishment of a link between the studying of CoEs and prospective job opportunities demonstrates that participants could clearly connect the possibility to work on authentic material to their real life, job-related needs.

As to linguistic competence, both collective activities and self-study sessions showed to foster vocabulary acquisition, particularly in the field of ESP. As to the professional aspects, both groups stated that CoEs are useful tools in terms of acquiring proper understanding of corporate values, principles and behaviors.

To conclude, the present study, a second step in a larger approach to studying the impacts of the integration of CoEs – which are authentic and contextually situated corporate documents, pivotal in business discourse – into the syllabus of a Business English class, substantiates the results of the first study (Giglioni & Patat 2020) and validates the idea that using CoEs bears positive effects on the ESP class.

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TRANSLATING FINANCIAL STATEMENTS FROM ITALIAN INTO ENGLISH
Strategies, Issues and Semantic aspects

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Abstract – The purpose of this paper is to shed light on the issues in translating Italian Financial Statements into English. Over the last two decades, financial reporting has undergone a process of standardization and consequent harmonization of international accounting practices, principles and concepts in many national jurisdictions. The research question is: are accounting terms, principles and concepts faithfully and effectively conveyed when translated into English? The investigation is framed within the theoretical pillars of specialized translation, with a focus on the strategies used to translate Financial Statements. The application of such theories will yield some interesting examples on how some terms, concepts and principles are translated from Italian into English, to ensure accurate, truthful, and effective disclosure. Not surprisingly, the search for equivalence in the translation of financial reporting is a particularly difficult task, considering the strong cultural and legal biases that characterize the genre.

Keywords: specialized translation, translation of accounting terminology, translation equivalence, conceptualization in translation.

1. Introduction

This paper investigates the field of specialized translation, focusing on the translation of accounting terminology in English. Due to a number of reasons, enumerated, detailed, and explained in the following sections, translating accounting terms is a complex task. Thus, the research question this study stems from is: can specialized translation of accounting terminology be faithful and effective in conveying concepts and principles? In order to investigate this issue and discuss the results, Section 2 will provide a broad overview of financial reporting and its content. In Section 3, a literature review of both specialized translation and the experience of translating accounting terminology is reported. Section 4 provides a discussion of some issues arising from the translation of terms and concepts in English, deriving from the investigation of a corpus of Financial Statements of some large-sized Italian companies listed on the Stock Exchange.

*L*ingue e
*L*inguaggi

2. Background: an overview of financial reporting

Financial Statements are the main documents that provide information about the financial position, performance and change in financial position of an enterprise. This information can be useful to a number of stakeholders, who range from investors, financial analysts, banks, customers and suppliers. The objective of financial reporting is "to provide information about an entity's assets, liabilities, equity, income and expenses that is useful to users of the financial statements in assessing the prospects for future cash inflows to the entity and in assessing management's stewardship of the entity's resources".[1]

Every country has its own regulation for accounting procedures. In Italy, the original reference law was the *Codice Civile (Civil Code)*, but in recent years businesses have felt a need to conform to a more standardized international framework for accounting. As a consequence of this, over the last two decades, the OIC (*Organismo Italiano di Contabilità* – Italian Accounting Committee)[2] has redesigned the Italian accounting principles structure, issuing directives and especially integrating International Accounting Standards (IAS) and International Financial Reporting Standards (IFRS). Such standards are issued and updated continuously by the International Accounting Standards Board (IASB), which provides directives, guidelines and assistance. The initial integration goes back to 2002[3]: it came into force in 2005, and provided that companies listed on the Stock Exchange, banks, and insurance companies must provide financial reporting under IFRS\IAS. Other companies were free to choose whether to comply or not to IFRS/IAS (Macchioni 2008, p. 15).

2.1. Content of Financial Statements

The Italian *Codice Civile* (art. 2423) provides a mandatory requirement for Italian enterprises to include only the following items in their Financial Statements:

1. Statement of Profit or Loss Account

2. Statement of financial position (Balance sheet)

3. Cash Flow Statement

4. Notes to Financial Statements

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[1] IASB – Conceptual Framework for Financial Reporting 2015; https://www.ifrs.org/content/dam/ifrs/project/conceptual-framework/exposure-draft/published-documents/ed-conceptual-framework.pdf

[2] https://www.fondazioneoic.eu/

[3] EU Regulation 1606/2002 - https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32002R1606&qid=1641293253026

5. Management Commentary (MC)

The aim of making the financial standard of accounting possibly consistent at international level, has produced a process of harmonization of practices that is still ongoing in the international accounting community. IFRS/IAS do not only refer to principles, but also provide interpretations and guidelines as well. Furthermore, IFRS/IAS provide guidance to those companies, that, by their nature, find it advantageous to prepare their Financial Statements in accordance with the regulations of the IFRS.

Such Financial Statements must include:

1. a statement of financial position as at the end of the period

2. a statement of profit and loss and other comprehensive income for the period

3. a statement of changes in equity for the period

4. a statement of cash flows for the period

5. notes, comprising a summary of significant accounting policies and other explanatory information

6. a statement of financial position as at the beginning of the preceding comparative period when an entity applies an accounting policy retrospectively or makes a retrospective restatement of items in its Financial Statements, or when it reclassifies items in its business statements (IFRS 2019).[4]

All financial statements sets include also an independent auditor's report, drawn by an external auditing firm, that verifies and certifies the correct, true and faithful representation of the information contained in the Financial Statements.

3. Issues in specialized translation

Financial Statements represent a rich repertoire of specialized language, which requires, after the IFRS/IAS introduction, a specialized and complex process of translation in different languages. This clearly makes these texts very interesting material from the perspective of specialized translation, which has been the object of analysis of a multitude of studies (Alexander et al. 2018; Archer and McLeay 1991; Evans 2004, 2018; Huerta et al. 2013; Jeanjean et al. 2008; Kettunen 2017; Laaksonen 2021; Zhang and Ding 2019).

The consideration of the peculiarity of such translation paves the way to the discussion, in this study, of some important issues, which can be

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[4] https://www.iasplus.com/en/standards/ias/ias1

summed up as follows: 1) culture- and context-bound matters; 2) conceptualization and categorization; 3) semantic univocity; 4) diachronic dimension, and 5) terminological equivalence.   Each of these will be briefly illustrated in this section.

Financial documents are, as a matter of fact, particularly influenced by cultural, legal and contextual biases. They are drawn to perform a function which is common in any involved culture. This makes such documents interwoven in an international network of common practices, constrained from a jurisdictional point of view and interdependent in terms of relevance and reliability of the information contained. For example, discussing economic terminology, Biel and Sosoni (2017) state that it is bound to culture and legal systems. In particular, the jurisdictional system, made up of business law, mainly, creates an artificial framework of concepts. Furthermore, they consider that the role of business terminology in the process of harmonization of business practices is important, in fact more so than legal terminology, to fix asymmetrical cultural encounters across borders (Biel and Sosoni 2017, p. 353).

This clarifies that the concept of adapting business terminology to business practices is an essential one in the status of accounting, in its transnational unification process. Arbogast (1993, p. 24) recognises the importance of a cross-cultural communicative agreement, existing between the author and the reader, which the translator must not ignore. This agreement survives and is regulated by the cultural norms deriving from the countries (or cultures) of origin. Such regulation should be commonly shared and accepted and finally applied.

Legal terms included in financial reporting can be interpreted differently from a country to another due to the different cultures involved. Their translation, then, must also consider historical contexts, e.g., civil law vs common law countries, Eastern Europe vs Western Europe (Alexander et al. 2013, p. 1960).

Accounting terminology thus qualifies as particularly specific, not only for its peculiar content, but especially for its intimate connection with a number of regulations, standards and laws. This clearly implies that the translator must be highly specialized and able to interact with sector specialists or practitioners (Herrero and Roman 2015). For Galinsky and Budin (1993), the bilateral and individual cooperation between the translator and sector specialists should be integrated by a higher-ordered international cooperation on terminology management, so as to support professional specialized translators (Galinsky and Budin 1993, p. 214). In the light of these considerations, the translator takes on the role of cultural mediator, with the complex task of reducing asymmetry and bias. In this challenging work, terminology plays an important role. As Temmermann points out, in the

frame of her sociocognitive approach to terminology:

> Our propositions for an alternative theory of Terminology start from the insight that words cannot 'mean' objectively, but rather that they can be understood in a linguistic communication process about a reality outside language which has to be understood as well (Temmermann 2000, p.42).

Conceptualization and categorization play an important role in this framework. At the core of this, there is the difference between the meaning that can be extracted from words and texts, and a deeper understanding of a more complex extralinguistic reality with its related lexical items (Temmermann, 2000, p. 40). The author suggests that if the units of understanding present a prototypical structure, they are defined as concepts; if they do not present any prototypical structure, they can be defined as categories (Temmermann 2000, p.43). Temmermann's scheme seems to provide a sound basis to approach accounting translation, since concepts or categories are fundamental in the translation process. Conceptualization is closely related to onomasiology, one of the main principles expressed in the General Theory of Translation, that

> involves beginning with the concept and working towards the term; assuming the clear-cut nature of concepts, meaning that concepts can be delineated and have a fixed place in a system of concepts. (Bowker 2019, p. 579)

The problem of conceptualization in translation is related to the substantial difference existing between concepts and words used to describe them across languages. Concepts are culturally variable, and since shifts within their translations exist, they cannot be used as a yardstick for relations between other concepts (Pym 2012, p. 59).

Thirdly, it is important to consider the issue of semantic univocity, which, standing with a number of studies, cannot be easily achieved even within a given language. For example, with regard to worldwide effective translation of Financial Statements, Garzone (2015) concludes that despite numerous attempts, in many fields, to try to normalize specialized lexicon, the semantic univocity of highly specialized lexicon is a difficult goal to achieve (Garzone 2015, p. 206). Along the same line, Faber Benitez (2009) claims that univocity, meant as direct correspondence between term and concept, might seem possible as a good majority of terms refer to concepts, but in reality, full univocity still remains unreal. (Faber Benitez 2009, p. 110). In this respect, Temmermann gives a definition of univocity:

> The univocity ideal of traditional Terminology consists of trying to eliminate some of the near-synonyms and indicating a preferred term. The underlying idea is that to have several terms for the same concept/category is a bad thing

as it implies an impediment for unambiguous communication. The functional aspect of synonymy in a discourse community is overlooked. (Temmermann 1997, p. 77)

In the same study, Temmermann holds that pursuing univocity in those prototypical and structured categories of text (as Financial Statements are) is impossible:

The reason is that the principle is not at all in accordance with the facts of conceptualisation, categorisation and naming in LSP. (Temmermann 1997, p. 88)

Bowker (2019) claims that univocity, defined as "one-to-one correspondence between a concept and a term" (p. 582) has been a historically sought condition in the studies on terminology. In this view, polysemy and synonymy were first seen as impediments to specialized communication; later, their functional role and occurrence have been more fully recognized (Bowker 2019, p. 582). Prieto Ramos (2014) takes, instead, a more possibilist stance: matching the function and the communication context of both target and source text would entail high accuracy and consequently, semantic univocity (Prieto Ramos 2014, p. 314).

A third interesting aspect, if applied to the translation of accounting terms, is the diachronic dimension of specialized texts. In broad terms, the study of specialized texts is synchronic, as it limits itself to describe the state of knowledge of a sector in a precise historical period. However, the diachronic dimension is not to be underestimated, because it is necessary to deeply understand the functioning of specialized communication over time (Gualdo and Telve 2011, p. 47). Diachronic analysis may actually help clarify concepts and related translated terms. As Dury (2005) claims, translators should be provided with information on the evolution of concepts and terms. She reports the example of the terms *community* in English and *communauté* in French, which might seem identical concepts but they are in fact only similar:

The concept of COMMUNITY shows a larger extension than the concept of COMMUNAUTE. COMMUNAUTE describes a biotic system composed of different populations, taken in a defined area or biotope, and at a given time. The time and the localized area obviously constitute important information on the concept. In the English language however, the concept COMMUNITY seems somehow to have evolved differently, and doesn't imply that the populations have to be of a different nature, and doesn't give any information on the time. (Dury 2005, p. 35)

Therefore, examining the evolution of a term can help overcome the

descriptive abstraction and flattening of a synchronic study, thus avoiding translation problems. As a matter of fact, with the continuously evolving research studies and with the evolution in regulation and accounting practices, especially at supranational level, it is likely that new interpretations of concepts, as well as better explained and extended meanings, may arise (Garzone 2015, p. 206).

A fourth consideration regards the concept of terminological equivalence in translation. Laaksonen (2021) describes equivalence as a "relation between source and target texts or their elements as well as the nature and extent of that relation" (Laaksonen 2021, p. 138). In cases where there is no perfectly coincident translation solutions, translators go upstream to the concept which the term stems from in the source language, and subsequently decide and choose what would be the better solution in the target language. Thus, equivalence takes on a pivotal role in translating financial documents. Equivalence can be total, if concepts coincide in the source culture and in the target culture. Equivalence is instead partial if the concepts coincide only for some aspects, and therefore the translator's hard work is to align, as far as possible, the conceptual map of the two cultures (Garzone 2015, p. 208).

In recent decades, remarkable efforts have been made in the field of accounting to harmonize vocabulary and concepts. Faber Benitez (2009) argues that standardization of terminology has given a huge contribution to achieving equivalence in translation (Faber Benitez 2009, p. 110). However, considering, in particular, the standardization of IFRS terminology, problems clearly arise since it has to take into consideration many languages, and not all languages have a universal concept for the same object. It is commonly recognized that full equivalence is difficult, if not impossible to achieve (Forutanian and Chalak 2013; Huerta et al. 2013; Jang and Rho 2014; Laaksonen 2021; Li and Qin 2018; Pan et al. 2015; Seo 2017).

The lack of equivalence in translating accounting terms can therefore be identified as an important problem in the intercultural and international community of accounting experts and specialized translators, too. Adding to this, financial documents are often translated by inexperienced translators, with the result that accounting-specific terms are quite frequently translated by some generic terms (Herrero and Roman 2015). Indeed, some terms cannot be simply translated (Dahlgren and Nilsson 2012, p. 57) because they do not have a direct correspondence in the target language. Translators should then be able to transmit the intrinsic message from the source document to the target one and compare the terminology with the original regulation (Nobes and Stadler, 2018, p. 2).

3.1. *The translation of Financial Statements: theoretical background*

The translation of Financial Statements' items has polarized the attention of several scholars: for example, Archer and McLeay (1991, p. 348), on the importance of translinguistic registers of accounting terms in transnational financial reporting; Kettunen (2017) on the negotiated nature of the linguistic equivalence between the IFRS and their translations; Evans et al. (2015) on the ideological, cultural, legal, and political consequences of translation of financial reporting and on the responsibility of translators; Hellmann et al. (2010) on country-specific contextual factors to be considered in the process of translation of IFRS; Pizziconi et al. (2016) on translation strategies based on prototypes, hypernyms and hyponyms; Nobes and Sadler (2018), on the mis-translation of the term "impairment", which quite often fails to convey the concept of a damage to assets.

Lisa Evans has carried out a number of studies on the issue of translation of accounting terminology. Her studies are thorough, ranging from the impossibility of direct correspondence in translating accounting terminology and the consequences that inadequate translation may entail in a company's business life (Evans 2004), to the real risks deriving from mistranslations of technical terms, which may affect, in the most extreme event, stakeholders in taking investment options (Evans 2004), to the proposal of "conceptual dictionaries", which may help translate accounting terms, even though, sometimes, they need contextualization for a perfect understanding of the concept behind the item to be translated (Evans et al. 2015). In another paper, she remarks that socio-cultural factors play an important role in the translation of accounting terms, which calls for the accounting discipline to start appreciating translation from a methodological and epistemological point of view, and considering it as a research opportunity (Evans 2018, p. 1844; Laaksonen 2021).

The integration of concepts, practices and regulations in other cultures becomes, then, a difficult task, as explained in the former section. Since the process of integration is nowadays irreversible, harmonization is necessary, being at the basis of several practices, complex transactions and compliance actions that must be clear and unambiguous. This consideration is fundamental to the application of IFRS/IAS, as it must have univocal interpretation. The need for comparability within the international standardized system presupposes the possibility to be clearly and directly understood, and the tool to do so is technical translation. The translators, the actors of this relevant process, will have to bear in mind many elements: from syntax to context, as well institutional ones that may affect equivalence in translation (Baskerville and Evans, 2011).

The activity of translation is fundamental also for those who draw and update standards and regulation. An increasing number of jurisdictions, worldwide, require IFRS/IAS guidelines to draw Financial Statements for listed companies (www.IFRS.com). Even though the IFRS Foundation has worked in the direction of smoothen possible asymmetries, releasing some documents on taxonomy[5], it is arguable that a perfect system of meaning correspondence is impossible to set up, as accounting terminology reflects ambiguity (Huerta et al. 2013, p. 4). In the previous section, it has been stated that translation cannot be seen as a direct automatic correspondence of terms, but rather as a tool to harmonize concepts, cultures and professional practices. The translator becomes an intermediary, an educated, skilled and intuitive professional, with the command of a "translator's instinct as well as the essence of translating" (Hu, 2003, p. 284).

Translators are then required to find analogies both in terms and in concepts even though, sometimes this choice may lead to misunderstandings and loss of meaning (Evans 2004). The effort to make up for ambiguity concerns both linguistic scholars and researchers in the discipline of accounting (Huerta et al. 2013, pp. 4-5). The latter may benefit from the interdisciplinary cooperation with discourse analysts, which can shed light on the content of accounting narratives, disclosure and discourse strategies. Scholars in the field of disclosure in accounting recognize that, aiming at reliable and faithful translation, interdisciplinarity is fully realized. Linguists, on the other hand, may benefit from interdisciplinary cooperation as they can access contents, social backgrounds and technical motivation lying behind the words. (Pizziconi et al., 2016, p. 103).

3.2. Translation strategies applied to Financial Statements

Chestermann (2000) defines translation strategies as

> well-tried, standard types of solution for a lack of fit between goals and means: they are used when the means that first appear to be at hand seem to be adequate to allow the translator to reach a given goal (Chestermann 2000, p. 82)

The translation of specialized texts implies the application of numerous strategies by the translator, who is engaged in two active roles: receiver of the source text and producer of the translated text. Being a text "producer", the translator has a reduced discretion, as specialized texts, for instance Financial Statements, are, according to the considerations made in the previous

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[5] https://www.ifrs.org/issued-standards/ifrs-taxonomy/ifrs-taxonomy-translations/#italian

paragraph, constrained by the professional and business practices and contexts of the culture of origin (Garzone 2015, pp. 190-191). In addition, this limitation is even more important in the context of national vs. supranational regulation in financial reporting.

In the analysis carried out by Pizziconi et al. (2016), where the Financial Statements of three Italian companies were investigated, the scholars put out a possible framework for translating financial documents.

The model draws broadly on the notions of *functional equivalence*, which Nida defines as the "form of communication with a focus on what translation does or perform" (Nida, 1993, p.124), and more specifically on the strategies related to inclusion (Arntz and Picht's "level three" equivalence, 1991, p. 160), which relies on the use of hypernyms and hyponyms. Hypernyms are generally exploited for 'generalization', a strategy used to manage non-equivalence at word level, whereby a specific concept is replaced with a broader one (Pizziconi et al. 2016, p. 105; Baker 2011, p. 25). Conversely, hyponyms are used for 'specialization'.

Pizziconi et al. (2016) drew on these studies and identified four different kinds of strategies to translate Italian financial reporting terms in English. They start from a *common* strategy, when the translated term is recognized in multiple fields, disciplines and domains, with the concept and the translation coinciding (e.g., *costo/cost*). The second strategy is the *business-related* strategy, which is an extension of the former, as the domain, here, is business practice (*scorte in magazzino/inventory on hand*). The *hyponymic* strategy is the third possibility, where a more general term in Italian is translated by a more specific item (e.g*., immobilizzazioni materiali/property, plant and equipment*). The *hypernymic* strategy is adopted when a broader category is used to translate a more specific Italian term or concept (e.g., *fondo rischi ed oneri/provisions*) (Pizziconi et al., 2016, p. 112). Both hypernyms and hyponyms in translating financial reporting appear to be effective strategies to preserve original concepts (Pizziconi et al., 2016, p. 106).

Further possible strategies used in the translation of accounting terminology are suggested by other authors: both Li and Qin (2018, p. 207) and Seo (2017, p. 83) claim that IFRS recommend the word-for-word or literal translation; among the others, Zhang and Ding (2019, p. 356) suggest amplification, i.e. adding words in order to convey the meaning of the source text, as well as borrowing.

The following section will provide some evidence for the application of translation strategies to accounting terminology.

4. Translating Financial Statements into English: the case of Italian companies

As already said, for some particular categories of companies (banks, insurance companies and those listed in the Stock Exchange, as well as some companies that write consolidated Financial Statements) the adoption of IFRS\IAS is mandatory. However, many other companies, for several different reasons, may find it convenient to prepare their financial reporting complying with the guidelines and principles of IFRS\IAS, which would allow them to be more closely comparable and aligned with the standardized international system. Thus, to open up to an international readership, some Italian companies opt to translate their Financial Statements in English. The benefit from drawing their Financial Statements into English may depend (among other things) on the size of the company and its presence on international markets, may also foster the possibility of external access to credit and of being understood by foreign investors (Jeanjean et. al 2010, pp. 206-207).

The requirement, or the need, to translate Financial Statements into English, may entail some issues regarding faithful representation due to the complexity of interpretation of some terms, concepts, tools and accounting practices across cultures. Not surprisingly, many scholars, as we have seen, have studied and thoroughly analysed the issue, finding out that some translation solutions may be troublesome. The snag is primarily legal, as accounting regulations, at individual country level and at the supranational level, are different

It must be said that several IFRS\IAS publications[6], recognize differences existing among local national jurisdiction, both in accounting practices and conceptual application. Yet, those willing to release their financial reporting in English may still find some interpretative doubts (Giordano 2020, p. 93).

4.1. Corpus and methodology

In order to explore the way companies translate their Financial Statements in English, a corpus of 30 Financial Statements was collected: the documents were issued by large-sized Italian companies representing key industries, such as insurance, banks, food, fashion, energy, telecommunications, sports, etc. (Table 1). The discriminant in the selection of the corpus was the listing in the Italian Stock Exchange as it is one of the conditions for Italian

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[6] https://www.iasplus.com/en/standards.

companies to comply with IFRS/IAS. All the documents collected referred to the 2019 fiscal year.

Name	Net equity/1,000	Name	Net equity/1,000
Alitalia	n.a.*	Gruppo BPER	5,291,547
Amplifon	696,115	IMA	n.a. ***
As Roma	-127,452	Intesa Sanpaolo	56,215,000
Autogrill	935,924	Italgas	1,794,939
Campari	2,388,500	Juventus FC	31,243
Delonghi	1,190,454	Leonardo	5,334,000
Edison	5,513,000	Luxottica	n.a.****
Enel	46,938,000	Mondadori	170,041
Eni	47,900,000	Piaggio	383,807
Falck	n.a.**	Recordati	1,198,811
Fieramilano	107.856	Safilo	341.992
Fincantieri	1.049.849	Salvatore Ferragamo	785.265
FNM	454.301	Snam	6.258.000
Generali	28.360.000	Telecom Italia	22.626.000
Geox	302.698	Terna	4.231.900

Table 1
The corpus of 30 Italian listed companies[7]
*Acquired by ITA Airways on October 14th, 2021 **Delisted on May 18th, 2022
***Delisted on January 28, 2021 ****Delisted on January 10, 2022.

The methodological pattern used started from the identification of a list of potentially uncertain equivalent terms and concepts: the IAS principles were compared with their Italian counterpart (see section 2), the OIC principles[8]. In particular, OIC 12 contains the list of items that both the Statement of Financial Position and the Statement of Profit and Loss Account must contain (Table 2). Thus, for the sake of comparability, the documents considered for the investigation (extracted from the Financial Statements) were the Statement of Financial Position and the Statement of Profit and Loss Account only.

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[7] The net equity value was retrieved from https://mercati.ilsole24ore.com/ on August 17th 2022. The Financial Statements investigated in this study were retrieved from the Investor Relation sections of each company's website before April 2020.
[8] https://www.fondazioneoic.eu/?cat=14.

CONTENUTO DELLO STATO PATRIMONIALE	CONTENUTO DEL CONTO ECONOMICO
ATTIVO A. Crediti verso soci per versamenti ancora dovuti, con separata indicazione della parte già richiamata; B. Immobilizzazioni, con separata indicazione di quelle concesse in locazione finanziaria; I. *Immobilizzazioni immateriali* II. *Immobilizzazioni materiali* III. *Immobilizzazioni finanziarie, con separata indicazione, per ciascuna voce dei crediti, degli importi esigibili entro l'esercizio successivo* C. Attivo circolante I. *Rimanenze* II. *Crediti, con separata indicazione, per ciascuna voce, degli importi esigibili oltre l'esercizio successivo* III. *Attività finanziarie che non costituiscono immobilizzazioni* IV. *Disponibilità liquide* D. Ratei e risconti *PASSIVO* A. Patrimonio netto B. Fondi per rischi e oneri C. Trattamento di fine rapporto di lavoro subordinato D. Debiti, con separata indicazione, per ciascuna voce, degli importi esigibili oltre l'esercizio successivo E. Ratei e risconti.	A. *Valore della produzione* B. *Costi della produzione* Differenza tra valore e costi della produzione (A-B) C. *Proventi e oneri finanziari* Totale proventi e oneri finanziari D. *Rettifiche di valore di attività e passività finanziarie* Totale delle rettifiche Risultato prima delle imposte (A – B +/- C +/- D) 20. Imposte sul reddito dell'esercizio, correnti, differite e anticipate 21. Utile (perdita) dell'esercizio

Table 2
Directives of OIC 12.

Each of the items reported in Table 2 represents a group of sub-items included under that name (e.g. *Costi della produzione* is the general name for all the cost of production, which is further divided into *Per servizi, Per materie prime, sussidiarie, di consumo e merci, Per godimento di beni di terzi, etc.*). Thus, a sub-corpus named SI (Source Items) was created, including 137 items and sub-items in Italian. This repertoire of items and sub-items was then compared to the TI (Target Items) sub-corpus, built by adding all the corresponding entries translated into English for all the 30 Financial Statements sets in the corpus.

Each set of Statement of Financial Position and Statement of Profit and Loss, presented an average number of 69 translated items, with a count of

8,971 words.[9] Some companies reported also some items that are very peculiar of their core business: Juventus FC, for example, in the Statement of financial position, reported *Receivables due from football clubs for transfer campaigns*, *Players' registration rights, net*, [10] and in the Statement of Profit and Loss, *Television and radio rights and media revenues* and *Ticket sales* are reported.[11] Generali reported *Net insurance benefits and claims* in the Income Statement,[12] and Edison reported *Provisions for risks and charges for non-Energy activities* in the Statement of Financial Position[13]. These items were neither excluded from the count nor from the investigation.

To understand whether the translation of each item was effective in conveying the concept in the Italian practice, a survey was carried out among a panel of 60 accounting experts, 40 chartered professional accountants, 10 academic professors of Accounting disciplines and 10 employees in accounting departments of 10 different companies operating in the Italian city of Naples. The experts were asked to connect a list of selected translated items extracted from the Target Item sub corpus (English) to the equivalent Italian item, choosing from a list extracted from the Source Items subcorpus – see Annexes for an excerpt of the questionnaire. This part of the methodology allowed an inter-rater reliability analysis when assessing the effectiveness of the translation from Italian into English.

The response of the panel showed that each translated item corresponded to the concept in Italian: 100% of the participants in the panel recognized each translated item in the TI sub-corpus, linking each of them to each item in the sub-corpus SI of Italian terms. This step was fundamental, as it made it possible to unambiguously attribute the concept or the item to the translation. Making recourse to inter-rater reliability agreement is not unusual in this kind of investigation: Huerta et al. used this tool to demonstrate the variation of generic vs accounting-specific terminology in the translation of IFRS (Huerta et al. 2013, p. 5)

The corpus was then investigated both quantitatively, to detect the occurrences of selected translated items in the corpus, and qualitatively, identifying the translation strategy adopted. Quantitative analysis was performed by reading the Statement of Financial Position and the Statement of Profit and Loss Account of the companies in the corpus, without recurring to any computational linguistics engine. The correspondence of each item in

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[9] The average was obtained by the sum of translated items divided by the number of Financial Statements investigated: many of them are similar and repeated several times, i.e. *Cash and Equivalents*.

[10] https://www.juventus.com/en/club/investor-relations/statements/reports#season-2019-20, p. 46

[11] https://www.juventus.com/en/club/investor-relations/statements/reports#season-2019-20, p. 49

[12] https://www.generali.com/investors/reports-and-presentations/report-archive#2019, p. 160

[13] https://www.edison.it/en/node/1311 p. 5

the Italian and the English version was quite direct in the Financial Statements schemes, so items are easily detectable (i.e. *Immobilizzazioni finanziarie* are positioned in the Assets section of the Italian scheme of the Statement of Financial Position, and so are their counterpart, *Financial Assets*, in the English version of the document).

The panel of experts helped interpret the conceptual basis of the translation reported in the Financial Statements sets, providing explanation on the nature of accounts, the legal background, the meaning of the underlying concept and on the occurrence in the practice of some translation solutions. This helped much in identifying the translation strategies employed.

The following subsections discuss examples of selected items, which turned out to be worthy of investigation, either from a conceptual, legal or cultural point of view, when comparing the standardized international accounting system and the Italian one.

4.2. Equivalence in concepts

As stated in the theoretical background, one of the aims pursued in translation studies is to achieve equivalence of concepts. Here it may be useful to report a couple of examples of concept translation (conceptualization). The first one, even though not connected to the translation of accounting terms, is worth a mention in order to provide evidence for the search for equivalence; it is the concept of *Fair value.*

Fair value is defined by the IFRS 13 as "the price that would be received to sell an asset or paid to transfer a liability in an orderly transaction between market participants at the measurement date (an exit price). When measuring *fair value*, an entity uses the assumptions that market participants would use when pricing the asset or the liability under current market conditions, including assumptions about risk"[14]. The literal translation should be *"valore equo"*. The companies investigated (in the Italian version of their Financial Statements set) opt for borrowing the term *fair value*, accompanied in 26 cases out of 30 by the translation in Italian, "*valore di mercato*", which is, indeed, very commonly recognized in accounting practice.[15]

To reinforce the importance of concept equivalence, another conceptualization example is provided, even though no instances of it are present in the analysed corpus. It derives from the comparison of the two sources of regulation (IFRS and OIC), which explain some items differently.

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[14] https://www.ifrs.org/issued-standards/list-ofstandards/ifrs-13-fair-value-measurement/

[15] Yet, the accuracy snag is whether the market is liquid or not: if it is, the estimate of *fair value* is well outlined; if it is not, the estimate may have to include the assessment of future possible events including possible errors.

It is the case of *Reverse acquisition vs reverse merger*, which refers to business combinations. The OIC 4 regulates the Reverse merger, translating it as a *Fusione inversa*[16] while the IFRS 3 regulates the Reverse Acquisition. The translation *Fusione inversa*, therefore, intends to include any operation of incorporation, acquisition and merger of companies. This is an example where the hypernymic strategy has been adopted in the process of incorporation of terms in Italian[17].

4.3. Translation of accounting terms

The following examples were selected from the repertoire of items in the Financial Statements translated into English. The first example of problematic translation concerns the case of *Fondi rischi ed oneri - Provisions*. There is a difference in the concept of 'Provision' between the IFRS and the Italian Regulation. In the IFRS (IAS37), *Provisions* are uncertain liabilities; in the OIC principles (OIC 19), instead, contingent liabilities must be recorded, both of certain or probable nature[18]. In compliance with the Italian regulation, the most similar translation should be *Provisions for risk and charges (*or also *Provisions for risk and expenses)*, but in 15 out of 30 Financial Statements, the strategy adopted is generalisation, with the hypernym *Provisions,* which does not consider the ample meaning of the Italian concept. However, it must be said that this difference would be not significant if the companies were compelled to follow IFRS\IAS by law.

A second example of translation of accounting items which is worth reporting is *Riserve - Reserves*. Even though both IFRS[19] and the Italian Regulation require the detailed specification of each item in the *Reserves* group, in the corpus, the item is dealt with differently: in 9 cases out of 30, the companies opted again for generalisation, making recourse to a hypernymic strategy, translating all the group of financial reserves as *Reserves*. The remaining 21 companies describe each reserve (e.g. *Reserves and retained earnings (loss carryforward), Share premium reserve, Revaluation reserve, Legal reserve,* etc.), enumerating them in the Shareholders Equity section. A possible explanation is that the nine companies featuring the generic entry *Reserves* have detailed them in the

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[16] https://www.fondazioneoic.eu/?cat=14
[17] https://www.fondazioneoic.eu/?p=888, https://www.iasplus.com/en/standards/ifrs/ifrs3
[18] https://www.fondazioneoic.eu/?p=812
[19] https://www.iasplus.com/en/standards/ias/ias1

Statement of Changes in Equity, as required by IFRS[20], and also in the Notes to Financial Statements, where many other items are explained and itemized.

Another example is *Amortization and depreciation*, which describes the accounting consideration of the systematic allocation of a tangible or intangible asset's cost over its useful life (IAS 16). The counterpart concept, in Italian is a single word, *Ammortamento*. The translation strategy adopted is specification: from a single word, in Italian, companies specify the particular meaning having recourse to two terms: *amortization*, if it refers to intangible assets and *depreciation*, if it refers to long-term tangible assets.

Furthermore, all the items describing liquid assets in Italian*, Denaro e valori in cassa, Assegni, Conti correnti bancari e postali,* include a number of different liquid assets (checks, banknotes, stamps, etc.). Here, the Italian regulation requires to describe all the items separately[21]. The IAS 7, instead, gathers all the separate items under the umbrella of the hypernym *Cash and Cash equivalents*[22]. In the investigated corpus, all the companies comply with the IFRS requirement and translate the item as *Cash and Cash equivalents.*

Another interesting issue in translating accounting terms, is the one of *Immobilizzazioni materiali and immobilizzazioni immateriali*. These items represent a category including all the capital goods used for multiple fiscal years, in a company's business life. These are divided into tangible *fixed* assets (*immobilizzazioni materiali* - machinery, buildings, land, etc) and intangible assets (*immobilizzazioni immateriali* - patents, licenses, etc). The word "*fixed*" is important as it conveys the concept of a long-lasting established use of the asset in the company: leaving the adjective "tangible" only would be too ubiquitous and misleading, as consumables, with short usable life, are tangible, too. While in the IFRS the concept of *immobilizzazioni materiali* is expressed by "*Property Plant and equipment*"[23], Italian law requires that all capital assets be recognized in single accounts. Thus, in preparing the financial document in English, the translator should operate a process of conceptualization first, to consequently opt for a strategy of amplification, which broadens the basic composition of the account in Italian. The translation solution is then *Property, plant and equipment*. This item would include, in one single term, Italian categories like *Terreni e fabbricati* (Land and buildings), *Impianti e macchinari* (plants and machinery), *Attrezzature industriali e commerciali* (trade and production equipment) *altri beni* (other capital goods). This translation is also the most

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[20] https://www.iasplus.com/en/standards/ias/ias1
[21] https://www.fondazioneoic.eu/wpcontent/uploads/downloads/2012/07/2012-04-27-OIC-14-Disponibilit%C3%A0-liquide-Bozza-per-la-consultazione.pdf
[22] https://www.iasplus.com/en/meeting-notes/ifrs-ic/not-added/2013/ias-7-cash-equivalents
[23] https://www.ifrs.org/issued-standards/list-of-standards/ias-16-property-plant-and-equipment/

frequently adopted in the corpus of financial documents, accounting for 30 out of 30 occurrences.

Trattamento di fine rapporto (TFR) is a very interesting example of interpretation of a country-specific practice. To apply the theory on specialized translation reported in Section 2.1, this might be a case where the translation strategy would benchmark the item against similar events or practices at international level. The Italian *TFR* relates to the provision of funds, accumulated during the working life of employees, who can cash out the whole amount out at retirement. It is interesting to see how the companies in the corpus translate the item: 8/30 opt for *Employee benefits*, 4/30 for *Post-employment benefits*, 4/30 for *Employees' Severance Indemnity*, 4/30 *Employee severance indemnity* (ies), 2/30 for *Employee Severance Pay*, and then other single solutions like *Employee benefit liabilities, Employee liability indemnity, Staff leaving indemnity, Provision for severance indemnities, Employee termination indemnities, Termination benefits, Employee defined benefit liabilities, Employee benefits expenses*. All of them are the product of a conceptualization effort by the translator aimed at conveying the meaning of the original national practice. The translation strategies used are mainly of the amplification kind, as the word "*Employee*" was added to link the practice to employee's retirement. Literal translation technique is detectable too (*Termination benefit*). But the most interesting feature is that the translation in 13/30 occurrences is completed by a caption in brackets, indicating that the term refers to TFR (*TFR, Italian TFR, Trattamento di Fine Rapporto*). This demonstrates the need to provide a direct correspondence to the Italian peculiar business practice, as it is not possible to find a "pre-fabricated" translation for this item. This analysis paves the way to possible further and deeper terminological research investigation.

Another peculiar example is "*Other comprehensive income*", which is a document included in the Financial Statement package required by the international standards, and regulated by the IAS1[24]. The conceptual basis is alien to the Italian regulation framework. The item is detected in 30 out of 30 documents investigated. The peculiarity is that this item is not required by the Italian regulatory bodies, thus there is not a source text to be translated into English. In this case, the companies reported the item in English, following the IFRS/IAS schemes. The suggested possible translation in Italian might be "*Altri redditi complessivi*", but it does not have a clear meaning, if referred to Italian requirements. This section is not common in Italy, since compliance to IFRS/IAS is not mandatory for many companies. However, it is required of those companies compelled to comply with IFRS/IAS.

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[24] https://www.iasplus.com/en/standards/ias/ias1

Regardless of whether the text is translated or not, every Financial Statements set includes the Notes to Financial Statements. In this document, some items, practices, strategies, and actions are explained and detailed[25]. In the light of disclosure and clarity, the Notes may represent a very helpful tool for the company to integrate the work of translators. For instance, in the Financial Statements, only the name of accounts can be included, whilst in the Notes to Financial Statements, the management may provide broader explanation of the single items, especially if they are highly country-specific.

5. Conclusions

The ongoing process of complying to international accounting standards implies a process of harmonization of practices, which is, not surprisingly, complex and challenging. In Italy, this process has been slowly permeating accounting procedures and companies' financial disclosure since 2005.

Specialized translation theories provide evidence that a concept in a national culture may have no exact equivalent in a foreign culture, which is the reason why translators must search for analogies and similarities in concepts and terms to explain the meaning. This often leads to misunderstandings and loss of significance; furthermore, the translator has low discretion when it comes to dealing with texts bound to regulations and cultural specificity of the content underlying the terminology. Equivalence in the translation of accounting documents is a very difficult task. The literature in the field of specialized translation recommends searching for full equivalence, which, in practical terms, cannot be obtained. But efforts can be made to find out the closest correspondence of meanings and especially of concepts.

This study has investigated the process of translation of Italian accounting items into English, as a part of the IFRS/IAS Financial Statements version. Starting from the identification of items worth considering, by means of an inter-rater reliability agreement provided by a group of accounting professionals, the analysis was then pipelined to the identification of the translation strategies employed, assessing the accuracy of the translation with regard to the source concept. Translators applied translation strategies to provide the best equivalent meaning in the English version of the Financial Statements. To investigate meanings and strategies, a corpus of 30 Financial Statements drawn by 30 Italian companies listed in the Stock Exchange was collected. The status of being listed implies the adoption of IFRS/IAS requirements.

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[25] http://www.fondazioneoic.eu/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2010/12/20092.pdf

The strategies that better fit the translation of such documents seem to be generalization, which replaces a specific concept with a broader one, coupled with specification, which allows the translator to use words to explain the peculiarities of the source text. Hyponyms and hypernyms respectively are used to apply generalisation and specification strategies, and they seem to be useful in the effort to provide effective translation of financial documents. Furthermore, other strategies were detected, such as amplification, using a broader set of words to better explain the source text concept. Some examples were reported, with some interesting asymmetries, misalignments as well as coincidence with concepts from culture to culture. In one particular item, the *Trattamento di fine rapporto* (TFR), the companies in the investigated corpus show up to thirteen different ways of translating the country-specific Italian item.

The results reported are interesting in view of a possible standardization of Italian Financial Statements translated into English. It is foreseeable that these results may pave the way to further research on the topic, possibly focusing not only on Financial Statements items but also on the interpretation of general accounting principles. A possible evolution of this study might be the definition of a commonly shared practical glossary, a best-practice to help single translators provide readable, univocal and comparable documents.

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Annexes

An extract of the survey submitted to the raters

Inserire la traduzione corretta in italiano delle seguenti voci (fare riferimento, se necessario, all'elenco allegato SI)

	TRADUZIONE IN INGLESE	*VOCE DI BILANCIO CORRISPONDENTE IN ITALIANO*
1	*Post-employment benefits*	
2	*Provisions for income tax liabilities*	
3	*Deferred tax assets*	
4	*Employee Severance Pay*	
5	*Inventories*	
6	*Current tax payables*	
7	*Assets held for sale*	
8	*Non-current tax receivables*	
9	*Termination benefits*	
10	*Research and development expenses*	
11	*Trade receivables*	
12	*Reserves and retained earnings (loss carryforward)*	
13	*Property, plant and equipment*	
14	*Reserve for currency translation differences*	
15	*Labor costs*	
16	*Employee benefits*	
17	*Depreciation and amortization*	
18	*Provisions for risks and charges*	
19	*Current financial debt*	
20	*Goodwill*	

2. **Elenco SI (Source Items), voci di bilancio in italiano**

1. Cassa e altre disponibilità liquide
2. Attività finanziarie per beni in leasing
3. Altre attività finanziarie
4. Partecipazioni valutate con il metodo del patrimonio netto
5. Attività finanziarie che non costituiscono immobilizzazioni
6. Attività per imposte anticipate
7. Crediti per imposte sul reddito
8. Altri crediti
9. Crediti commerciali
10. Attività non correnti

*L*ingue e
*L*inguaggi

11. Immobilizzazioni materiali
12. Terreni e fabbricati
13. Impianti e macchinari
14. Immobilizzazioni immateriali
15. Immobilizzazioni immateriali in corso e acconti
16. Diritto d'uso per beni in leasing
17. Brevetti
18. Patti di non concorrenza, marchi, elenchi clienti e diritti di locazione
19. Licenze
20. Avviamento
21. Costi di acquisizione differiti
22. Altre attività immateriali
23. Attività biologiche
24. Immobilizzazioni finanziarie, con separata indicazione, per ciascuna voce dei crediti, degli

importi esigibili entro l'esercizio successivo
25. Partecipazioni
26. Altre attività finanziarie
27. Attività per imposte differite
28. Crediti verso soci per versamenti ancora dovuti, con separata indicazione della parte già Richiamata
29. Crediti verso erario a breve
30. Crediti per imposte correnti
31. Attvio circolante
32. Rimanenze
33. Crediti, con separata indicazione, per ciascuna voce, degli importi esigibili oltre l'esercizio successivo
34. Attività operative destinate alla vendita
35. PASSIVITÀ E PATRIMONIO NETTO
36. PASSIVITÀ
37. Passività correnti
38. Debiti commerciali
39. Debiti per imposte sul reddito
40. Altri debiti
41. Debiti bancari
42. Debiti finanziari correnti
43. Passività finanziarie per beni in leasing
44. Altre passività finanziarie
45. Obbligazioni
46. Passività non correnti
47. Debiti finanziari non correnti
48. Debiti per imposte sul reddito
49. Debiti verso istituti di previdenza e di sicurezza sociale
50. Anticipi ricevuti
51. Anticipi non correnti
52. Anticipi correnti
53. Altri debiti
54. Finanziamenti al netto della quota corrente
55. Passività finanziarie per beni in leasing
56. Altre passività finanziarie
57. Obbligazioni
58. Passività per imposte differite
59. Fondi pensione e benefici a dipendenti (TFR)
60. Fondi per rischi e oneri

61. Strumenti finanziari derivati passivi
62. Passività operative destinate alla vendita
63. Quota corrente altri fondi a lungo termine
64. Ratei attivi
65. Risconti passivi
66. PATRIMONIO NETTO
67. PATRIMONIO NETTO attribuibile ai soci della controllante
68. PATRIMONIO NETTO attribuibile alle interessenze d pertinenza di terzi
69. Capitale sociale
70. Altri strumenti patrimoniali
71. Riserve di capitale
72. Riserve di utili e altre riserve patrimoniali
73. Riserve e utili (perdite) portati a nuovo
74. Riserva da sovrapprezzo azioni
75. Riserva legale
76. Riserva statutaria
77. Azioni proprie
78. Riserva per differenze di cambio nette
79. Riserva da cash flow hedge
80. Riserva di rivalutazione
81. Riserva da fair value attività finanziarie
82. Riserva di altre componenti del risultato complessivo
83. Differenza da conversione dei bilanci in valuta estera
84. Utili portati a nuovo
85. Azioni rimborsabili
86. Acconto sul dividendo
87. Utile d'esercizio
88. Perdita dell'esercizio
89. TOTALE PASSIVITÀ E PATRIMONIO NETTO
90. Conto economico
91. Ricavi
92. Ricavi da sponsorizzazioni e pubblicità
93. Premi netti di competenza
94. Commissioni attive
95. Proventi e oneri derivanti da strumenti finanziari a fair value rilevato a conto economico
96. Proventi derivanti da partecipazioni in controllate, collegate e joint venture
97. Proventi derivanti da altri strumenti finanziari e investimenti immobiliari
98. Altri proventi operativi
99. Totale ricavi e altri proventi operativi
100. Risultato da attività operative destinate alla vendita
101. Risultato dell'esercizio
102. Risultato attribuibile a:
103. – soci della controllante
104. Risultato per azione (in centesimi di €)
105. Risultato diluito per azione

NOTE A MARGINE DI GARZONE (2015)
Le traduzioni come *fuzzy set*: una breve riflessione

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Abstract – Giuliana Garzone leaves us a rich legacy in the domain of linguistics, which includes original contributions to the field of translation studies, both theoretical and applied. This brief reflection focuses on what can be considered Garzone's most significant contribution to translation theory, namely her view of translations as a fuzzy set. I argue that the notion of translations as a fuzzy set should no longer be considered either new or (still) innovative, to the point of constituting a starting point - and not one of arrival - for any further methodological reflection, in the absence of significant advances in the understanding of how translation occurs at the neurolinguistic level that can account for what translation actually is.

Keywords: translation; translatology; Translation Studies; fuzzy set; translation theory.

From my mother I inherited
Vivacity, fancy, language;
From my father will, judgment, logic.
All honor to them
For what service I was to the people!
(E.L. Masters "Hamilton Greene", *Spoon River Anthology* 1915/2008, p. 104).

1. Traduzione, vaghezza e *fuzzy set*

Questa breve riflessione discorsiva si propone di riassumere e commentare il concetto di *fuzzy set*, come applicato allo studio della traduzione da Giuliana Garzone nel corso di decenni di ricerche sull'argomento. A ciò si aggiunge inoltre qualche spunto per ulteriori considerazioni *a partire* da tale concetto che, come sarà ribadito più volte in seguito, si ritiene debba ormai essere dato per assodato.

    Cinque sono i principali testi che Garzone ha dedicato alla traduzione come *fuzzy set* (Tabella 1).[1]

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[1] V. la bibliografia per i riferimenti completi.

2002a	Observations on the Definition of Translation
2002b	Traduzione e 'fuzzy set': osservazioni sulla definizione di traduzione
2005	Sull'intrinseca vaghezza della definizione di traduzione: prospettive traduttologiche e linguistiche
2012	'The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures' of Translated Texts
2015	Prospettive teoriche: traduzione e *fuzzy set*

Tabella 1
Testi di G. Garzone su traduzione e *fuzzy set*.

Garzone (2015), il più recente, riprende e consolida quanto proposto nelle pubblicazioni precedenti e verrà, pertanto, considerato il testo 'definitivo' sul quale basarsi come riferimento principale. La prima osservazione da proporre è anzi che tale testo costituisce il secondo capitolo di una monografia essa stessa intitolata *Le traduzioni come 'fuzzy se*t'. *Percorsi teorici e applicativi.* Poiché questa rielabora vari lavori di Giuliana Garzone sull'intero vasto arco degli aspetti traduttivi, la scelta del titolo suggerisce l'indubbia rilevanza dell'idea nella sua prospettiva – il contributo teorico 'forte', se vogliamo, che lascia come studiosa alla traduttologia. È un punto di vista ampiamente condiviso da chi scrive e che merita di essere ripreso, benché – ma specialmente affinché – sia da darsi quasi per scontato.

Garzone (2015, p. 48) definisce le traduzioni come *fuzzy set* un "prototipo della traduzione ideale […] rispetto al quale le traduzioni reali si pongono in una posizione di minore o maggiore prossimità". Si propone come un modello descrittivo che "serve a dare sistemazione a tutte quelle tipologie di testi che le teorie *target-oriented* hanno riscattato come testi parzialmente tradotti o ritenuti tali, ma che sono difficilmente difendibili come traduzioni vere e proprie sulla base di criteri contrastivi" (*ibid.*) e si ispira alla teoria dei *fuzzy set* introdotta negli anni Sessanta in ambito matematico indipendentemente da Zadeh (1965) e Klaua (1965), ed applicata poi a vari ambiti disciplinari, non ultimo la linguistica. Come riassume Gottwald (1984) a vent'anni di distanza, questa si è dimostrata da subito una "many-valued set theory", dalle molteplici applicazioni in campo logico-argomentativo. Garzone (2015 e precedenti) la adotta per dare conto delle ampie variazioni possibili nella resa traduttiva di un testo, includendo fra queste le trasposizioni intra- e inter-linguistiche, attraverso mezzi e modi differenti, per esempio gli adattamenti di Fabrizio De André delle poesie americane della *Spoon River Anthology* di Edgard Lee Masters (1915) nel suo album di canzoni *Non al denaro non all'amore né al cielo* (1971) (Garzone 2015, pp.53-56).

La teoria, dunque, ruota intorno alla vaghezza intrinseca nella natura stessa della traduzione. Si tratta di un concetto che, in era post-post-moderna, può non apparire tanto sorprendente, ma che lo risulta invece se si guarda alla storia delle riflessioni traduttologiche nel corso dei secoli or, quanto meno,

nella civiltà occidentale. Al contrario, la certezza di poter produrre traduzioni definitive, corrette in senso assoluto, e di poter fornire indicazioni metodologiche sul come ottenerle è un pensiero che spesso è emerso nella storia, in alternativa certo a posizioni molto più prudenti e pessimiste a riguardo. Per citare un esempio, viene alla mente il celebre (fra chi di traduttologia si occupa) saggio dello scrittore e traduttore scozzese Alexander Tytler del 1791, *Essay on the Principles of Translation*. Concepito come un testo prescrittivo e perciò denigrato in epoche successive, più inclini a una visione descrittiva e aperta a influssi culturali(sti), in effetti sostiene di poter "describe a good translation to be" (Tytler 1791/1978, p. 15), facendo seguire l'affermazione da una serie di istruzioni ordinate per punti – nulla di più desiderabile di un *vademecum* di questo tipo, specie dagli apprendisti traduttori. Lo stesso prescrittivismo che verrà tanto contestato a Tytler in secoli successivi, tuttavia, non è che una delle facce della sua riflessione. Difatti, lungi dal porsi come detentore della formula per la perfetta traduzione, egli illustra i suoi precetti solo avendo esplicitamente annotato che

> If it were possible accurately to define, or, perhaps more properly, to describe what is meant by a *good Translation*, it is evident that a considerable progress would be made towards establishing the Rules of the *Art*; for these Rules would flow naturally from that definition or description. (Tytler 1791/1978, p. 13, corsivo nell'originale)

Tale osservazione appare alquanto interessante per almeno due motivi. Il primo è che racchiude in sé il nocciolo della questione traduttiva per eccellenza: la sua definizione. Il secondo, strettamente connesso, è che ci rimanda alla prospettiva traduttologica di Giuliana Garzone, che dedica a Tytler, con apprezzamento, il quinto dei capitoli del suo libro del 2015 ("A.F. Tytler nella prospettiva delle moderne teorie della traduzione", pp. 115-132). Come si collega una teoria della traduzione basata sull'indefinitezza (*fuzziness*) a un manualetto settecentesco che vanta di poter esporre dei 'principi' sul come tradurre?

2. Problemi definitori e conseguenze applicative

La domanda, si diceva, è esemplificativa del nodo fondamentale alla base della questione traduttiva. Riuscire infatti a definire cosa si intenda per traduzione – il processo, il prodotto? – condiziona ogni possibile 'regola' o indicazione, secondo il grado di prescrittivismo, su come procedere a realizzarla.

Definizioni di traduzione sono state offerte generosamente, nel corso della storia, da autori illustri e sconosciuti. Ne ricordo alcune in Grego

(2010), ma numerosi altri studiosi prima e dopo ne hanno prodotto raccolte molto più esaurienti (cf. per es., Steiner 1975, Venuti 1995 o Osimo 2002; solo per citarne alcuni in ambito anglo-italofono). Suggestivo l'arazzo rovesciato di Miguel de Cervantes, celebri le dicotomiche *belles infidèles* e *laides fidèles* di tradizione francese (si veda Georges Mounin 1955, fra molti altri). Le definizioni si moltiplicano e si fanno più tecniche quando si entra nell'era e nell'ambito dei *Translation Studies*, soprattutto se riferite alla traduzione di testi specialistici (tecnico-professionali). Si hanno allora teorie come l'equivalenza dinamica di Nida (1964), la traduzione semantica vs comunicativa di Newmark (1981), la pseudotraduzione di Toury (1984), la *Skopostheorie* di Vermeer (1996), per citarne alcune. Da ogni variante di definizione, discendono norme o suggerimenti traduttivi diversi, forse con l'unica eccezione solo delle più pessimistiche posizioni di chi chiama la traduzione (perfetta, o equivalente) 'impossibile' da ottenere.

L'ampia manualistica in molte lingue, ma specie da e verso l'inglese (si vedano solo, a mo' di esempio, Taylor 1998 o Scarpa 2001), testimonia tuttavia che la maggior parte dei traduttologi concorda se non altro sulla possibilità di ottenere *una* o *alcune* traduzioni, seppur imperfette, infedeli o come altro vogliano definirsi. Perfino i fautori dell'impossibilità della traduzione devono di fatto arrendersi a un'evidenza banale quanto inoppugnabile: la traduzione *avviene*. Essa avviene quotidianamente come processo posto in atto da milioni di traduttori professionisti che ogni giorno affrontano progetti di altrettanti milioni di parole, spesse volte, e ne ricevono una retribuzione. Avviene ad opera di specialisti di ambiti tecnici o linguistici, a prescindere da ogni considerazione o pessimismo teorico di pensatori 'alti'. Mi piace considerare la traduzione un fenomeno, alla stregua di altre manifestazioni naturali quali il fuoco o la pioggia: accadono e, come nella loro preistoria gli umani li osservarono prima e impararono a farne uso poi, così essi si possono affrontare regolarmente anche senza essere consci dei meccanismi chimico-fisici, o psico-cognitivi nel caso della traduzione, che ne stanno alla base. Si può speculare sul *come* accada un fenomeno, senza per questo dubitare mai della sua possibile esistenza. Dinanzi la traduzione, a dispetto dei numerosi recentissimi studi di natura cognitiva sul come avvenga il trasferimento del significato da lingua a lingua nella mente del traduttore (e.g. Shreve e Angelone 2010; Rojo e Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2013; Li, Lei e He 2019), restiamo tuttavia ancora come primordiali prigionieri della caverna, dalla quale possiamo tentar di sviluppare modelli, senza vedere cosa davvero avvenga all'esterno o, al massimo, scorgendolo soltanto.

Allo stesso modo, il secolo XX, specie nella sua seconda metà e specie nell'ambito anglocentrico dei *Translation Studies*, ha prodotto un entusiastico florilegio di modelli traduttivi spostati vuoi sull'aspetto linguistico vuoi su

quello culturale. Le prospettive di quest'ultimo tipo hanno, a onor del vero, prosperato inizialmente, nei *Translation Studies*, per un comprensibile spostamento dell'attenzione in quel periodo storico verso l'alterità, la diversità, l'individuale. La proposta di Garzone (2015, ma le prime pubblicazioni, come in Tabella 1, sono degli inizi del millennio), invece, si inscrive da una parte nella reazione iniziata verso fine secolo da parte dei traduttologi 'linguisti', cioè di chi rivendicava il primato o, quantomeno, la centralità della lingua rispetto agli aspetti extra-linguistici tanto evidenziati dalle teorie 'avversarie'. Dall'altra, il concetto di *fuzzy set* applicato alla traduzione va oltre la mera rivendicazione della linguistica come strumento cardine di ogni considerazione testuale, poiché esso in aggiunta riequilibra e dissolve (ma non *ri*solve) la dicotomia lingua-cultura, e anzi richiama i teorici della traduzione all'interno della platonica spelonca, ricordando loro che in assenza di certezze si può solo 'vagare' entro un ambito indefinito, essendo la traduzione indeterminata per definizione.

3. Dopo le traduzioni come *fuzzy set*

Ciò conduce all'ultima riflessione, quella sul dopo *fuzzy set translation*, e consente forse di rispondere alla domanda posta in precedenza – come conciliare posizioni prescrittive *à la* Tytler con una teoria basata sulla vaghezza.

Credo che anche qui l'analogia fenomenologica possa giungere in aiuto. Come gli antichi potevano interrogarsi sull'origine di fuoco e pioggia, ma solo una volta al sicuro nella grotta davanti al primo e lontano dalla seconda, così le speculazioni teoriche sulla traduzione restano in media prerogativa e privilegio di chi di traduzione *non* vive, e il riferimento è ai traduttori professionisti citati prima che gestiscono milioni di parole, vuoi pure con l'aiuto di programmi sempre più sofisticati per la traduzione assistita[2], e di tale attività vivono. Sono di fatto queste le persone che tentano di arginare la pioggia e accendere e mantenere vivo il fuoco, perché la traduzione, come un fenomeno, è *possibile* e *accade*, a prescindere dalla sua intrinseca natura. Ed è per queste persone, gli operatori della traduzione e non o non solo i suoi teorici, che si rendono utili il manuale prescrittivo, le istruzioni per punti, gli strumenti didattici.

Se si assume quindi come punto di partenza la definizione di Garzone (2015) di traduzione come insieme indeterminato, non ne deriva tuttavia una prospettiva operativa indeterminata. Non è insomma vago il risultato ma la

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[2] La traduzione *automatica*, invece, è un vaso di Pandora che non è opportuno scoperchiare nell'ambito di una semplice riflessione di questo tipo.

posizione del prodotto tradotto all'interno dell'insieme delle sue possibili traduzioni. Pertanto, la teoria del *fuzzy set* applicata alla traduzione non implica la sospensione né del giudizio sulla qualità né dell'attività traduttiva che, ancora una volta, semplicemente accade. Da qui la compatibilità fra un punto di vista teorico quale quello del *fuzzy set* e l'apprezzamento per un'opera come l'*Essay on the Principles of Translation* di Tytler. Il fatto di non potere (ancora) appieno cogliere la natura specifica, addirittura in termini neurologici, di cosa accade quando si traduce, non implica che il mestiere del traduttore non prosegua imperterrito e finanche noncurante del micro-livello. Per tale motivo, la stessa studiosa che propone l'idea di traduzione come *fuzzy set* può al contempo essere docente di un insegnamento di Traduzione specialistica, come lo è stata Giuliana Garzone per molti anni nel Corso di Laurea Magistrali in Lingue e culture per la comunicazione e la cooperazione internazionale dell'Università degli Studi di Milano e poi presso lo IULM[3].

Un approccio teorico descrittivo, in altre parole, non esclude ma, anzi, si integra con un approccio pratico prescrittivo, specie se rivolto alla preparazione di figure professionali che, estremizzando, non avranno poi neanche il tempo materiale di soffermarsi sulla natura della traduzione, perché esse, semplicemente, *tradurranno*. La riflessione a livello teorico, pertanto, va di pari passo con il fenomeno della traduzione, dove i due si informano e integrano a vicenda in un rapporto imprescindibile. Semplificando molto, se tutti traducessero, nessuno avrebbe tempo di pensare a cos'è la traduzione e, se tutti passassero il tempo a pensare alla traduzione, nessuno tradurrebbe. In effetti, quest'ultima affermazione è di base fallace, poiché nessuno potrebbe pensare alla traduzione se non si traducesse affatto: di nuovo, la traduzione si configura come un fenomeno, la cui consapevolezza coincide con la sua percezione, ma la cui esistenza ne precede l'interpretazione.

Riassumendo per concludere, superate le dicotomie linguistico-culturali delle teorie traduttive del secolo scorso, riaffermata la centralità della lingua e degli strumenti linguistici nella pratica della traduzione, e proposto il modello fondato sul *fuzzy set*, Garzone (2015) rappresenta oggi non più già un punto di arrivo ma di *partenza* per successive riflessioni teoriche e applicazioni pratiche. In questo senso, l'intuizione principale di Giuliana Garzone è forse stata quella di applicare alla traduttologia una visione di progresso assai contemporanea, che preveda cioè non un avanzamento unidirezionale ma, se necessario, un passo indietro all'interno della caverna, un ritorno a quanto di buono o perlomeno sensato del passato

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[3] La *didattica* della traduzione e il suo spinoso corollario, la *valutazione* della traduzione, sono altri due macro temi di difficile trattazione, consapevolmente tralasciati qui, poiché richiederebbero ampio tempo e spazio a sé.

ha superato la prova del tempo, in un approccio all'evoluzione per *trial and error* che avviene al buio ma non alla cieca, e che non esclude la prescrittività applicata a quel poco di certo che si sa sulla traduzione, nella consapevolezza di non averne – ma anche nella speranza di ottenerne un giorno – la piena comprensione.

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PRAGMATIC MARKEDNESS IN THE ELF-MEDIATED DISCOURSE OF LEGAL COUNSELING TO WEST-AFRICAN FEMALE MIGRANTS

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Abstract – This paper introduces a cognitive model of *pragmatic markedness* for the analysis of the ways in which non-native speakers of English as a lingua franca (ELF) differently interpret situations of legal counseling they are involved in. It will be argued that interpretative divergences are to be ascribed to the participants' different 'schematic representations' of the same situations which may come into conflict, thus causing misunderstanding. In this paper, misunderstanding is investigated in relation to a number of case studies regarding asymmetric situations in which West-African (Nigerian) female migrants, using their pidgin/creole-English varieties as ELF variations, should be assisted – but actually are disregarded – by Western (Italian) ELF-speaking legal advisors who are biased against them. The assumption is that the participants 'transfer' their respective native linguacultural features to their ELF variations, which are perceived as 'deviant' – and, therefore, 'marked' – by the other participants in the same situations of intercultural communication.

Keywords: Pragmatic markedness; English as a Lingua Franca; Schema Theory; migration encounters; legal discourse.

1. Introduction: pragmatic markedness in West-African female migrants' ELF use

This paper applies a Schema-Theory approach (Carrell, Eisterhold 1988) to cases of intercultural miscommunication in Italian unequal situations of 'legal advice' to West-African female migrants, carried out through non-native/nativized variations of English used as a 'lingua franca' (ELF). The assumption is that ELF uses in intercultural communication do not make reference to the 'Standard English' variety, nor to the corresponding dominant culture of a native social group – or of international communities of practice – who use, and impose, such a variety (Guido 2008). In fact, these ELF variations used by non-native participants in intercultural interactions are triggered by their processes of English-language appropriation occurring by means of their native pragmalinguistic schemata – meant as socio-culturally marked conceptualizations of reality stored in their minds. Indeed, by activating their schemata to make the English language their own, non-

native speakers try to avoid the sense of estrangement that the foreign language and culture produce on them (Guido 2018). Yet, these processes often cause miscommunication. To enquire into such processes, this paper proposes a cognitive model of *pragmatic markedness* for the analysis of the ways in which non-native speakers of ELF differently interpret situations of legal counseling they are involved in. It will be argued that interpretative divergences are to be ascribed to the participants' different 'schematic representations' (Lakoff 1987) of the same situations, which may come into conflict, thus causing misunderstanding. In this paper, misunderstanding is investigated in relation to a number of case studies regarding asymmetric situations in which West-African (Nigerian) female migrants, using their pidgin/creole-English varieties as ELF variations, displaced from the original native environment into the foreign context of the host country (Italy) (Guido 2008), should be assisted – but they are actually scorned – by Western (Italian) ELF-speaking legal advisors who are biased against them. The assumption is that the participants 'transfer' their respective native linguacultural features into their ELF variations, which are perceived as 'deviant' – and, therefore, 'marked' – by the other participants in the same situations of intercultural communication. The outcome of such a transfer of L1-features into ELF is 'pragmatic markedness' that will be explored as a deviation at the morpho-syntactic, discursive and schematic levels.

2. Theoretical grounds: markedness models in SLA

Markedness has traditionally been the object of enquiry in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research, mainly at two levels. On the one hand, it has been explored as *formal markedness* implying a *morpho-syntactic deviation* occurring when: *(a)* a syntactic structure is unavailable in the interlanguage of a non-native speaker (Selinker 1969); *(b)* an L2-syntactic parameter is distant from the related Universal-Grammar principle that governs every language and is inherent in every human mind (Gass 1979; Mazurkewich 1985); *(c)* the language typologies of non-native speakers' L1 and L2 are quite different (Eckman 1977); and *(d)* non-native speakers perceive a 'marked distance' between the structures of their own L1 and the L2 they use (Rutherford 1982). To overcome the sense of unfamiliarity with a structure of the L2, non-native speakers participating in intercultural interactions tend to perform 'repair moves' (Tarone 1980) by transferring the 'unmarked' structures of their L1 into the L2, thus running the risk of making formal errors (Ringbom 1992).

On the other hand, SLA research has explored the construct of *functional markedness* implying a *discursive deviation* occurring when: *(a)* a non-native speaker needs some language features to fulfill specific

communicative functions, but they are unavailable in his/her mind (Bardovi-Harlig 1987); and *(b)* a non-native speaker is unable to use the L2 'appropriately' according to the L1 pragmalinguistic code (Thomas 1983). The result is that non-native speakers tend to transfer their L1 functional patterns into the L2 they use, which may be perceived by the other speakers interacting with them as 'inappropriate' and, therefore, 'marked' (Faerch, Kasper 1987; Kasper 1992; Scotton 1983).

3. Rationale: pragmatic markedness as schematic deviation in ELF uses

From the formal and functional approaches to markedness in SLA it is already possible to deduce the role of cognition in the perception of 'deviant' morpho-syntactic incorrectness and discursive inappropriateness resulting from the conflicting schemata of the non-native speakers interacting by means of their respective ELF variations. Yet, this cognitive aspect of markedness has not yet been sufficiently investigated in SLA and ELF research. Hence, in this paper it will be argued that both levels of morpho-syntactic and discursive deviation are included in the construct of *pragmatic markedness* implying a *schematic deviation* that occurs when the linguacultural and specialized schemata of a non-native speaker participating in an ELF-mediated intercultural interaction interfere with the different schemata of another non-native speaker participating in the same interaction, often causing misunderstanding. This is assumed to induce the interacting ELF-speakers to activate a compensative schema transfer by resorting to L1-chunks of pragmalinguistic routines and specialized registers stored in their minds which should facilitate the ELF-speakers' meaning-attribution process and enable them to interpret concepts and events that are perceived as 'pragmatically marked' because they are inaccessible or unavailable to their native schemata.

4. Research hypothesis, objectives, and the pragmatic-markedness model

The hypothesis justifying this enquiry is the lack of relation between the semantic-syntactic code of the L2 that non-native speakers have learned and the pragmalinguistic code that they acquired within their native linguacultural contexts and that affects their own ELF variations. The assumption is that these two codes belong, respectively, to two distinct schemata that come to interact when the non-native speakers appropriate the L2, authenticating it as their own ELF variations (Widdowson 1994) and, thus, develop their own

ELF variations. The objective is to show evidence of the process by which the pragmalinguistic code acquired with L1-use comes to be transferred into ELF variations, thus producing intercultural miscommunication.

On such premises, a model of pragmatic markedness should take into account that, from the stance of non-native speakers using their ELF variations in situations of intercultural communication, the more accessible an L2 semantic-syntactic structure is to the non-native speakers' linguacultural schemata, the less marked it is perceived by them, in that such a structure comes to be experienced as similar to an analogous and familiar semantic-syntactic structure in their own L1. On the other hand, the less accessible an L2 semantic-syntactic structure is to non-native speakers' linguacultural schemata, the more marked it is perceived by them, as it comes to be experienced as unfamiliar – because divergent from any other comparable L1 structure – thus triggering misunderstanding.

5. Case-study method: gender-based schema conflicts in ELF-mediated legal interactions

In this paper, the model of pragmatic markedness is applied to a number of case studies regarding the analysis of ELF-mediated legal interactions between Italian legal advisors assisting West-African (Nigerian) female migrants. The focus is on the investigation of cognitive processes and pragmatic strategies by which the Italian legal advisors convey to African female migrants their culturally-marked knowledge of the law originated from their Western legal tradition, but unavailable to the migrants' experience of their own non-Western legal systems. Indeed, the African migrants did not possess the relevant 'Western' specialized schemata, and in their attempt to interpret unfamiliar legal – and socio-cultural – concepts, they actually deviated from such schemata – which explains their difficulty in accessing and accepting legal concepts that are alien to their native cultures. Likewise, also the Italian legal advisors were unable to access – and accept – the female migrants' native linguacultural and legal schemata, therefore they perceived their responses as deviant from the expected ones. In sum, the participants in the interactions did not acknowledge each other's sociopragmatic and specialized schemata as they were mutually perceived as 'pragmatically marked'. The exploration carried out in the course of the case studies was precisely meant to focus on how the different schemata that the participants in legal interactions acquired within their original cultures are first reflected in the grammaticalized structures of their L1s (here defined as *L1-semantic-syntactic schemata*) as well as in the pragmatic and discursive organizations of their respective native legal discourses (*L1-pragmatic and*

specialized-legal schemata), and then transferred into the ELF variations they use. Both semantic/syntactic and pragmatic schemata are included in the wider notion of linguacultural schemata. The outcome of such a native linguacultural schema transfer was expected to be the cause of schema conflicts and intercultural miscommunication – worsened by the Italian legal advisors' biases against West-African women's ability to understand legal issues and concepts, due to their lower-status condition of social exclusion and educational deprivation in their home countries.

In the data-collection process, an ethnomethodological approach was adopted: these ELF-mediated interactions were tape-recorded and their transcriptions provided the grounds for a 'protocol analysis' (Ericsson, Simon 1984) aimed at exploring the participants' processes of interpretation of each others' ELF uses that they perceived as 'pragmatically marked'.

6. Case study 1: semantic-syntactic schema conflict in an asymmetrical investigatory interrogation

Case study 1 reports the analysis of an ELF-mediated investigatory interrogation of a female Nigerian illegal migrant just landed in Italy with other migrants, carried out by two male Italian legal advisors in support of the border police (Guido 2008). The ELF variation spoken by the woman is a 'displaced variant' of Engligbo (based on a blend of Nigerian Pidgin English and Igbo as her native language). The woman was accused of withholding information about the identities of smugglers who helped her and other migrants cross the borders.

This case-study focuses on the typological differences in the structures of active clauses between the L1s of the participants in the interaction (Greenberg 1973) which reflect two different ways of conceptualizing events in the two cultures in contact (Guido 2008). The typological differences in point regard: the Italian SVO 'accusative' typology (in which the transitive Subject is the animate agent causing a process that produces an effect); and the quite different OV(S) 'ergative' typology (in which an inanimate Object in Subject position is the Medium through which a process takes place, producing an effect). The ergative clause structure is typical of some Sub-Saharian native languages – such as Igbo (Agbo 2009; Nwachukwu 1976), i.e., the native language of the female Nigerian subjects of the case studies. In case study 1, once the semantic-syntactic features of the accusative and ergative languages come to be 'transferred' into the participants' respective ELF variations (namely, the legal advisor's Italian-ELF and the female migrant's Engligbo as ELF), then they produce semantic-syntactic schema conflicts and, as a consequence, miscommunication. The Nigerian migrant's

native 'ergative' typological structure was transferred into her report, which was considered as a 'reticent account of events' from the native 'accusative' perspective of the Italian legal advisors' – who expected her to reveal the identity of the agent as the 'animate cause of her journey' (i.e., the smuggler) foregrounded in the Subject position of an active transitive clause.

What follows is a transcription of an extract of the investigatory interrogation (followed by a version in Standard English to facilitate understanding):[1]

Transcription 1
Nigerian woman (NW) and Italian legal advisors 1 and 2 (ILA1 and ILA2).

ILA1: who is the <u>pe:::rson</u> that (.) that <u>drove</u> the boat (.) that has taken you here in Italy?
NW: >a no sabi se Chi kom fo Italy< (.) <u>car</u> drop fo di contri dem <u>plenti</u> plenti bifo di sea *[I don't know that my personal divinity goes to Italy. The car drops at so many countries before heading to the sea]*
ILA1: but there is here a particular <u>pe:rson</u> (..) that made you travel? (.) <u>who</u>?
NW: Chi no tell i dey *[my personal divinity doesn't tell where she is]*
ILA1: ce lo sta dicendo nella sua lingua *[she is saying it to us in her own language]*
ILA2: how was your jou::rney by sea? (.) did you feel <u>sa:fe</u> (.) when the <u>pilot</u> sailed?
NW: (..) di ship heavy heavy when i <u>sail</u> o o > (.) di wind na strong an cold cold < di wa::ter >katakata <u>hie</u> <u>hie</u> hie< o o *[the ship was extremely heavy when she sailed! The wind is strong and extremely cold, the water scattered around here here here!]*
ILA2: did you fe::ar that you could be <u>killed</u> by the sea?
NW: (..) di se::a kill <u>mi</u>? *(giggle)* >oke oshimmi::ri anokata:ghi rie onye obu:la nke o na-ahughi ukwu ya anya< *[the sea kills me? The sea never swallows when a person's legs do not come in contact with it]*
ILA1: sorry, hhhh we don't under<u>sta::nd</u> your language.

The interaction is entirely characterized by ILA1's and ILA/2s' accusative clause structures by which the two legal advisors convey Elicitation Moves – that are covertly Blame Moves (Moerman 1988) – to induce NW to reveal the smuggler's identity. Yet, they perceive NW's replies as 'dispreferred' and, thus, pragmatically marked because of the ergative semantic-syntactic structures of her clauses that do not attribute the Subject position to the animate agent. The Subject position is, in fact, attributed to the abstract concept of NW's 'personal god' ("Chi") protecting her in a journey whose destination she 'did not know' ("A no sabi", followed by the simple-present locative verb "dey", meaning 'to be' and indicating that the past traumatic experience is still vividly present in her mind), as well as to the inanimate

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[1] The transcription conventions used in the four case studies in this paper are adapted from Edwards (1997, pp. 323-324): [ ] *overlapping speech*; <u>underlining</u> *emphasis*; ° ° *quieter speech*; (.) *micro-pause*; (..) *pause*; :: *elongation of prior sound*; hhh *aspiration*; .hhh *inspiration*; > < *speed-up talk*; = *latching*.

Object of a "car" as the intentional animate cause of 'dropping' (deliberately used as an intransitive verb V*i*) at many different countries before reaching the sea, and to the inanimate Object of "ship", too "heavy" with people to fight against furious natural elements: the "strong and cold wind"; the "scattered water" (emphasized by the emotional use of reduplication: "plenty plenty", "heavy heavy", "cold cold", "katakata" transferred from Igbo – Anagbogu 1995) and the "sea" that could not kill her (as in the Igbo proverb she quotes). The NW's deviant clausal structures are thus interpreted as pragmatically marked by ILA1 and ILA2 who unfairly refuse to understand NW.

7. Case-study 2: pragmatically-marked schema conflict in a medical-legal encounter

Case study 2 reports on an asymmetric medico-legal interaction whose participants are: a female medical-legal officer (MLO) in charge of the encounter and a Nigerian female cleaner (NC) illegally employed by a cleaning service, who underwent a miscarriage caused by the hard work she had to endure. NC speaks Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE), usually perceived abroad as any other ELF variation. (Typical characteristics of the NPE are the tense/aspect markers: e.g., "bin" for the past tense, "don" for the perfect aspect, "de" for the continuous aspect, as well as the plural marker "dem" – meaning 'them' – after singular nouns, and a conventional transcription according to phonetic orthography). In this interaction, the focus is on the conflict between two socio-culturally different "maternity schemata": rather than focusing on the hirer of illegal cleaners responsible for NC's hard work causing her miscarriage, MLO tries to impose on lower-status NC her 'Western' view on contraceptive methods that NC is expected to adopt to avoid further pregnancies as she cannot support other children economically and ensure their education and future in employment. This view is rejected by NC because contrary to her native socio-cultural beliefs.

What follows is the transcription of part of the exchange between MLO and NC (together with a version in Standard English):

*L*ingue e
*L*inguaggi

Transcription 2
Nigerian female cleaner (NC) and female medical-legal officer (MLO).

NC: a bin fall (.) a <u>no remember</u> noting .hhh (.) dark attack my head an my leg dem weak weak an a bin <u>fall</u> .hhh a no remember noting sorry hhh (.) a no don de understand se a <u>pre::gnant</u> .hhh a get <u>faif</u> pikin dem (.) >faif child dem< hhh a bin de want dat baby. *[I fell down, I don't remember anything. Darkness attacks my head and my legs are extremely weak and I fell down. I don't remember anything sorry. I hadn't yet started realizing that I was pregnant. I have five kids, five children. I was wanting that baby]*
MLO: hhh >can you <u>keep</u> another baby?< / *[b]* .hhh I mean (..) <u>phy::sically</u> (..) °fina::ncially° (..) >you know< (.) consider the day-to-day <u>reality</u> of coping with <u>six</u> children (.) the responsibi::lity for >shaping their personalities< =
NC: child dem na <u>pro::paty</u> for family hhh my husband de want <u>plenti</u> child dem .hhh >for dem go de farm di land> *[children are the wealth of a family. My husband is wanting many children to farm the land]*
MLO: (.) °you mean° (.) to farm the la::nd in <u>Africa</u>?
NC: (.) yes
MLO: hhh where's the <u>la::nd</u> in Africa? the <u>de::sert</u> you mea::n .hhh children are <u>sta::rving</u> there and <u>you::</u> (..) hhh you and your <u>husband</u> left Africa >for a better life <u>here</u>< .hhh (..) look (..) mate::rnity is <u>not</u> an obligation (.) it's not a <u>du::ty</u> (..) °your husband can't <u>pressurize</u> you into motherhood° (.) hhh show him the <u>va::lue</u> that you place on your five children .hhh >by putting your consideration for their <u>future</u> above your beliefs> °you know° (.) hhh <u>this</u> centre offers <u>counselling</u> for women thinking of <u>contraception</u> .hhh (.) °and <u>termination</u> (.) of course° (..) >you know< (.) we can discuss exa::ctly >which method is best for you<
NC: a:: (..) a no (..) na <u>wrong</u> ting *[I … I don't … it's a wrong thing …]*
MLO: >not at <u>all</u>< (.) hhh >if you have been taking the <u>pill</u> °for a while°< the risk of contracting <u>cancer</u> can be reduced .hhh also <u>IUDs</u> are quite sa::fe .hhh (.) >and give you better protection< against <u>pre::gnancy.</u>

The analysis in this case study is carried out by investigating the conflicting Conversational Moves (Moerman 1988) activated by MLO and NC. The objective is to better understand the pattern of pragmatic markedness characterizing their difficult interaction.

NC's opening Inform Move reports her fainting and miscarriage as a consequence of her hard work, as well as her regret for losing her sixth baby. MLO's attention, however, seems immediately to fall on NC's lack of birth control, rather than on her hard illegal work as a cleaner causing her miscarriage. Yet, NC initially seems at ease with MLO, confidently illustrating her "traditional West-African Maternity Schema". To this, MLO replies with a Challenge Move, using a scholarly style to convey her "Western 'responsible' Maternity Schema". At this point, also NC replies with a Challenge Move to defy MLO's schema, by making reference, this time, to her husband's 'authoritative stance' of 'a large family with many children as farm labourers', typical of a traditional rural economy. MLO, then, retorts with a Blame Move, directly attacking NC's poverty as well as

*L*ingue e
*L*inguaggi

doubting her ability to take care of her children. Then MLO upgrades her blame with a Challenge Move criticizing the behaviour of NC's husband and suggesting a strategy to persuade him to modify his native 'family' schema for the sake of their children's future. Finally, MLO – by using an almost patronizing tone – informs NC about birth-control and pregnancy-termination options offered by the medical-legal centre where she works. NC loses her initial confidence and her speech style becomes awkward. Yet, she replies with a Challenge Move rejecting MLO's "Maternity Schema" by hastily defining it as "a wrong thing".

8. Case-study 3: legal-schema conflict in the pragmatically-marked interpretations of EU immigration laws

Case study 3 illustrates how pragmatic markedness in specialized interactions – such as the one in point, focused on legal counselling – could hinder the possibility of enabling participants in an ELF-mediated interaction to become aware of each other's identities reflected in their different native socio-cultural and specialized (legal) schemata that come to be transferred into their ELF variations. This case study focuses precisely on issues of accessibility and acceptability of the EU laws on immigration and asylum. Indeed, enhancing the non-Western migrants' accessibility to conceptual and textual structures of such laws should be a central issue in the process of their drafting in English. EU immigration laws, instead, reflect 'Western' legal schemata that typically assume a coincidence between the drafter's illocutionary intention encoded in such laws and the perlocutionary effects of such laws on receivers (Gibbons 1994). And yet, predictably, the conceptual and textual structures of the EU-laws may be alien to non-Western migrants, who perceive them as pragmatically marked in that they often find them obscure – or socio-culturally unacceptable. The role of a legal advisor, therefore, should primarily be to promote conceptual accessibility in order to prevent ambiguity. This objective could be achieved by including non-Western stances on legal discourse through a revision of Grice's (1975) 'sender-centred' *Cooperative Maxims*, as well as of the European Union's *Joint Practical Guide of the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission* (2003) addressed to the drafters of EU laws in 'International English'.

The present case study reports on a situation of legal advice offered by an Italian male legal advisor (LA) to a Nigerian female migrant (NM) using NPE as her ELF variation. The focus is on a EU immigration law (i.e., *EU Council Regulation No. 343/2003*) drafted according to principles of 'clarity,

simplicity, conciseness, precision, and unambiguousness' stated in the *Joint Practical Guide* (2003) and addressed to non-European receivers – and, more specifically, as stated in the following point 1.2, accounting for the principle of:

> equality of citizens before the law, in the sense that law should be accessible and comprehensible for all; legal certainty, in that it should be possible to foresee how the law will be applied. The principle is particularly important in respect of Community legislative acts, which must fit into a system which is not only complex, but also multicultural and multilingual.

The case study in point, instead, accounts for another situation characterized by pragmatic markedness in that it demonstrates that such a principle does not work in real multicultural and multilingual communicative situations. Indeed, since the EU law is actually inaccessible to NM's native legal schemata, thus causing a cross-cultural pragmatic failure (Thomas 1983) in NM's interaction with LA.

Central to this EU Regulation No. 343/2003 is the notion of 'false identity', whose definition is neither inferable from the textual structure of the law, nor coincident with NM's native "identity schemata", thus producing miscommunication – worsened by LA's tendency to belittle NM as he considers her an uneducated woman unable to understand the Western legal notion of 'identity', as well as the difference between the notions of "economic migrant" and "refugee".

What follows is an extract of this interaction:

Transcription 3
Nigerian female migrant (NM) and Italian male legal advisor (LA).

NM: I <u>must</u> go for Germany (.) I want to go for the <u>Embassy</u> in Rome (.) .hhh >because I must find my <u>husband</u>< (..) he de work in Germany .hhh <u>letter</u> dem say se *[that]* hhh he want to come <u>here</u> °to stay with me in Italy° (.) .hhh >but I no see him here< o (..) .hhh maybe (.) °<u>sickness</u> de hit him° (.) >or death<
LA: is he illegal in Germany?
NM: o I think document dem na *[are]* alright for him there.
LA: can I see your <u>residence</u> permit (.) please? *[NM gives the permit to LA and LA checks it]* .hhh <u>who</u> did you pa::y for this? (.) did you give mo::ney to a <u>lawyer</u> °for this?°
NM: (.) <u>no</u> (.) >no money for [nobody<
LA: you can] tell this to <u>me</u> (.) we are <u>not</u> the poli::ce (.) .hhh we are <u>voluntary</u> workers
NM: (..) no (.) °no money°
LA: (..) .hhh this is a <u>counterfeit</u> permit hhh issued thanks to some <u>corrupted</u> lawyer >who asked money in return< °for a residence permit° (.) Nigeria is <u>not</u> a Country at wa::r .hhh >so you're not a <u>victim</u> of persecution or a political refugee
NM: (..) what I can <u>do</u>? .hhh I want <u>help</u>

LA: if you try to cross the bo::rders (.) or ask the Embassy for help (.) the police shall expel you °from Italy° .hhh >and you can't return here for more than< ten years (.) because you have a counterfeit permit (.) you understand? (.) oka::y?

NM: no (.) a no understand

LA: well (..) this is the law *[LA finds EU Council Regulation No. 343/2003, in the Official Journal of the European Union, 25.2.2003, and reads it):"When it is established that the asylum seeker has entered the territories of the Member States irregularly, he or she shall not be sent back to persecution. The fact that the residence documents or visa was issued on the basis of a false or assumed identity or on submission of forged, counterfeit or invalid documents shall not prevent responsibility being allocated to the Member State which issued it. However, the Member State issuing the residence document or visa shall not be responsible if it can establish that a fraud was committed after the document or visa had been issued."]* you see? *[LA hands the Regulation text to NM]*

NM: [reads the Regulation in silence] .hhh law no se *[says]* this (.) my ide::ntity is no false (..) here *[she points at her permit]* >look my name< (.) my country, °and my picture°

LA: yes >but it's not sure< you see? .hhh >because the document is< counterfeit °and not valid°

NM: the pa::per se i is valid .hhh and this here see? my name

LA: .hhh how I can know this is your name? >where was it issued?< here? .hhh in Nigeria? (.) in Libya? who °gave you° this document?

NM: .hhh I must find my husband

LA: .hhh here in Italy (.) >or if you go to Germany< you will be arre::sted °because your permit° is false .hhh >and maybe also your identity<

NM: no in Ge::rmany >dem no arrest me< .hhh Germany is no responsible (.) °se *[says]* the law°

LA: where?

NM: >read this< (..) no responsibi::lity >go for states< (.) .hhh and i °no go back to persecution°

LA: but this is not so .hhh states are respo::nsible and shall arrest you and send you ba::ck >to your country< .hhh °because there is° no persecution in Nigeria (..) however (..) .hhh try (.) try to contact the Red Cross (.) perhaps they can help you >°to find your husband°< °if he is using his true identity there°.

Both participants in the interaction activate Challenge Moves to contradict each other as their respective interpretations of the law diverge and are mutually perceived as pragmatically marked. This is due to the fact that the Regulation ambiguously omits the indication of Agency in passive structures, making it difficult to identify the Member State responsible for issuing an identity document – as evident from the following version of the legal text:

> When it is established *[by whom?]* that the asylum seeker has entered the territories of the Member States irregularly, he or she shall not be sent back *[by whom?]* to persecution. The fact that the residence documents or visa was issued *[by whom?]* on the basis of a false or assumed identity or on submission of forged, counterfeit or invalid documents shall not prevent responsibility being allocated *[by whom?]* to the Member State which issued it. However,

> the Member State issuing the residence document or visa shall not be responsible if it can establish that a fraud was committed *[by whom?]* after the document or visa had been issued *[by whom?]*.

To disambiguate this EU norm, thus making it accessible to non-Western receivers, it may be necessary to redefine Grice's (1975) 'Western-centred' *Cooperative Maxims* that are central to traditional Pragmatics, and also justify the EU *Joint Practical Guide*. The intent is to propose an application of such redefined pragmatic maxims to the drafting of EU immigration laws in order to allow ELF-speaking migrants from different native languages and cultures to access and possibly to accept Western legal concepts and terminology that are unfamiliar to them. The revision of Grice's four *Cooperative Maxims* of *Quality*, *Relevance*, *Quantity*, and *Manner* is justified by the fact that they take a univocal stance by focusing on what the Sender of the message intends to communicate, without acknowledging the Receivers' possible diverging interpretations of that message. Hence the proposal to reformulate Grice's maxims into four new *Cooperative Parameters* (Guido 2008) aimed at making EU laws on immigration accessible and acceptable to migrants. These parameters are:

1) *Implicature* – related to the Sender's illocutionary intention encoded in his/her message, and entirely based on his/her subjective assumptions of evidence and falsity. This parameter is meant as a revision of Grice's *Quality* maxim that recommends "not to say what you believe to be false, or what you lack adequate evidence for" – thus expressing an objective judgment on what it is just the Sender's subjective interpretation of events, which may be perceived as 'pragmatically marked' by Receivers who interpret the same events from their different socio-cultural schemata.

2) *Inference* – related to the perlocutionary effects of the Sender's message on Receivers. Such effects, however, may not coincide with the Sender's intentionality, as empirical Receivers may find the message relevant to them, or rather irrelevant. This parameter, therefore, is meant to revise *Relevance*, a maxim that Grice himself found too complex to define.

3) *Negotiation* – related to the Sender's and the Receivers' mutual pragmatic cooperation, thus broadening the scope of Grice's maxim of *Quantity* from the Sender's intention to make his/her message informative by including the empirical Receivers' possible different interpretations of the Sender's message.

4) *Acceptability* – related to the Sender's and Receivers' efforts to disambiguate concepts that belong to their respective different cultures and, as such, may be mutually perceived as alien and 'pragmatically marked'. The objective is to enhance an understanding of their respective

interpretations of a message – thus revising Grice's maxim of *Manner*, which refers only to the Sender's efforts to "avoid obscurity of expression, ambiguity and prolixity". The objective of the new *Acceptability* parameter, instead, is to become aware of situations in which the Sender's message can be perceived as 'pragmatically marked' by empirical Receivers from different cultures, thus producing on them unintended effects of obscurity and ambiguity. In such cases, 'prolixity' may be considered as an effective strategy to achieve disambiguation and to render the message acceptable to the Receivers' different socio-cultural schemata.

On such grounds, two reformulations of the EU Regulation no. 343/2003 (which was the focus of the interaction reported in 'transcription 3') were drafted by two post-graduate Italian students in intercultural mediation according to the new *cooperative parameters,* with the intent to avoid the Receivers' perception of a pragmatically-marked specialized text and to make it, instead, clearer to them (more specifically, to ELF-speaking Nigerian migrants, as the one in the case in point) (Guido 2008).

Reformulation 1
Agency specified according to migrants' L1 ergative (OVS) structures.

If the *territories* of the Member States irregularly host an asylum seeker with invalid residence documents or visa, *they* cannot expel him and send him back to persecution to his Country. *Invalid documents* lay the responsibility on the Member State that issued them. However, if *the Member State* can demonstrate that after it had issued the document or visa, a fraud was committed by someone else, then that *Member State* shall not be responsible for that fraud.

Reformulation 2
Agency specified by means of 'prolixity strategies' to suit migrants' L1 clarity parameters.

The European Council established that when the asylum seeker enters the territories of a Member State irregularly, he or she shall not be sent back by that Member State to persecution in his or her Country. The European Council has also established a clear method to identify the Member State responsible for the examination of an asylum application. If the asylum seeker possesses a valid residence document, then the Member State that issued that document is responsible for the examination of the asylum application. On the contrary, when a Member State issues non-valid residence documents to a migrant or an asylum seeker, the European Council considers that Member State responsible for it. However, a Member State cannot be considered responsible if the European Council establishes that the fraud was committed after the issuing of the document.

9. Case study 4: An ethnopoetic approach to ELF-mediated forensic 'entextualization' of trauma reports

In case study 4, the focus is on non-Western migrants' oral reports of trauma experiences. Such reports, once collected by Western medical-legal officers during interviews, come to be transcribed and reformulated into different written formats (e.g., notes, translations, and summaries) for the legal purpose of certifying post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSD) principally in situations of asylum seeking. Medical-legal officers, therefore, become the actual 'forensic editors' of the migrants' trauma reports. In playing this role, officers often 'displace' such reports from their original socio-cultural contexts in order to reframe them – or 'entextualize' them (Urban 1996) – into a written form within the new and alien socio-cultural contexts of the host country (Slembrouck 1999). In the case in point, the entextualization process typically occurs according to the conventional Western forensic methods of transcription organized into textual paragraphs which normally do not correspond to the non-Western migrants' native textual conventions (Blommaert 1997). And in fact, migrants frequently perceive their transcribed reports as 'pragmatically marked', since they do not recognize them as 'their own'. Indeed, the higher the medical-legal officer acting as editor perceives his/her socio-cultural and professional status with respect to the migrants' status (especially female migrants' status), the more s/he tends to impose his/her own 'preferred interpretation' on the written reformulations of the migrants' original oral reports. The outcome is often an unequal and culturally-biased entextualization for forensic purposes (Coulthard 2000), which may give rise to injustices in that it disregards the migrants' different native socio-cultural conceptualizations of events reflected in the structure of their original oral trauma reports.

Case study 4 proposes a possibility of entextualizing a female Nigerian migrant's oral trauma report by identifying in it some specific textual clues for its correct interpretation, based on the migrant's native socio-cultural schemata. Such clues would allow a medical-legal officer as editor to recover the original 'situatedness' (Gumperz 1982) within the very structure of the migrant's report, thus overcoming the sense of a pragmatically-marked and unfamiliar narrative structure and facilitating the production of appropriate forensic reformulations. The method adopted in this case study is Hymes' (2003) 'Ethnopoetic Approach' applied to written reformulations of migrants' oral trauma narratives (Guido 2018), with the intent to infer the migrant's intentionality from the close form/meaning interrelationships identified in the Nigerian migrant's trauma report. This method is in fact meant to question the customary Western forensic entextualization of non-

Western migrants' oral reports displaced from their original linguacultural contexts and conventionally transcribed into paragraphs – a form of textualization regarded as the 'universal' format for the coherent discursive representation of recounted events. It will be argued, instead, that such a paragraph-based textual format does not disclose the illocutionary force of the migrants' original oral trauma reports (i.e., the migrants' intentionality in producing them), but rather it would only convey the perlocutionary effects of the migrants' reports on the Western medical-legal officers acting as editors and, as such, interpreting the reports from their socio-cultural standpoint according to which events are first experienced and then textualized into blocks of paragraphs (namely, Introduction, Development, Conclusion). Conversely, Hymes' 'ethnopoetics' would reveal, instead, the 'non-conventional' patterns of coherence in non-Western migrants' ELF-mediated oral reports (such as, for instance, word repetitions, shifts in tense/aspect, in location, or in actor-position within accusative/ergative clauses), indicating units of meaning to be edited into 'lines'. The choice of lines rather than paragraphs is obviously not for aesthetic effects since, in autochthonous oral narratives, it reflects the rhythms of bodily actions and emotions in relation to the perceptions of natural phenomena, revealing what the speakers themselves regard as relevant in their narrative. Predictably, Western legal experts could experience such an unusual forensic transcription as marked, but non-Western migrants' should instead not perceive the etnopoetic entextualization of their oral trauma reports as familiar and pragmatically unmarked.

From a forensic examination of a mini-corpus of West-African migrants' trauma narratives aimed at identifying PTSD syndromes (Guido 2018), it was possible to identify a typical 'sonnet-like' pattern of five and three lines – the former five lines describing the outer events causing trauma; the latter three lines representing the migrants' inner state of distress in response to the traumatic events. More specifically, case study 4 focuses on the ethnopoetic transcription for forensic purposes of a trauma report by a Nigerian female migrant using Nigerian Pidgin English as her ELF variation during a medical-legal examination aimed at establishing the eligibility for the refugee status:

Transcription 4.

Lines 1-5: outer context.

1.   Das pipul dem bin don mek mi walk fo tri day dem, o, fo Niger border
[Those people had made me walk for three days to the Niger border]

2.   <u>wie</u> dem bin sell mi to won 'madam' and won car bin tek mi fo Al Zuwarah
[<u>where</u> they sold me to a 'madam' and a car took me to Al Zuwarah]

3.   <u>wie</u> won shack wit di sand-bed bin don lok mi and oda ten ten girl dem

L ingue e
L inguaggi

[where a shack with a sand-bed had locked me crammed with other ten girls]

4.   <u>wie</u> di oyibo dem (Yoruba: white men) bin de kom <u>evri de evri de</u>

[where the white men were coming <u>every day, every day</u>]

5.   a remember <u>di pain fo my yansh and leg dem and di cut dem fo my bodi</u>

[I remember <u>the pain in my back and legs and the cuts in my body</u>]

Lines 6-8: inner response

6.   Wen di boat bin bring os fo Italy a bin mek my pikin,

[When the boat brought us to Italy I gave birth to my child]

7.   but hie police dem bin spot os and dem bin pik os all.

[but here the police found us and they took us all.]

8.   fo Nigeria a no get hope fo mari and fo my pikin in future.

[In Nigeria I have no hope for getting married and for my child's future.]

In the first five lines of this ethnopoetic transcription, regarding the 'outer context of trauma', the link-words mark the ethnopoetic turning points of the woman's oral report, which make her trauma narrative move forward to the rhythm of an emotional alliterative pattern. The evidence can be found in lines 2-4 that start with "wie" ('where'), thus highlighting the places of the woman's distress (namely, the "car", the "shack", the "boat") which are thematized as animate agents in subject position within ergative clauses. In line 5, the woman avoids an explicit description of herself undergoing rape and torture – in fact she just hints at abuse frequency, emphasized only by the use of reduplication ('every day every day'), and at its consequences, by simply mentioning the wounds and the pain in her back and legs. In the last three lines, regarding the woman's inner response to trauma, her concern is focused on the socio-cultural effects of rape, which she expects would destroy her hopes of getting married and of securing future for her illegitimate child, in case of her repatriation in Nigeria. The entextualization of this trauma report into lines, respecting the rhythm of the woman's original narrative, would provide evidence of the fact that trauma in other non-Western cultures not always should be treated as a subjective experience in need of an individual PTSD therapy, but rather as a political action aimed at the individual's social recovery within his/her native community.

10. Conclusions

This research has advanced the notion that non-Western migrants (and in particular lower-status female migrants) involved in asymmetric intercultural situations of legal advice in Europe, are expected to overcome the sense of unfamiliarity prompted by the pragmatically-marked spoken and written registers of the Western immigration and asylum laws by authenticating them

differently, according to their different native pragmalinguistic schemata that they activate in interpreting such laws. These different schematic authentications, however, may cause schema conflicts giving rise to serious misunderstandings. Hence the need for solutions that challenge the notion of legal registers standardized according to shared generic norms. Recognizing communication failure can foster mutual understanding and acceptance of differences expressed precisely through the structural pliability of English, making this language a democratic 'lingua franca' giving voice to all its speakers' marked socio-pragmatic uses and specialized stances.

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IT'S TIME FOR A NEW CHAPTER
A Discourse-Analytical Analysis of News Articles on the Retirement of Professional Athletes

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Abstract – For professional athletes, their retirement constitutes a life-changing event. It marks the ending of a chapter in their lives during which sports-related activities were omnipresent and dominant. Research on the retirement decision and its consequences is mainly conducted in the domain of (sports) psychology. Newspapers and news sites dedicate articles to the retirement of famous athletes: they describe their careers, their honours list, and their reasons for retiring. In this paper, we compare 50 articles from Belgian news media on athletes' retirements with obituaries, texts that are published when the ultimate life-changing event in a person's life occurs, with the aim of determining similarities and differences between both text types. To achieve that goal, we collected 50 retirement articles from Flemish media. We carried out a primarily qualitative analysis of their content and analysed the relevant language choices made by the authors. Both text types address the same topics and refrain from including negative aspects. In obituaries, metaphors are mostly introduced to circumvent sensitive topics. In retirement articles, they embellish the discourse. Both text types illustrate the happiness-sadness paradox.

Keywords: retirement; professional athletes; death discourse; metaphors; discourse analysis.

1. Background

The career of professional athletes is in most cases limited in time. During their career, their whole life is dominated by activities related to sports (training, competitions, diets, rest, physiotherapy, psychological support, travelling etc.). When they decide – for whatever reason – to retire, their lives change drastically. The preparations and consequences of their retirement have already been studied from different perspectives. In this paper, we present the results of an analysis of news articles published on the occasion of the retirement of Belgian professional athletes. Only athletes with a certain degree of fame receive media attention when they retire. While exploring the material, we noticed parallels with different types of death discourse, a discourse type we have extensively analysed (cfr. References). Our approach was to pinpoint similarities and differences with obituaries, using our previous research as basis for the comparison. Since that type of death

discourse is also published when a life-changing event occurs, we wondered if there are any parallels between both text types. We discuss the content of the texts and some relevant discursive aspects.

First, we refer to existing research on the topic of retirement. This section is limited, since most published research has been conducted within the domain of (sports) psychology. After a description of the research material and the methodology, we discuss and illustrate the content of the articles. We then turn our attention to the metaphorical language. In the discussion section, we juxtapose and compare the discourse of retirement articles and obituaries.

2. Literature

The retirement of professional athletes has been studied with different focuses. For example, Fernandez, Stephan and Fouquereau (2006) developed the Athletes' Retirement Decision Inventory, a questionnaire to determine the reasons why professional athletes retire. Cosh, Crabb and LeCouteur (2013) define three types of retirement: retirements related to age, to injury and to active choice. They also examine the psychological consequences of the different types of retirement. Another study focusing on the consequences is Alfermann, Stambulova and Zemaityte (2004). Good planning of the retirement has positive effects, while a strong athletic identity causes more problems during the adaptation to life after the sports career. Cecić Erpič, Wylleman and Zupančič (2004) describe how both athletic (e.g. voluntarism of the termination) and non-athletic (e.g. education) factors influence the quality of the termination process of a sports career.

Our search for discourse-analytical analyses of texts on the retirement of professional athletes yielded very few results. Although Cosh, Crabb and LeCouteur (2013) claim to employ a discursive psychological approach to articles in Australian print newspapers, their analysis is mainly a content analysis with attention to lexical choices. The lack of discourse-analytical studies is confirmed by the literature review of Park, Lavallee and Todd (2012), which does not include that kind of approaches. Their bibliography contains more than 150 references, none of which has been published in a discourse-oriented or linguistic journal. The vast majority is embedded in psychology.

A preliminary analysis of our research material revealed similarities with obituaries. The link is evident: death is the most definitive form of (saying) goodbye. Obituaries are a stable text type with a predictable content and format (Moses and Marelli 2004; Heynderickx and Dieltjens 2016). They are also considered reliable material to analyse how societies cope with

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sensitive or difficult topics. There are for example numerous studies that describe how the explicit mention of death and its causes (e.g. cancer, suicide) are circumvented by using metaphors and euphemisms (e.g. Cheung and Ho 2004; Crespo Fernández 2006, 2011; Galal 2014; Heynderickx and Dieltjens 2016, 2021; Sexton 1997; Tay 2019). Heynderickx, Dieltjens and Oosterhof (2017) analyse metaphors in obituaries of professional athletes.

3. Methodology

By means of an extensive search using the Google search bar, we compiled a list of Belgian professional athletes who retired from professional sports during the last decade. We collected two articles from different media for each athlete, without taking into consideration their type of sport, age, gender or reason for retiring.

For the quantitative analysis and the collocational data, WordSmith 7 was used. The content analysis was conducted by a close reading of the texts, during which all relevant information was put in an Excel document. For the analysis of the metaphors, one researcher implemented the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). In short, MIP is a tool to identify metaphorical expressions in written or spoken discourse. It consists of several steps: 1) read the text; 2) determine the lexical units; 3a) determine the contextual meaning of each lexical unit; 3b) determine if the lexical unit has a more basic meaning in other contexts; 3c) determine if the contextual meaning can be understood in comparison with the basic meaning; 4) if so, the lexical unit is metaphorical. The results of that analysis were discussed with a second researcher until consensus was reached.

4. Corpus description

We compiled a list of 25 retired Belgian athletes. In Flanders, they are considered strong athletes, which is confirmed by the frequent occurrence (46, 0.28% of the total word count) of compounds with 'top' (e.g., top sports, top athlete). For each athlete we collected two articles in newspapers (total: 50 articles). By including two articles from different sources for each athlete, we try to avoid a focus on the specific writing style of particular sports journalists.

There is an imbalance between male (19, 76%) and female athletes (6, 24%). A similar gender imbalance is present in the material of Cosh, Crabb and LeContour (2013): it consists of 27 articles on the retirement of five

female athletes and 223 articles on that of sixteen male athletes. In the research of Alfermann, Stambulova and Zemaityte (2004) the gender is more evenly balanced (130 male + 126 female), but the methodology section does not clarify if that was consciously guided during the participant selection. The research material that we compiled, consists of 16,246 words. The average length of an article is 324.92 words, with the longest one containing 1,172 words and the shortest one 86 words. In total thirteen sports are represented. Football and (on and off-road) cycling are best represented with five athletes each, which is not surprising since they are the most popular sports in Flanders.

5. Content analysis

We have analysed which topics are addressed in the research material. Table 1 shows how often each of those topics appears in the texts. On average, an article contains 5.72 of those elements. The highest number of topics in one article is 9, the lowest number is 3. Below the table we briefly discuss the topics that occur in more than half of the articles.

Topic	n (total: 50)
Sport	48
Age	48
Quote (from the retired athlete)	35
Reason	34
Honours list	33
Channel of communication (e.g. press release, Instagram post)	23
Future	22
Qualities of the athlete	21
Length of career	15
Farewell game / Last game	11
Testimonial (e.g. teammate, coach)	7
Nickname	7
Words of gratitud	5
Successor	3

Table 1
Reoccurring topics.

Unsurprisingly, almost all articles mention which sport the athlete practiced. The two articles without mention contain sufficient clues to determine the sport if the reader has some background knowledge. For example, one of the articles mentions the football teams for which a particular athlete played. The age of retirement is almost always included. It is added to the athlete's name

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between brackets, or it is described with a single adjective (e.g., *dertigjarig* –
thirty years old, cf. example (8) below), but is not commented upon. The only
exception is a table tennis player who retired at the (in the context of sports
unusually old) age of 49 after a career of almost 40 years. In 35 articles
(70%) the retiring athlete is quoted. The content of the quotes varies. Some
contain a look back (e.g., highlights (1) and disappointments (2)), others a
look forward (e.g., plans for the future (3)).

> (1)   Ik heb de Belgische driekleur gedragen en ik heb op het podium
>   gestaan in mooie klassiekers zoals de Ronde van Vlaanderen en
>   Milaan-Sanremo. (I have worn the Belgian tricolour and I have stood
>   on the podium in beautiful classics such as the Tour of Flanders and
>   Milan-San Remo.)
> (2)   Het is jammer genoeg niet gelukt die andere droom te realiseren:
>   wereldkampioen worden. (Unfortunately, I could not realise that other
>   dream: to become world champion.)
> (3)   Ik word bij mijn huidige club Spirou Charleroi sportief directeur. (I
>   will become sporting director at my current team Spirou Charleroi.)

Some athletes reflect on their career and their retirement. Words of gratitude
are integrated in the quotes (4).

> (4)   Ik wil iedereen alvast bedanken voor alle steun de voorbije jaren, en
>   zal dat opnieuw doen op het einde van dit jaar als het verhaal écht
>   gedaan is. (I would like to thank everyone for their support over the
>   years and will do so again at the end of this year when the story is
>   really finished.)

There are five athletes for whom neither of the articles indicates the reason
for their goodbye. The most frequently mentioned reason is physical
discomfort (e.g., injuries, cardiac problem, (5)), but also mental fatigue is
suggested (6). Some athletes combine the physical and the mental aspect (7).

> (5)   Artrose in zijn heupen noopt Dekelver tot pensioen (Arthritis in his
>   hips forces Dekelver to retire)
> (6)   ik kan me moeilijk motiveren om nog af te zien (I find it difficult to
>   motivate myself to keep suffering)
> (7)   maar koersen en trainen met pijn, dag in dag uit, is echt zwaar, zowel
>   fysiek als mentaal. (But racing and training with pain, day after day, is
>   really hard, both physically and mentally.)

Another recurrent reason can be labelled 'other priorities' (e.g., a busy
kinesiotherapy practice, a successful fashion label, (8)). Single-mention
reasons are age, lack of contract, the postponement of the Olympic Games in

Tokyo and the absence of training facilities because of the COVID-19 lockdown (9).

> (8)   De 33-jarige atlete legt zich nu volledig toe op haar modelabel. (The 33-year-old athlete is now fully dedicating herself to her fashion label.)
>
> (9)   "Een topsporter moet consequent kunnen trainen", zei Van Tichelt vrijdag op een persconferentie. "Door corona is dat heel moeilijk. (…)" ("A top athlete must be able to train consistently," Van Tichelt said at a press conference on Friday. "Because of corona, that is very difficult. (...).")

In one article the complete honours list of the athlete is included. Other articles restrict the list to awards and major titles or victories (10).

> (10)   Zijn hoogtepunt was de zege op het WK Ironman in Hawai in 2013. Hij was ook vijf keer de beste in Nice. (His highlight was his victory at the 2013 Ironman World Championships in Hawaii. He also was five times the winner in Nice.)

As was to be expected, the vast majority of the content is positive. The negative information has to do with injuries, missed opportunities and disappointments such as narrowly missing an Olympic medal (11). Some of the negative information is immediately countered by a more positive element (12). In some cases, a negative characteristic, which in the context of a professional sports career could be considered a positive one, is attributed to the athlete, like in the quote of a former teammate in example (13).

> (11)   In 2016 ging Van Acker in Rio de Janeiro met de nodige ambitie van start, maar viel ze, verzwakt door de nasleep van een infectie, net naast het podium. Een teleurstelling die toen heel hard aankwam bij de zeilster. (In Rio de Janeiro in 2016, Van Acker started with ambition, but, weakened by the aftermath of an infection, she fell just short of the podium. A disappointment that hit the sailor very hard at the time.)
>
> (12)   Het afscheid van Timmers werd achtervolgd door coronazorgen, maar in Boedapest kon hij de voorbije weken nog deelnemen aan een internationale competitie. (Timmers' goodbye was haunted by corona worries, but he was still able to participate in an international competition in Budapest in recent weeks.)
>
> (13)   Je was een echte klootzak om tegen te spelen. Een echt competitiebeest. Respect! Proficiat met je carrière. (You were a real asshole to play against. A real competition beast. Respect! Congratulations on your career.)

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6. Metaphor analysis

The material contains 124 different metaphors, which appear in total 207 times. Table 2 shows the five most frequently used metaphors. The third one ('a signboard for', an ambassador for[1]) occurs in the texts of one specific athlete about whom different people (coach, minister of sports, etc.) state that she was an ambassador for sailing in Belgium. There are 85 metaphors with a single occurrence.

Metaphor	Frequency
een punt zetten achter (to put a stop to)	23
een nieuw/ander hoofdstuk (a new/different chapter)	6
een uithangbord voor ('a signboard for', an ambassador for)	6
aan de haak hangen ('to hang on a hook', to shelve)	4
knallen/knaller (bang)	4
op zijn naam zetten/schrijven (to put to his name)	4

Table 2
Most frequently occurring metaphors.

The most frequently used metaphor is linked to the reason why the articles were published. The material contains other metaphors that express the idea of ending something, in this case a career: *aan de haak hangen* ('to hang on a hook', to shelve)*, aan de wilgen hangen* ('to hang on the willows', to lay down)*, de cirkel is rond* (come full circle)*, afzwaaien* ('to flag off', to sign off)*, kappen met* (to cut with)*, er een streep onder trekken* (to draw a line under it) and *de handdoek gooien* (to throw in the towel). Although there is a rich variety of metaphors, the concept of saying goodbye to or ending a career is not avoided. In total, the word *afscheid* (goodbye) occurs 82 times in the material (0.50% of the total word count). *Afscheid* as separate word is the second most frequent content word in the research material (33rd position in the frequency table, 66 occurrences, 0.41% of the total word count). There is also one compound with *afscheid* as its right-hand part and nine compounds (17 occurrences) with *afscheid* as their left-hand part. There are also other words that refer to the end of something. Table 3 gives an overview of those words with their frequencies in the material. It also indicates how often these words are related to the retirement. For example, in example (14) *laatste* (final, last) is related to the retirement, in (15) it is not.

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[1] We add a literal translation between inverted commas if the idiomatic translation in English does not illustrate what we describe.

(14)   Zijn laatste wedstrijd was de Ironman van Ierland. (His last race was
        the Ironman of Ireland.)

(15)   Die elke match speelde alsof het zijn laatste was. (Who played every
        match as if it was his last.)

Word	Occurrences	Related to retirement
afscheid (farewell) + compounds	84	84
laatst(e) (last, final) + variants	52	33
stop(pen) (stop) + variants	49	47
einde (end) + variants	27	14
(af)sluiten (close)+ variants	14	11
pensioen (retirement) + compounds	11	11
voor bekeken houden (to consider something sorted)	8	7
gedaan (finished, over)	6	1
TOTAL		208 (1.28% of the total word count)

Table 3
Words expressing a career ending.

Of the 124 metaphors in the material, fourteen (11.29%) have their source
domain in sports. Example (16) contains a metaphor from boxing, example
(17) one from wrestling.

(16)   De aanvaller van Lommel United sukkelt al geruime tijd met kleine
        kwaaltjes en gooit nu de handdoek in de ring. (The Lommel United
        striker has been struggling with minor injuries for quite some time and
        is now throwing in the towel.)

(17)   De voorbije drie jaar worstelde ze met eetstoornissen (boulimie) en
        veel hardnekkige blessures. (For the past three years, she has been
        wrestling with eating disorders (bulimia) and many persistent injuries.)

There are only two of those sports metaphors related to the sport practiced by
the athlete ((18), (19)). In both cases, it is in an article about cyclists.

(18)   Het is echt een onvergetelijke rit geweest. (It has really been an
        unforgettable stage.)

(19)   Kevin Pauwels is in de laatste rechte lijn van zijn loopbaan beland.
        (Kevin Pauwels has entered the final straight of his career.)

Although it is often claimed that metaphors are used to avoid a direct
description of negative concepts, the majority of the metaphors in our
material (59/124, 47.58%) has a positive tone (example (20)). There are 34
neutral ones (27.42%, (21)) and 31 negative ones (25.00%, (22)).

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(20)   Het is tijd voor een nieuw hoofdstuk. (It's time for a new chapter.)
(21)   was hij twee seizoenen lang een onbetwiste titularis in het hart van de
        verdediging (he was for two seasons an undisputed key player in the
        heart of the defence)
(22)   Pauwels was eerder dit jaar geveld door een virale infectie. (Pauwels
        was felled by a viral infection earlier this year.)

7. Discussion and Conclusions

Our hypothesis after our preliminary research was confirmed: there are
undeniable similarities between retirement articles and obituaries. The first
similarity is the imbalance between males and females. Male obituaries are
dominant in the vast majority of studies (for an overview: cf. Heynderickx
and Dieltjens 2016). In Heynderickx, Dieltjens and Oosterhof (2017), which
discusses obituaries of professional athletes, the ratio between male and
female deceased is 96% vs. 4%, which is an even more striking imbalance
than in our current research material (76% vs. 24%).

        The choice of topics is comparable in both text types. In Table 4, we
put the content of the retirement texts next to that of obituaries, by comparing
them to the basic content description in Moses and Marelli (2004) and the
more elaborated one in Heynderickx and Dieltjens (2016). Of the fourteen
topics pinpointed in the retirement articles, only four are absent in obituaries.
The absence of a channel of communication is self-evident, since people do
not announce their own death unless they choose euthanasia. The other three
missing topics are less frequent topics in obituaries. Words of gratitude do
appear in obituaries, but are introduced to thank the deceased, while in
retirement articles it is the athlete who thanks family, coaches, sponsors and
fans. The authors of both retirement articles and obituaries avoid negative
content. When negative elements are included, they are countered with a
positive element, as if the Latin proverb 'de mortuis nil nisi bonum
dicendum' (speak no ill of the dead) seems also applicable to retiring athletes.

Retirement articles	Moses and Marelli (2004)	Heynderickx and Dieltjens (2016)
sport		function, job title
age	age	age
quote		quote from the deceased
reason	cause of death	cause
honours list	life and career	career information
channel of communication		
future		living on in the memory of others
qualities		qualities
duration of career	life and career	career information
farewell game / last game	funeral announcement	funeral information
testimonial		quotes from colleagues
nickname		
words of gratitude		
successor		

Table 4
Topic comparison.

In both text types, metaphors are used, but their functions differ. In obituaries the metaphors are often introduced to circumvent the direct mentioning of negative elements. In retirement articles, however, the majority of the metaphors has a positive meaning. Another difference has to do with the classification of the metaphors. Crespo Fernández (2011) described six traditional death metaphors that occur regularly in death discourse. Heynderickx and Dieltjens (2016) observed the same metaphors in their material but added that non-traditional obituaries also contain more original and creative metaphors. The metaphors in the retirement texts are harder to classify than those in obituaries, and there are hardly any original metaphors. On the contrary, quite a number of them are metaphors that are well-established in everyday language use (e.g., a new chapter, to get the green light/go-ahead, to be at peace with) and can be considered to be clichéd expressions in Dutch. Only 11.29% of the metaphors in the retirement articles have sports as their source domain. Heynderickx, Dieltjens and Oosterhof (2017, p. 10) came to a similar conclusion: "The presence of sports-related metaphors is less prominent than expected". They observed two types of sports-related metaphors (i.e. linked to combat sports and linked to a sporting event), both of which are present in the current research material (e.g. to wrestle with, to take the plunge). In brief, journalists of both retirement articles and obituaries seem to introduce metaphors to embellish their texts, but do not look for inspiration in the activities of the people they write about.

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That conclusion is confirmed by a similar analysis of obituaries of politicians, which found only one politically inspired metaphor (Heynderickx and Dieltjens 2021).

The fact that there are many studies discussing the negative consequences of a retirement (e.g., depression, identity crisis, substance abuse, decreased self-confidence, and eating disorders (Wylleman, Alfermann and Lavallee 2004)) and coping mechanisms to deal with those consequences (e.g. psychological training programs for athletes approaching retirement or recently retired (Alfermann, Stambulova and Zemaityte 2004)), reveals that the termination of a sports career is not always a success story. Hatamleh (2013) gives the following statistics for Jordanian athletes:

> The majority of athletes (59.62%) were unsatisfied with their decision of retirement, while (40.38%) were satisfied with their decision. The majority estimated their level of satisfaction as low (82.69%), (11.54%) as high and (5.77%) as moderate. (Hatamleh 2013, p. 347)

Although the retirement is obviously a sad occasion for athletes, their entourage and their fans, comparable to the demise of someone, it is not presented in that way. The retiring athletes are being applauded, their accomplishments are put in the spotlight, the negative aspects of their career are ignored. Retirement articles are subject to what Heynderickx and Dieltjens (2016) in their analysis of obituaries in staff magazines label the happiness-sadness paradox: sad events are paradoxically portrayed with positive content and language (e.g. the use of positive nouns and adjectives, of hyperbolic language, of extreme case formulations).

Although the research material is limited in size, this study reveals that retirement articles share characteristics with death discourse. A larger corpus would allow for more quantitative conclusions.

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SHAKESPEARE ON STAGE FOR THE SCREEN AND COLLABORATIVE TRANSLATION:
Cesare deve morire

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Abstract – The focus of this study is translating "for the stage" and, more specifically, the collaborative dimension in the field of translation for a yet-to-be *mise en scène*. After reflecting on the collaboration between several individuals in theatrical translation, this paper will examine on the feature-length film directed by the Taviani brothers that focuses on one of the Rebibbia theatrical experiences and more specifically on the work of the director and screenwriter, Fabio Cavalli. The aim is to understand how a Shakespearean text became a *Julius Caesar* staging within prison walls and later the transposition of the film *Cesare deve morire*, through a series of translations and retranslations where several participants were involved. The analysis of the translated work and the direct account of the theatre director will provide useful insights and understanding.

Keywords: collaborative translation; theatre translation; Shakespeare; regional languages; *Cesare deve morire*.

1. Introduction

Despite the widespread opinion that studies aimed at theatrical translation remain an almost unexplored area of Translation Studies, the investigations and research in this direction begun in the 1960s and have been gaining increased attention since the 1990s.

Momentum in this area occurred with the study carried out by Susan Bassnett (1991) who in 1991 claimed the need to construct a new prospect on a theory for theatrical translation.

Various hypotheses of the rationale for such an initial disinterest on the part of Translation Studies trace this lack of theoretical study back to the relationship between text and performance in a theatrical work, as Bassnett herself (1991) states at the beginning of her paper:

> In the history of translation studies, less has been written on problems of translating theatre texts than on translating any other text type. The generally accepted view on this absence of theoretical study is that the difficulty lies in the nature of the theatre text, which exists in a dialectical relationship with the performance of that same text and is therefore frequently read as something 'incomplete' or 'partially realized'(Bassnett 1991, p. 99).

During the 1960s, academic attention was initially directed at the performability of theatrical translation and, towards the end of the '70s under the influence of Bassnett, the fundamental issues of translation "for the stage" began to be studied. This led to the publication of the first books entirely dedicated to theatrical translation[1] at the beginning of the '80s.

From that moment on, the distinction between the studies referred to as translations "for the page" and translations "for the stage" (Merino 2000) was established and strengthened. These terms defined two different approaches referring to two distinct categories of translators ("philological translators", who translate plays at a verbal level, and "theatre translators" who work at a performance level) (Johnston 2004; Laera 2001) and "separate distribution circuits which condition the translation strategies used" (Espasa 2000, p. 52).

In the translation "for the page", the act of translating is generally "considered as prior to and autonomous from the *mise en scène*" (Espasa 2000, p. 52). The translator offers an interpretation that is not specific but conveys the ambiguities and different possible readings of the prototext by not making certain passages of the text explicit, leaving them as vague as the original author had done before. Moreover, as observed by Suh (2005), when referring to translation "for the page", the main strategy is "a very close (though not literal) translation of the original, such that the target text when compared with its original every utterance/turn of the original has its counterpart in the translation" (Suh 2005, p. 60).

Otherwise, for the stage translations, "the strategies range from deletion, reduction, merging, omission, adaptation, to other manipulations to conform to specific acting fashions" (Suh 2005, p. 60). These will generally have a more domesticating character than "for the page" translations, leading to a translation which is usually related to the specific style of presentation of the company (Espasa 2000).

The object of our study is represented by the translation "for the stage" and, more specifically, the collaborative dimension in the field of translation for a yet-to-be *mise en scène*.

After a reflection in reference to the collaborative between several individuals in theatrical translation, this paper will examine the feature-length film directed by the Taviani brothers, focusing on one of the Rebibbia theatrical experiences and more specifically on the work of the director and screenwriter, Fabio Cavalli. The aim is to understand how a Shakespearean text became a *Julius Caesar* staging within the prison walls and later the transposition of the film *Cesare deve morire*, through a series of translations and retranslations where several participants were involved. The analysis of

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[1] Among these, for relevance and for the echo it had, it is worth remembering Zuber-Skerritt (1980).

the translated work and the direct account of the theatre director will provide useful insights.

2. Collaborative Theatre Translation

If the collaborative dimension has characterized the history of translation practices in a general sense, in some areas, as in the case of theatrical translation "for the stage", the collaborative approach is then fundamental, implying the involvement of various participants, and as such has been studied by Translation Studies scholars.

Starting from the assumption that "translation is and has always been a question of power relationships, and the translator has all too often been placed in a position of economic, aesthetic and intellectual inferiority" (Bassnett 1991, p. 101), Bassnett rejects the idea of Pavis (1989) who asserts, in the case of translation "for the stage", a "*real* translation takes place on the level of the *mise en scène*, in other words, that a theatre text is an incomplete entity" (Pavis 1989, p. 25). This means, according to Bassnett (1991), that the "unfortunate interlingual translator is still left with the task of transforming unrealized text A into unrealized text B, and the assumption here is that the task in hand is somehow of a lower status than that of the person who effects the transposition of written text into performance" (Bassnett 1991, p. 100). Drama text is indeed, in our opinion, an incomplete entity and it can be asserted, as expressed also by Suh, that:

> though operating at different stages in the drama communication chain, the
> communication roles of the drama translator and director are distinct but share
> an identical purpose and that the relationship between these key persons ought
> to be viewed from the perspectives of collaboration and complementarity
> rather than inferiority or superiority in status (Suh 2005, p. 32).

The effective actualization of a foreign play, after the writing of the playwright, through the translation and up to the staging, implies in fact, as stated by Suh, "the concerted action of several intervening persons" (Suh 2005, p. 33) (translators, actors, designers, dramatist, director, decorators, musicians, audience, etc.) "who manipulate, tailor and fine-tune it in accordance with the specific circumstances of each theatricalisation or in order to position the dramatic text within a proposed *mise en scène*" (Suh 2005, p. 33).

Given this collective process of working on a dramaturgical text, translators cannot completely influence the result of their creation, and this is one of the specific features of the work of the drama translator. In fact, it is the other participants involved in the production of the play who influence the final result (Moravkova 1993).

Given such a collaboration between multiple participants, it is easy to understand how the performed translated dramatic work does not belong any more to its initial author alone. It is, indeed, the collective product of several creators: the author, the translator, the director, the actors and the spectators and a perfect understanding must therefore be established among the diverse creators if they want to gain the spectators' admiration (Mbom 1988).

This approach to the foreign dramaturgical text is corroborated by Suh (2005) who, given the collaborative involvement of several participants that characterizes theatre translation for the stage, sees the problem of performability or speakability as a secondary issue for the drama translator. In turn, if the given drama translator doesn't resolve it in the written drama text he has translated then as stated

> in order for the translated version to be performed and for it to be consumed by the target audience just as in the case of the original, it must transit through the other persons involved in the drama communication chain […], who are the people who manipulate, tailor and fine-tune it in accordance with the specific circumstances of each theatricalization or in order to position the dramatic text within a proposed *mise en scene* (Suh 2005, p. 34).

The theatrical translator is required to be equipped with a bicultural competence as well as a capacity for cross-cultural communication, unlike the other participants in their respective efforts towards the rendering of a foreign work for the stage.

Unlike the other participants in the rendering of a foreign work for the stage, an expertise in cross-cultural communication and a bicultural competence is required of the theatrical translator.

Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that even the director can be considered, to all intents and purposes, as an interpreter of the play due to the fact that the director "interprets the words of the original play or those of the translated version into the language of movement and gesture, of voice and facial expression" (Suh 2005, p. 36) and, in this perspective, the director has the task of interpreter and mediator (between the dramatist and the audience) in some ways similar to that of the translator. Moreover, just like the translator, the director can decide which elements he can afford to reject; he can therefore decide to consider certain themes as relevant and others as irrelevant, along with reading "between the lines", choosing what he prefers or considers more appropriate (Regattin 2007).

In the back-and-forth exchange of skills and roles in the collaborative process that leads to the performance of a translated theatrical text, they often generate an overlapping of roles and proximity of tasks. Considering, for instance, the director's responsibility towards the playwright, the text and the spectators, his/her mission can be seen, from certain points of view, as analogous to that of the theatre translator.

Even the power relations between translator (who is for all intents and purposes a co-author) and director should be similar to the one between playwright and director. Both the playwright and the translator in fact generate a text for the director and the whole company to be performed. This aspect is analysed and described by Suh:

> After translating the original incomplete/unrealized play, the drama translator (as the new author) is also obliged in his turn, just as the dramatist did with the original, to entrust the director with the responsibility of completing, actualizing and communicating through the voices and gestures of the actors the message/effect which he has painstakingly interpreted and re-expressed in the target language (Suh 2005, p. 37).

However, despite this "ideal" relationship between the participants in the rendering of a foreign play being translated and performed, in reality, as reported by Bassnett (1980), a low prestige is quite often associated with the translator. Additionally, translation is still usually considered a secondary activity and "as a 'mechanical' rather than a 'creative' process" (Bassnett 1980, p. 2) with consequences, when dealing with theatre practice, as the little prestige accorded to translating and the consequent "subordination of the translation to other production factors" (Espasa 2000, p. 56).

3. *Cesare deve morire*: a case of Shakespearian collective translation

On February 18, 2012, at the closing ceremony of the LXII Berlin Film Festival, *Cesare deve morire* was awarded the highest honor, the Golden Bear. Paolo and Vittorio Taviani's film[2] was made possible thanks to the collaboration with screenwriter and director Fabio Cavalli, who worked within the walls of the Rebibbia prison for about 20 years.

The regional language version of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* created for the film version by the Taviani brothers was the culmination of a long period of collaborative work on translation.

The director and screenwriter Fabio Cavalli knew very well about the risk that could be run with *Cesare deve morire*. This risk, often linked to this type of dialectal transposition, was to remain bound by the tones and sayings and to fall into the "trap" of the dialect's catchphrases, resulting in the detriment of the dramatic tension of the original. This does not happen in the film however; on the contrary, the distinctive elements of the characters and the tone of the discourse remain intact, resulting in an amplification of the dramatic conflict. This is precisely due to the language chosen, which

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[2] Produced by "Kaos Cinematografica", "RAI Cinema" and "Centro Studi Enrico Maria Salerno".

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becomes a vehicle for the emotions, more than just the use of Italian would have allowed.

In 2004, Isabella Quarantotti De Filippo gave Cavalli the possibility of bringing Shakespeare's *The Tempest* to the stage of the actual Rebibbia prison set in the seventeenth-century Neapolitan version by her husband Eduardo (1984). On that occasion, as Fabio Cavalli (2021) recalls, "the protagonists of the show were already the prisoner-actors who would be celebrated years later for the Golden Bear at Berlin 2012" (Cavalli 2021).

In order to understand the collaborative process that had already led to the staging of De Filippo's translation (1984) of *The Tempest* (which was produced with the collaboration of his wife, a native English speaker), let us read a passage from Act I, Scene 2 where Ariel, summoned by Prospero, gives an account of his own magical intervention, which caused the shipwreck of King Alonso's vessel. Eduardo greatly expanded Ariel's line, without changing its basic content. He gave it the rhythm of a rhymed tarantella that the performer on stage cannot avoid, to the point of transforming the piece almost into a song and dance: "*... Me spartevo' e addeventavo / mille fiamme e fiammetelle, /me parevo tale e quale / cumm' 'o ffuoco artificiale: / gravuncielle e gravunelle / chellu ffuoco era Arielle ...*" (De Filippo 1984, pp. 30-31).

Cavalli's recollection (2021) describing the adaptation for the scene clearly points to the collaboration:

> What the *gravuncielle* and *gravunelle* were, was not intuitive. I remember that in adapting the text for the stage, the opinion of two prisoner-actors was useful and they unraveled the mystery: one from Caserta recalled the local tradition of searching the fields for the sparks of the fire of Saint Lawrence - the *gravuncielle*. A Neapolitan clarified that *gravun'* is nothing other than the deformation of coal. So, the two terms were in fact two synonymous variants, juxtaposed as a rhythmic reinforcement (Cavalli 2021).

The questions Cavalli also asks himself are: did Eduardo betray Shakespeare, or did he enhance his verve? Was it Shakespeare's intention to push Ariel so far into the Mediterranean, to the point of making him a *scugnizzo*, an *urchin* spirit?

What is certain is that this translation of *The Tempest* has never been staged (apart from an edition with Carlo Colla's puppets), except by the Teatro Libero of Rebibbia with Fabio Cavalli's inmate-actors, on a prison stage in 2005.

In such a context, as Cavalli (2021) also observes, there were many replicas of the play and flattering reviews were even published in the national press but, after so many years, and without the counterevidence of a new version, the critics have not expressed more on the subject and the question remains whether it was reasonable and culturally permissible to push

Shakespeare so far. One of Eduardo's most illustrious guests, pupil and fellow student, Carlo Cecchi, declared at the time that the one in Rebibbia was the best and perhaps the only way to exalt Shakespeare and Eduardo.

Since that collective experience the path that led to *Cesare deve morire* has been mapped out: *The Tempest* (for which Cavalli found the translation and staging adaptation of the Shakespeare/Eduardo piece practically already done), *Hamlet* and finally *Julius Caesar* for all of which the director tried to translate the adaptation of Shakespeare's work into regional languages in order to involve prisoner-actors in a "cultured" operation, and thus called upon the actors to share their skills with him in dealing with certain "native tongues" such as Sicilian, Neapolitan and Calabrian.

Let us read some passages taken from the play for the cinematographic transposition to better grasp the contribution of the actors to the rendering of Shakespeare's work in regional languages.

"*Addà murì! ...Ca se resta vivo troppo assai chillo Cesare ce fotte a tutti quanti...*"[3]. It is with these words, which give the film its title, that Brutus begins his monologue on the night before Caesar's assassination. Brutus continues: "*...si fosse ppe' me sulamente nun m'importass'i nient' ma chill' se fott'a Roma 'ntera...t'aggie voluto bene assaj'è'o ver.. ma si chill' riesce a mettersi 'a corona 'n'capa, chill' non è più Cesare, chill'addiventa...addiventa...*"[4] and suddenly he stops, as if he couldn't find the words; then he takes the script in his hand and reads: "*... Na-ser-pa-ve-le-no-sa?*"[5] and explodes: "*...No! No! No.... Ca si sbajate battuta è 'n guajo... Chillu chi voja 'ddicere Shecchispir' i ll'aggio capit, ma cume ce ll'aggi'à fa capì a li spettatori...ricomincio*".[6]

As he goes over the lines, Salvatore Striano/Brutus realizes that the rendering is not as convincing as he feels it could be because it does not convey the strength he finds in the original Shakespeare. As such the audience witnesses the genesis of the translation of *Cesare deve morire*, the dissent of the character who is drawing the plot, and the linguistic doubts of the actor who is reading the script.

The Taviani brothers worked with a script that from the initial draft to shooting obviously changed. They first "took possession" of the tragedy *Julius Caesar* and then, after deconstructing and reconstructing it with the

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[3] "He has to die. If he lives, Caesar will defeat us all". Trans. in Paolo Taviani, Vittorio Taviani (directors). (2012) *Cesare deve morire* [movie], Rai Com (subtitles). Unless otherwise indicated, the following translations are taken from the movie's subtitles.

[4] "If it was just about me,/I wouldn't care,/but he will defeat all of Rome./I loved him, it's true,/but if he manages to place a crown on his head,/he is no longer Caesar, but becomes.../becomes..."

[5] "Becomes a poisonous serpent".

[6] "No…/I can't be getting the line wrong./I understand what Shakespeare meant,/but how to get it across to the audience?/It's starting again".

*L*ingue e
*L*inguaggi

scriptwriter (and director of the stage scenes in the movie) Fabio Cavalli, they collaboratively translated the dialogues into the various dialects of the prisoner-actors. At this point, the actors themselves contributed to the text, according to a dynamic that is well described by the Taviani brothers:

> One day we saw, in a cell a little larger than the others, something that made us smile with astonishment and complicity. Six or seven inmates around a table were reading our script, placed in the middle, and were writing. Some of our actors were translating our lines into their own dialect. Standing behind them were other inmates who were not involved in the film but who were helping them as consultants [...]. The inmate-actor and the 'character' became familiar with each other through a common language and were more easily able to rely on the unfolding of the drama, which in Shakespeare always has a popular value too (Fantuzzi 2012, p. 42).

It is therefore a "plural translation" in the sense that both the film directors, Paolo and Vittorio Taviani, the theatre director Fabio Cavalli, just as the actors and the "linguistic consultant-prisoners" were all directly involved in the creation of a work written in a plurality of languages and not in a single dialect, unlike other similar experiments. A peculiarity of the film, in fact, lies in the choral dimension of language and in the effect it produces in the resulting multilingual text derived from it. But with which dialects are the Shakespearean characters recited? With what approach? What effect does this choice have on the actors and, therefore, on the spectator? Let us proceed and analyze step by step.

The protagonists of *Cesare deve morire* do not speak real dialects but different variations and regional jargons (from Liguria, Apulia, Campania and Lazio) that are generated by the encounter between the Italian language and lexical inserts, phonological habits and syntactic constructions of the dialects of origin. A model for them is Eduardo de Filippo (1984) who,[7] regarding his own experience of translation, said: "The actor in me rebelled against the puns that had become meaningless, and so I changed them; at other times I felt the need to add a few lines to better explain certain concepts to myself and to the public" (De Filippo 1984, p. 186).

The prisoner-actors in the Taviani brothers' film show that they assimilated an approach that had already characterized the Neapolitan playwright. In the film, the "domesticating" choice towards the English language is also dictated by the intention of the directors to transmit a "new truth" of the Shakespearean tragedy (Fantuzzi 2012) without impoverishing its high tone. The different dialects mark in fact the individuality of each actor who, although he can recite well in Italian, in his own dialect succeeds

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[7] The company directed by Cavalli in 2012 had already staged De Filippo's Neapolitan translation of *The Tempest* (De Filippo 1984).

in "translating with even greater strength the high languages that animate a great drama such as *Julius Caesar*" (Di Marzio 2012). For these actors, dialect is the native language that brings them closer to the soul of Shakespeare due to a dynamic best described by the actress Iaia Forte who, when speaking about her own experience with dialect, declared, referring to the Florentine actor Carlo Cecchi (who chose Neapolitan as his theatrical language), "whether we were performing Shakespeare or Molière, he always asked us to translate the text into dialect first. He was convinced that in this way our body would find the sense and sound of the lines, and then come to inhabit Italian more naturally and more unashamedly" (Capuani 2012, p. 16). Therefore, dialect proves to be a physical-linguistic means to "inhabit" the Italian language and, thanks to the identification of the actors with the characters, it allows the overlapping of one with the other in an exchange between scenic truth and reality that sometimes risks degeneration, all to the advantage of dramatic strength.

In the case of Rebibbia's Shakespearean translations (but also with Brecht, Tolstoy, Gogol, etc.) the collaboration is explained by Cavalli himself: "the standard procedure is that I translate and adapt the text from the original (or from a translation in the case of Russian). This phase is followed by long translation sessions around a table, with my actors (inmates). Each is urged to rethink a line for how it sounds in their own dialect" (Cavalli 2021).

"Rethinking the line," for Cavalli (2021), means deeply understanding its meaning in the context of the scene, and "the linguistic solution often comes unexpectedly, perhaps from the most uneducated person in terms of general culture. Mastering the familiar vocabulary does not depend on the level of schooling" (Cavalli 2021). However, once the best expression has been defined in the different dialects, the work is not yet finished: the written work needs a style (λέξις). As Cavalli (2021) adds, "it is necessary for a work to have a general coordination, which unifies the rhythm, the cadence and the accent, so that nothing stands out in the agreement between the verbal expressions" (Cavalli 2021).

This briefly described path was the one that led to the definition of the screenplay for *Cesare deve morire*.

Since he had been visiting the prison and its inmate-actors for about a decade, Cavalli was accustomed to the sounds and expressions of the various regional languages of Southern Italy, and so the work of adaptation for *Cesare deve morire* fell to him, and to his interpreters in the theatre.

Another peculiar process, in the case, concerns the relationship between the casting and the translation. In fact, as Cavalli himself explains:

> Outside the prison world I do not know how it works, but on the Rebibbia scene it is necessary that the casting takes place at the same time as the translation. Just think of the expression that has become symbolic of the

Taviani film: "*Cesare 'a dda murì*!". This is how it sounds in Neapolitan. But if the interpreter were Sicilian - Catania-Syracuse area - it would sound like: "*Cisari havi a' mmòriri*!" (proparoxytone). And in Calabrese of the Locride area (with the first vowel "e" of the name Cesare that sounds very open, almost "a"): "*Cesare 'ndavi a morìri*" (flat/closed/paroxytone). As it is well understood, changing the interpreter in progress is overly complicated. If the line has been translated and adapted into Neapolitan, so it should be said. In Calabrese or Sicilian, it would not have remained the symbol of the film. Another one would have been chosen (Cavalli 2021).

Within this context and potentially in similar contexts, the adaptation of the text is therefore participatory, otherwise it does not work. Its translation can only be collective since translators and interpreters overlap, at least partially. The lexicon and syntax of the chosen passages follow the "familiar" language of those who must make the performance authentic. Indeed, in the case of prison theater, translation is a mediation between the text, its interpreter, and the very particular audience of a prison theater. Even so, the move toward cinematic disclosure of *Cesare deve morire* is perhaps too specific to be considered a case study. Certainly, though, it has offered and continues to offer interesting issues on the theme of translation.

4. Conclusion

The difficulty in translating a play, and a literary work in general,[8] from a classical language into a "minor" language lies in the fact that when translating a foreign text, say into Italian, the translator can use either literary written Italian or oral Italian (which generally lowers the register of the original). However, even when written and oral Italian are very similar, the translator can always opt for a nearly formal rendering of the oral language. By contrast, when translating into dialect, this difference between the written and oral register is minimal (if not completely non-existent). For this reason, translation into dialect is often more problematic and requires paraphrasing (Zuccato 2009).

How can the predicament in *Cesare deve morire* be resolved given that the dialect, generally considered "poor" and used almost exclusively for servile daily communication, is used by the Roman noblemen? The director

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[8] We refer to the meaning of "minor language" by Venuti (1988): "I understand 'minority' to mean a cultural or political position that is subordinate, whether the social context that so defines it is local, national or global. This position is occupied by languages and literatures that lack prestige or authority, the non-standard and the non-canonical, what is not spoken or read much by a hegemonic culture. Yet minorities also include the nations and social groups that are affiliated with these languages and literatures, the politically weak or underrepresented, the colonized and the disenfranchised, the exploited and the stigmatized". (Venuti 1998, p. 132)

Cavalli, in the film, when Giovanni/Caesar, in front of the soothsayer who calls him out of the crowd, pronounces his first sentence (“*Sto qua! Sto qua! Chi me cerca?*”[9]), immediately says to his actor: “*D'accordo il dialetto, però non esser volgare, non è un dialetto volgare: è un dialetto, però in bocca a personaggi nobili.*”[10] The actor then repeats the same words three times, modulating his tone. It is thanks to the tone and the acting, in fact, that in the film the dialect becomes a noble and “honorable” language.

On the other hand, Nadiani (2006) wonders, “is it possible that this operation of languages in contact can restore some features of the original work better than a flat version in some sort of pseudo-standard?” (Nadiani 2006). It can, indeed. There is also a popular value in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* that lies precisely in the strong and straightforward language that characterizes the tragedy. We must not forget that, in Shakespeare's time and in ancient Rome, there wasn't much difference among the speakers of the different social classes, between the accents of the “affected” speech of the nobility and those of a popular language? It is Shakespeare who artificially constructs and composes a more complex language. Even the Globe Theatre in London, in recent years, has represented Shakespeare trying to remain faithful to the speech and accents of the Elizabethan era, creating a language halfway between Australian and Cornish, between Irish and Scottish with some nuances of Yorkshire dialects, proposing a language that, although bizarre, was perfectly understandable and appreciable (Boyle 2005).

In the last few years, studies on the translation of theatrical works have focused on describing collaborative practices by intercepting best practices, to arrive at some sort of protocol, that considers the dynamics of the various participants in the performance of a translated play. As we have seen, theatrical translation up to the staging represents a fundamentally collaborative affair and, in some cases, like the one we are examining in this essay, certain dynamics are generated that we could say are successful, judging by the effect they have had on the translated work.

Although theatrical translation has received the attention of scholars in recent decades, studies dedicated to the collaborative dimension in the context of theatrical translation are still very rare. In the case of the theatre, the “translated performance” is considered “in progress” until the moment of the staging. Even the staging is possible thanks to a form of collaboration. It is essentially where the audience becomes the first user of the translated work and, at the same time, a collaborator participating in the creation of the last phase of the translation. A further aspect of collaboration, as in the case of

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[9] “I'm over here! I'm here! Who's looking for me?”

[10] “All right, the dialect, but don't be vulgar: it's not a vulgar dialect: it's a dialect, but in the mouth of noble people”.

The Tempest translated by Eduardo De Filippo (1984) and reproduced by Fabio Cavalli, is that which takes place at a distance, or in absence, between two translators of the same work who converse, even if only in an ideological sense.

Furthermore, if the collaborative experience takes place in prison, the experience of the theatrical group allows participants to experiment with roles and dynamics that are different from those of imprisonment. Collaborative work on a foreign text can even replace "relationship mechanisms based on strength, control and challenges with those linked to collaboration, exchange and sharing".[11]

Within the collaborative process, the translator, unlike any other participant involved in making a play, does not have a clearly defined role in the theatre-making process, and therefore becomes an added person whose function is rarely considered in advance (Gregory 2016).

Added to this is the fact that even though, in theory, collaboration between translator and author would not be impossible, the author is often scarcely aware of the necessary repositioning in the intercultural field and experiences changes to their creation as a threat (Fois 2014).

Such a threat can also be perceived by the drama translator who, as a new author, as stated by Suh, "is also obliged in his turn, just as the dramatist did with the original, to entrust the director with the responsibility of completing, actualizing and communicating through the voices and gestures of the actors the message/effect which he has painstakingly interpreted and re-expressed in the target language" (Suh 2005, p. 37). For this reason, a sort of complicity should be created between the translator and the director and, as underscored by Gravier (1973), consequently the translator should help the director to clarify the issues raised by the text. At the same time the director, for his part, should have an idea of what to do when putting on the play and the translator, his collaborator, should attend the rehearsals and try to share the director's conception of the performance.

What is certain is that there is a need for a new awareness of the actual role of the theatrical translator in the collaborative process that leads to the staging of a translated work. The hope is that this study, besides adding further steps in this direction, may also offer up new pathways for future analysis.

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[11] See Ministero della Giustizia, *Teatro in carcere*, https://www.giustizia.it/giustizia/it/mg_2_3_0_6.page, last modified July 2, 2018 (08.03.2022).

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FRAMING NARRATIVES OF SUFFERING THROUGH METAPHORS

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Abstract: This paper aims to describe narratives of domestic violence, as found on healthtalk.org (an online platform created with the aim of helping other people in a similar situation to fill a cognitive and emotional gap), in order to detect how suffering is framed in discourse. The linguistic relation between state of mind and affect can be narratively framed through metaphorical discursive patterns. The aim of this paper is to detect these metaphorical features in abused people's narratives that best express their experiential cognitive awareness. The quantitative investigation, carried out with WMatrix, and the qualitative analysis underpin the metaphorical patterns evidenced in the described narratives. As will be see, despite various metaphors are employed in these narratives, the leitmotif supporting all these narratives is that CHANGE IS MOTION while STATES ARE LOCATIONS – the possibility for change is only given to abused people when external forces are at stake.

Keywords: framing; metaphors; discourse analysis; medical popularized discourse; corpus linguistics; online health communication.

1. Introduction

The United Nations *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women* (1993) characterizes violence against women as a human rights violation and an impediment to gender-based equality (cf. Gray *et al.* 2019). Nevertheless, domestic violence remains a pervasive social and public health issue globally. As defined by Flitcraft *et al.* (1992) in their *American Medical Association Diagnostic and Treatment Guidelines on Domestic Violence*, domestic or family violence is the type of violence occurring among persons within family or other intimate relationships. It usually results from the abuse of power or the domination and victimization of a physically less powerful person by a physically more powerful person. This may be preceded or accompanied by emotional or psychological abuse as a means of controlling, through fear and degradation. Because the experience of abuse is degrading and humiliating, victims, in particular women, may be reluctant to discuss it with someone who may not take them seriously, who may discount their experience, who may perceive them as deserving the abuse, or who may blame them for staying with their abusers. Recognizing and treating the

effects of domestic violence can help battered women regain control of their lives (Flitcraft *et al.* 1992, pp. 39-47). Breaking away from fear and reluctance by speaking out and seeking the necessary help is not easy, but anti-domestic violence Internet fora can perform socially beneficial and progressive functions in helping to denounce violence, by providing practical mutual help, emotional support and information for victims of domestic violence; and creating a platform for social critique, advocacy, campaigning and mobilization against domestic violence (Chew 2011). This, together with official documents, such as, for instance, the *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women* (1993), can raise people's awareness of the issue of eliminating violence against women.

Different from physical pain, the emotional and psychological suffering deriving from physical abuse is not visible (Bueno-Gómez 2020). This implicitly explains the difference between pain and suffering. While pain is defined as "[a] distressing experience associated with actual or potential tissue damage with sensory, emotional, cognitive and social components*"* (Williams and Craig 2016, p. 2420) which have a decisive influence on pain perception, suffering can be defined as an unpleasant or even anguishing experience, severely affecting a person at a psychophysical and existential level (Bueno-Gómez 2017).

As explained by Herzog (2020), communicating suffering means creating a social narrative containing a condensed story about the self while reflecting the objective difficult conditions of selfhood and bestowing meaning on these conditions. In other words, communicating suffering "requires considering the individual *and* the social, the public *and* the private, the cultural *and* the psychological, as well as the objective harm *and* the subjective reactions to it" (Bueno-Gómez 2020, p. 6; emphasis in the original). Pain and suffering can be seen as subjective, personal and private experiences, and can be almost impossible to assess (cf. Breivik *et al.* 2008) as they resist description in language (cf. Padfield and Zakrzewska, 2017, p. 1177).

In a situation of total absence of any coping modality, people may turn to the Web in an attempt to seek information and make sense of their condition. For most people, the importance of online communities lies in the fact that, there, relevant information can be shared and checked (Langberg 2003). This is one of the objectives of Healthtalk.org, an online forum, developed by the Dipex Charity in partnership with the Health Experiences Research Group[1] at the University of Oxford, which "help[s] millions of

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[1] The Health Experiences Research Group at Oxford University's Nuffield Department of Primary Care Health Sciences is responsible for much of the research that appears on healthtalk.org (https://healthtalk.org/HERG; accessed: November 2021).

people each year to feel better prepared and informed and less alone in what they are going through".[2] Healthtalk.org has, in particular, developed a *Women's experiences of Domestic Violence and Abuse* section on their website as a resource for women who are in an abusive relationship or have been in the past, as well as for friends, family members and professionals who think someone may be in an abusive relationship and want to find out how best to help. On their site,[3] it is explained that:

> Women's accounts reveal that domestic abuse is not just about being 'battered' but is about being subjected to coercive and controlling behaviour, threats to harm the women or their families if they do not comply with their partner's demands, as well as physical, financial, sexual and verbal abuse.

From a linguistics perspective, if communication works, it facilitates positive experiences and improves information, provisions, diagnoses and support; if communication does not work, it obviously results in misunderstandings, misdiagnoses, frustration, anxiety and disempowerment (Semino *et al.* 2018a, p. 7). Support groups generally have guidelines as to empathy-giving and empathy-seeking acts; however, they do not have guidelines in relation to the discursive strategies used in communication by people who share their abuse online. In this regard, Stein *et al.* (2018) claim that people who suffer often have difficulty in articulating their suffering experience and find that the use of metaphors and figurative language can be considered a promising approach to better understand people's experiences of suffering and promote more effective communication.

As claimed by Herzog (2020), when suffering is communicated, people create a social narrative about the self, its difficult interaction with society and the meaning attributed to selfhood in these difficulties. This is seen linguistically as a *mind style*. Demjen (2015, p. 20) clarifies the notion of mind style in a very clear-cut literary overview. The notion of *mind style* was introduced by Fowler (1977, p. 103) to indicate "any distinctive linguistic representation of individual mental self". While Leech and Short (1981, p. 188) refer to this notion as "a realization of narrative point of view" in literary contexts, the concept of mind style has been elaborated by psychology and cognitive sciences to reveal "the construction and expression in language of the conceptualizations of reality in a particular mind" (Bockting 1994, p. 159). The distinction between mind style and world view is explained by Semino (2002, p. 97), who suggests that one's world view is a representation of aspects of ideology determined by external circumstances

(such as, culture, for instance), while mind style captures "those aspects of world view that are primarily personal and cognitive in origin". Boase-Bieier (2003, p. 254) better explains mind style and indicates that "mind style [can be seen] as the linguistic style that reflects a cognitive state. In particular, it is a linguistic style characterized by distinctive and striking textual patterns." Indeed, as Demjen (2015, p. 21) states,

> In principle, almost any persistent pattern of language can be indicative of mind style, but establishing the link requires two interconnected steps: identifying distinctive and systematic linguistic patterns; and linking these patterns to representations of characteristics of an individual mind.

Furthermore, Demjen (2015) says, there is ambiguity over whether mind style refers to linguistic features or people's attribution of those as characteristics of particular minds (Semino 2007) and over whether it is an expression of an unconscious state or a manipulation of language to create the impression of a state (Boase-Beier 2003). In both cases, the two options do not seem to be mutually exclusive. Linguistic patterns and people's interpretations of those are part of the same analytical process. Mind style, as the linguistic representation reflecting a cognitive state (Boase-Bieier 2003), may also mirror the concept of *affective states* (Demjen 2015, p. 3), which "encompasses more than just feeling and might include things like curiosity, uncertainty, excitement, and worry", and which, in the Systemic Functional Grammar sense (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen 2014), are experiences of the social world and are based on specific linguistic patterns (Demjen 2015, p. 26). The relation between mind style as a linguistic style/pattern reflecting a (self) cognitive and affective states in narratives has been explored by Hargitay *et al.* (2007), and further clarified by Demjen (2015, p. 30), who, in relation to self-reference, claims that:

> in narratives of achievement, […] the self is celebrated due to the positive association of acting individually. On the other hand, in narratives of negative life events, the self becomes increasingly important due to the desire to overcome difficulties alone. In both cases it is the importance of the self that is reflected in language. This means that the same phenomenon – a focus on the self – can be representative of different psychological processes depending on the type of story one is telling.

The link between language in use in these narratives of mind style and/or affective states can be revealed through corpus analysis which identifies the linguistic features, metaphors included, used to communicate people's mental state.

Metaphors can be helpful when coming to terms with complex conceptualisations, as theorized in Cognitive Metaphor Theory (CMT) (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980): they contribute to highlighting aspects to be

presented as salient and activating alternative ways of understanding issues (cf. Semino 2008; Semino *et al.* 2018a, 2018b). In this sense, metaphors *frame* the way in which people structure reality (Ensik and Sauer 2003). In particular, metaphors frame health experiences in different ways (Demjen and Semino 2017), by drawing on areas of experience, and therefore help to understand pain and suffering in meaningful ways (Gwyn 1999; Loftus, 2011; cf. also Bullo and Hearn 2021). Furthermore, metaphors have special added value in cases of undefined or invisible illnesses (Bullo and Hearn 2021) or suffering.

Metaphors play an important role in studies of the mind (Barndern 1997). Impressionistic descriptive phenomena are presented as "subjective impressions of relations, qualities, positions and directions in space", resulting in the speaker's "linguistic choices [which] give expression to the association, attitudes, feelings and mood which phenomena release in the perceiver" (Werlich 1976, p. 47), involving, amongst others, the use of metaphors (Demjen 2015). According to CMT, a metaphor is a linguistic phenomenon whereby we speak and potentially think about one abstract entity or conceptual domain in terms of another (Semino 2010). In doing so, metaphors make sense of particular aspects of our lives. As Semino *et al.* (2018) argue, this central function of metaphor is itself often referred to metaphorically as 'framing' (Lakoff 2001; Semino 2008; Cameron *et al.* 2010; Ritchie 2013; cf. Fillmore 1975).

The notion of frame (cf. Goffman 1967; Minsky 1975; Fillmore 1975, 1985) is itself a metaphor (Ensik and Sauer 2003), in that a frame gives space to an object and separates it from its environment. Entman (1993) offers an overarching definition of framing, including the speaker, the text, the receiver and the context. As Semino *et al.* (2018b) underline, framing structures some knowledge about a particular aspect of the world, creating expectations and inferences in communication and action, while tending to be associated with particular lexical and grammatical choices in language (Semino *et al.* 2018b).

To the best of our knowledge, hardly any linguistic research has been carried out in relation to the way in which suffering is communicated in the case of family violence. Therefore, the research question at the core of our investigation is:

> How do victims of family violence linguistically *frame* their suffering experiences in metaphorical discourse?

More precisely, drawing on discourse analysis (Gee 2017), we carried out a corpus-based (McEnery and Hardie 2012; Baker and McEnery 2015) linguistic investigation of the narratives of all domestic violence, as found on healthtalk.org, with the aim of detecting how suffering experiences are framed with metaphors in victims' narratives in an attempt to raise people's

awareness of domestic violence. Drawing on Semino *et al.* (2018b), the approach to framing adopted here takes into consideration the analysis of the 'text' only, realized as choices and patterns in metaphor use in naturally occurring verbal communication. To this end, a qualitative analysis of the discursive patterns in the narratives found has been conducted.

This paper is organised as follows: Section 2 describes the methodological approach applied for the analysis of the findings explained in Section 3, where data interpretation is also discussed. A conclusion is offered in Section 4. The results suggest that the metaphorical patterns evidenced in the described narratives underpin that CHANGE IS MOTION while STATES ARE LOCATIONS – the possibility for change is only given to them when external forces are at stake.

2. Methodological approach

In order to carry out the investigation at the core of this study, we analysed a corpus of texts about domestic violence and suffering selected from a larger corpus of health and illness narratives collected online by the Health Experiences Research Group at the University of Oxford and published by the DIPEx charity.[4] Since all content published on the http://healthtalk.org site is the sole property of DIPEx, consent to use their data for the purposes of this research was sought from DIPEx, which was granted. Permission to download, use and archive collected texts from healthtalk.org to carry out the present research was granted by the Health Experiences Research Group and by the DIPEx charity that runs the website.

More precisely, we downloaded all available texts (transcriptions of the victims' oral narratives) about women's experiences for a total of 39 women aged 27–62 years, forming a corpus of 95,540 running words (5,491 types). In order to carry out a corpus linguistic investigation, all texts were read to allow a better contextualization of the content and, if video was available, this was watched. All downloaded narratives are indicated with a letter of the alphabet followed by a number indicating the person's age. All texts were transformed into .txt files to allow uploading them to WMatrix (Rayson 2008, 2009), a free online tool for corpus analysis and comparison created by the University of Lancaster[5] and with the aim of identifying key semantic categories (SemTags) to be considered for their relevance in indicating mind styles as framed through metaphors (cf. Demjén 2015 and Biber 1988; see also Patterson 2020). A comparison between our corpus and the British National Corpus sampler spoken (982,712 words) with a Log Likelihood

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[4] Available at: http://healthtalk.org/home (accessed: November 2021).
[5] Available at https://ucrel-wmatrix4.lancaster.ac.uk/ (accessed November 2021).

(LL)[6] statistical test resulted in the identification of 167 key SemTags (72,017 concordance lines). A cut-off point was determined using an LL test with a value of 6.63, which indicates with 99 per cent certainty (p≤0.01) that the results are not due to chance (Rayson 2009). This yielded 84 key SemTags (307 cluster lines, showing the concordances for each word listed in the SemTags). All concordance lines in the key SemTags have been analyzed from a semantic perspective and the correspondence between each word and its semantic domain manually checked; this allowed us to check for metaphorical expressions following the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) (Pragglejaz 2007), a method for recognizing metaphorically used terms in both spoken and written language by identifying a lexical unit's connection in the discourse and recognizing its use as metaphorical in a certain context.

Metaphor identification was then expanded to consider linguistic metaphorical patterns in context. This procedure allowed us to identify eight key SemTags containing 3,327 concordances with a metaphorical meaning, grouped into 119 metaphorical clusters/ expressions, as shown below:

Item	SEMTAG Meaning	O1	1%	O2	2%	LL	LogRatio	Metaphorical clusters
M1	Moving, coming and going	1,570	1.64	12,692	1.29 +	76.15	0.35	40
X8+	Trying hard	210	0.22	1,213	0.12 +	51.98	0.83	9
A1.1.2	Damaging and destroying	110	0.12	524	0.05 +	45.37	1.11	6
X2.2+	Knowledgeable	700	0.73	5,481	0.56 +	43.06	0.39	18
W2	Light	8	0.01	0	0.00 +	38.78	7.36	6
W2-	Darkness	6	0.01	0	0.00 +	29.08	6.95	5
O2	Objects generally	519	0.54	4,156	0.42 +	27.11	0.36	15
X9.2-	Failure	46	0.05	207	0.02 +	21.46	1.19	20
TOTAL		*3,327*						*119*

Table 1
Breakdown of SemTags and metaphorical clusters.

Table 1 shows the type of SemTag as indicated in WMatrix, in the first column; in the second one, the general meaning the Semtag has according to WMatrix classification. In the third column, O1 is the observed frequency in our corpus; in the fifth column, O2 is observed frequency in the BNC (sampler spoken); 1% and 2% values (fourth and sixth columns, respectively) show the relative frequencies found in the texts of our corpus (O1) and the BNC corpus (O2). Where + is shown, it indicates overuse in O1 relative to

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O2. LL indicates the Log Likelihood value, while the LogRatio column shows how big or important the difference (computed by the LL) of the relative frequency of the same item between our corpus and the BNC corpus is. The last column shows the clusters, that is the list of words per SemTag found in the corpus under investigation, which have a metaphorical realization. As Rayson indicates (2009), the frequency cut-off point is five words. Therefore, only SemTags containing ≥ 5 items have been analysed. This resulted in the identification of metaphorical patterns in the corpus under investigation as depicted in Table 2, below:

Item	SEMTAG Meaning	Metaphorical clusters	Corpus metaphorical items	Corpus metaphorical patterns
M1	Moving, coming and going	40	Journey; Move on; Go through; Step	JOURNEY /CHANGE IS MOTION
X8+	Trying hard	9	Struggle; Battle	DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPONENTS
A1.1.2	Damaging and destroying	6	Break down; Collapse	RELATIONSHIPS ARE A BOUNDED SPACE
X2.2+	Knowledgeable	18	Look back	UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING
W2	Light	6	(Absence of) Light	GOOD IS BRIGHT/BAD IS DARK
W2-	Darkness	5	Darkness	GOOD IS BRIGHT/BAD IS DARK
O2	Objects generally	15	Trigger	TRIGGERS ARE EXTERNAL FORCES
X9.2-	Failure	20	Break down (verb); Lose; Feeling lost; Getting lost	- RELATIONSHIPS ARE A BOUNDED SPACE - ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS
TOTAL		**119**		

Table 2
Breakdown of SemTags and metaphorical patterns.

Given that our interest in this study is not in unveiling information about the narrative genre as a whole, but about the metaphorical data characterizing our corpus, only key features of the corpus will be taken into consideration.

Where metaphorical concordances are presented, they are representative samples of complete concordances.

3. Data analysis and discussion

The metaphors found in the victims' narratives as described in the previous section (see Table 2) can be summarized as the following patterns:

1. JOURNEY/ CHANGE IS MOTION;
2. DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPONENTS;

3. GOOD IS BRIGHT/ BAD IS DARK;
4. UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING;
5. RELATIONSHIPS ARE A BOUNDED SPACE;
6. BEING CONSCIOUS IS BEING HERE;
7. ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS;
8. EXTERNAL FORCES ARE TRIGGERS.

As can be seen, all patterns, except the last one, are quite familiar (cf. also Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

All 39 victims describe their experience as a JOURNEY they went on:

(1)   Yeah, yes, it was, it was a **journey […]** You know, it was, it wasn't easy because the children didn't know, and at that point, they still had contact with their dad. (B32)

(2)   I do think, not being nasty, there should be people like, how should I put it, like myself who's been **through it**. (AD50)

(3)   So, I would just kind of **go through** that emotion and then a few days after an incident, I would just kind of pick myself up and I just … I always have hope. (B32)

(4)   Accept what's happened to you and **move on** and do as much self-healing that [sic] you can. (AB45)

In this JOURNEY they went on (no.s 1-3), they found it difficult to end the relationship until they found some help (no. 4). It was only by completing this JOURNEY that they became aware of the possibility of change. The idea they are conveying is that there is a correlation between their location in life and how they felt: as indicated by the verbs and prepositions they are using, the spatial movement from one point to another is the metaphorical realization of CHANGE. Indeed, CHANGE IS MOTION (while STATES ARE LOCATIONS). Once they became aware of a change in the world-state around them, they could end the relationship.

As claimed by Grady (1997), in our experiences of motion through space, we constantly negotiate obstacles of every sort, choosing which way to go. In this JOURNEY leading to the end of an abusive relationship, the obstacles are seen as difficulties realized in the metaphorical pattern DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPONENTS, mixed with the WAR metaphor, with lexical items such as *struggle* and *battle*:

(5)   Everything, like all my fears had come true. You know what I mean. I, I'm not safe anymore. And I was just so upset because he knew how much I **struggled** with feeling safe and he just left me vulnerable and didn't even care. (AH30)

(6)   Well, it had been 20 years of just constant **battles**. (L57)

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The metaphors used in excerpts (5) and (6) show the correlation existing between feelings of strain and discomfort and physical struggle. These examples suggest that the metaphorical conceptualization of an abusive relationship, perceived as an opponent problem, can be experienced as opposed to a specific sequence of tactical manoeuvres (cf. Grady 1997, p. 145). The overall picture is that of personal and subjective frustration which accompanies difficulty in achieving goals.

As victims move through their JOURNEY, they perceive that their experience is characterized by spotlights and by darkness. In this depiction, an abusive experience is also represented following a GOOD IS BRIGHT/ BAD IS DARK pattern, where it is clear there is a correlation between light and safety, dark and danger, as revealed in example (7), below:

(7)   I think that probably we need to acknowledge that rather than pretending that we have, we have arrived at some – the sort of the **darkness** to life. Well, they call it the **darkness** to **light** narrative, that there was the **dark** and now we're in the **light**. You know, we're not in the **light**. We're still in the **darkness**. (X32)

As they move through safety, typically in a forwards direction, they encounter new settings which then become our "here and now". 'Here' is light opposed to 'there' as darkness. Furthermore, they can understand this because they 'look back' on their experience from the position they are in now. This is indicated by a KNOWING/ UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING pattern, showing a correlation between visual perception and conscious awareness of information:

(8)   And once I realised the enormity of the situation and then **looked back** as to what I'd put up with, I couldn't believe it. You know, I was a totally different person when I came towards the end as what I was in the beginning. (J46)

Examining a previous course of action through *look back* is a sort of backwards motion (plus visual inspection). At the same time, the reference is to the past: there seems to be a cognitive correspondence between the past and the concept of 'back' or 'behind', which helps people to understand the present (cf. Grady 1997).

If one's awareness of being in an abusive relationship can be raised through a personal process indicated as a journey, where people move from one state to another through light and darkness, living in an abusive relationship is indicated by victims as a BOUNDED SPACE (excerpts 9 and 10):

(9)   After I left him. I didn't know that just being controlling was abusive behaviour. And I couldn't **step outside** the relationship and see what was happening. (W54)

(10)   he blamed the **breakdown** of the relationship on the fact that I, well, he said, I needed psychological help. (AJ39)

The boundaries of a space here represented as a relationship can be perceived as the walls of a container whose boundaries cannot be overpassed (9), and, if not stable, can be broken (10): exactly as shaky buildings are at risk of collapse, so are weak relationships. The relationship is seen as a system, and its collapse is perceived as a failure of the system to function.

Similarly, people are sometimes represented as if being without foundations, because, exactly like a building, they can collapse. In this way, the victim's frailty or identity is revealed as a collapsing building:

(11)   …he was literally just belittling me and just trying to **break** me **down** to the point where I felt like I had to do it. (AH30)

This frailty reveals the victim's perception of the negation of the self via the metaphor ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS:

(12)   I really did think that I'd **lost** my mind. (Q35)

(13)   You know, I **feel** so **lost** and so confused from being with him that I just feel like I just have to pick up the pieces. (AH30)

(14)   And every time you do that a little bit of you **gets lost**. (J46)

Identity is conceived as something which can be possessed. Indeed, the pattern "ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS arises from a recurring experience of forming gestalt impressions of people which includes the other objects closely associated with them" (Grady 1997, p. 111).

It is thanks to a TRIGGER that the victim is able to arrive at a new life, as can be seen in excerpts (15)–(17) below:

(15)   The **trigger** would have been the final time when he hurt my back. (I59)

(16)   Something **triggered**, something massive, I can't remember what it was exactly, but I had enough and I told him that I wanted to break up with him. (Z32)

(17)   But the **trigger** […] was [when] he said to me, "The children are going to be moving upstairs and you're going to have nothing to do with them." (W54)

Although a *trigger* activates a cascade of events and gives a sense of inevitability or of inexorability, it is a mechanical external force which goes beyond the victim's control. It is true that, once the trigger is activated and the events have been set in motion, the perpetrator of the abusive relationship is defenceless and cannot do anything about that. Nevertheless, it gives the victim no power: as revealed by the examples above, the trigger is never activated by the victim but rather by some events done *to* the victim.

4. Conclusion

This study investigates how domestic violence victims' narration is framed through metaphorical representations of their experience. The quantitative analysis has revealed the exploitation of the JOURNEY metaphor to describe the experience of an abusive relationship. The presence of a JOURNEY perceives "experience" in the absence of a temporal dimension: while change to freedom is motion, experiencing an abusive relationship is like staying in a building without foundations, which can collapse. The metaphorical mapping between life or experiences and journeys is therefore based on some basic, local mappings. As it was shown in the previous section, not only is the relationship a shaky place, but also the victims are frail and weak like old ruins: they can collapse and break down. This is only understood when battered victims consider retrospectively their experience from the new 'position' which the JOURNEY has granted them. Along this JOURNEY, darkness embraces what is bad, whereas light, the place where people are at the end of the JOURNEY, is what is good.

Although the narrative of an abusive relationship and the difficult steps towards freedom are depicted with the traditional JOURNEY metaphor, by means of which the victim is able to move forwards and becomes aware of the dangers in it because the movement has allowed her to understand (by looking *back* to her previous position in the past) that the relationship has weak foundations, shakes the person's identity, and where is the main clause? the possibility to achieve the ultimate goal is triggered by something. The Oxford English Dictionary online[7] first recorded the word *trigger* in 1621 as "A movable catch or lever the pulling or pressing of which releases a detent or spring, and sets some force or mechanism in action, e.g. springs a trap." The first metaphorical use of the word dates back to 1706, with the meaning of "taking advantage of a situation". Nowadays, this figurative sense can also be used to indicate an understanding of everyday distress. However, as found in our corpus, *trigger* underlines a lack of agency – which in most cases is also evoked by its use in passive constructions. Awareness of any form of abusive behaviour is *triggered* by something else, an external force over which the victim has no control.

These narratives, while reflecting the mind style of the victims, frame the reality they have experienced, one over which they have had no control until the end of their JOURNEY.

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[7] https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.unibg.it/view/Entry/206003?rskey=cwHI9I&result=2#eid
(accessed November 2021)

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LA TRADUZIONE DELL'ONOMASTICA PERSONALE E IL SUO APPORTO ALLA TEORIA DEL NOME PROPRIO

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Abstract – This paper addresses the theoretical problem of proper name in linguistics regarding the translation of personal names. The different strategies of onomastic adaptation are focused on following the theory of translation as a fuzzy set suggested by Giuliana Garzone. The study case of how Disney characters' names are translated in Italian is also approached, expanding models and motivations underlying their linguistic choices and creations.

Keywords: proper name; onomastics; Namengebung; theory of translation; Disney cartoons.

1. Premessa

Tra i fenomeni che riguardano il nome proprio (NP), uno fra i più frequenti, e tuttavia poco considerato come fenomeno strutturale in sé, è la sua traducibilità. Parlare di «traducibilità» del NP è già implicitamente un modo di considerare questa categoria secondo una prospettiva pienamente linguistica - oggi pienamente assodata - contro una vecchia concezione del NP come mera "etichetta" extralinguistica dotata della sola funzione di individuazione[1]. La vecchia concezione del NP come etichetta derivava da una visione superficiale delle modalità di denominazione della persona diffuse in Occidente, dove il NP era considerato un elemento fisso,

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[1] A esempio si veda la definizione di Migliorini (1927, p. 5): "(…) il nome proprio non significa nulla se considerato nei suoi elementi lessicali, ma il suo significato equivale al concetto dell'individuo a cui si riferisce. Potremmo esprimere questo in una parola dicendo che il nome è un''etichetta'." Concezione ripresa ancora alle soglie degli anni '80 da De Felice (1978, p. 10): "I nomi di persona, nomi individuali e cognomi, hanno perso, oramai da molti secoli, ogni funzione significativa linguistica, e quindi il loro etimo, il loro fondamento e significato lessicale - se sussiste - non ha più alcun ruolo, alcun rilievo o interesse; la loro funzione è ormai esclusivamente identificativa, extralinguistica: i nomi e i cognomi sono etichette che identificano all'interno di una collettività rispettivamente un individuo e un gruppo familiare (o un individuo come appartenente a un gruppo familiare)." E in tempi più recenti tale idea sembra comunque persistere, nonostante i nuovi orientamenti, vedi Meacci 1995, p. 23.

immutabile e privo di significato. La rigidità di questa concezione era solo in parte mitigata dalla presenza del soprannome e dello pseudonimo, dei quali al contrario si ammetteva la trasparenza (Torriani 1923, Migliorini 1927, De Felice 1978, Meacci 1995). Gli studi sulle società tradizionali o su quelle extraeuropee ('etniche') hanno invece offerto nuovi e diversi sistemi onomastici da confrontare con quelli occidentali 'istituzionali', fornendo un apporto fondamentale per l'ampliamento dello sguardo teorico sul NP (Lévi-Strauss 1964, Cardona 1989, Prosdocimi 1989, Caprini 2001).

Il NP è in sé un universale linguistico (Brown 1991) benché i diversi sistemi onomastici appaiano basati su principi differenti, sia di ordine formale che culturale ('ideologico' secondo Prosdocimi 1989). Numerosi sono stati i tentativi di definirlo, secondo prospettive di vario orientamento: i criteri presi in considerazione sono la semanticità, il rapporto col lessico comune e con le altre categorie linguistiche, la referenzialità, la definitezza, il comportamento sintattico (Fabrizio 2013, p. 10).

Lo scopo di questo lavoro è analizzare se e in quale misura la questione della traducibilità del NP possa metterne in evidenza alcuni aspetti funzionali, partendo da uno studio affrontato da Giuliana Garzone (2007, 2015), la resa in italiano dei nomi dei più noti personaggi Disney, inquadrato dall'autrice come illustrazione emblematica della sua visione della traduzione come *fuzzy set*. Prima di passare in rassegna le traduzioni dei nomi analizzate da Garzone, verranno delineate le più note strategie di traduzione del NP ponendole all'interno dell'orizzonte epistemologico del *fuzzy set*.

2. La traduzione del nome proprio: prototipi e periferie

La traducibilità del NP, come abbiamo premesso, si accorda bene alla concezione della traduzione come *fuzzy set* esposta in Garzone 2015. La teoria del *fuzzy set* ('insieme sfocato') prende le mosse dagli studi di Zadeh (1965, 1971) condotti a partire dalla teoria dell'informazione. Applicando lo schema del *fuzzy set* al lessico si delinea il *fuzzy concept*, caratterizzato da un prototipo centrale dal quale ci si allontana gradualmente verso una periferia sempre meno somigliante ad esso: se il prototipo centrale predica che *un canarino è un uccello*, verso la periferia si può predicare che *un pollo è un uccello*, *un pinguino è un uccello*, e ancora verso zone sempre più esterne che *un pipistrello è un uccello*, fino alla zona fuori dall'insieme sfocato dove troviamo che *una mucca è un uccello* (Lakoff 1972, 1987). Il *fuzzy set* si accorda pienamente alla visione prototipica delle categorie cognitive proposta da Lakoff, Langacker e Rosch negli anni '70 e '80 e comporta ricadute linguistiche, oltre che logiche e psicologiche. Il *fuzzy concept* obbliga infatti a considerare espressioni linguistiche come "una sorta di", "in un certo senso",

"in senso stretto", "tecnicamente", "per eccellenza", "tipico", che Lakoff chiama *hedge* ('siepi'); espressioni che allargano o restringono i criteri secondo i quali una certa entità può essere assegnata a una categoria.

Se questa visione *fuzzy* è accettabile per il lessico, può essere applicata anche al complesso fenomeno della traduzione. Applicare qui il criterio del *fuzzy set*, come ha proposto Garzone, comporta una metariflessione, per cui l'insieme sfumato non riguarda più solo gli elementi semantici in sé, ma anche le strategie cognitive messe in atto per gli equivalenti traduttivi. Il significato lessicale, in quest'ottica, non può essere studiato all'interno di una singola metodologia, ma secondo fattori di ordine anche psicologico, sociale e pragmatico, che insieme contribuiscono a delineare i fenomeni linguistici (Tabossi 1981). Ciò che appare al centro del *fuzzy set* è la traduzione letterale, più dipendente dagli aspetti semantici, mentre verso la periferia sfumata si porranno i casi di adattamento e ri-creazione linguistica, più legati agli aspetti sociali e pragmatici. Nel caso specifico del NP, i rapporti centro-periferia del *fuzzy set* sono peculiari: dove si pone la trasposizione non-tradotta e non-adattata dell'elemento onomastico, al centro o in un punto più sfumato dell'insieme?

Prosdocimi (1989), che ha tenuto conto dei sistemi onomastici delle società etniche, di quelle antiche e dei personaggi di invenzione, definisce il NP come l'espressione linguistica di un "individuo culturale", a fondamento del quale può esservi un individuo fisico (se la persona è reale). Questo principio di fondo in teoria escluderebbe a priori la traduzione del NP (Prosdocimi 1989, p. 44), pena la perdita dei legami culturali identitari di chi lo porta. Tuttavia, la traduzione / trasposizione del nome può avvenire, e, quando avviene, sembra un fenomeno normale; quando il NP è formato da lessico trasparente, questo viene tradotto, con l'avvertenza che ciò che è tradotto è in realtà la vicariazione, la 'materia bruta' (il lessico), e non il NP in quanto tale. Fra onomastica e lessico si ha infatti una continua interferenza, specialmente in presenza di ideologie culturali specifiche (Rocca 2013). *Fortinbras* (formazione ibrida anglofrancese, *fort in bras*), nome del principe di Norvegia nella tragedia di Amleto, ad esempio, è tradotto in italiano come *Fortebraccio*. In assenza di lessico trasparente la trasposizione è su un altro piano, come nel caso di it. *Guglielmo* o fr. *Guillaume* rispetto a ted. *Wilhelm*. La trasposizione, schematizzando Prosdocimi (1989, pp. 44-45), si può dunque porre su un *continuum* che va dalla traduzione all'adattamento fonotattico a gradi diversi:

dal massimo		al minimo	(e all'estremo)
← -- →			
Yang Tze Kiang > Fiume Giallo		*Wilhelm > Guglielmo*	*Leibniz > Leibnitius*
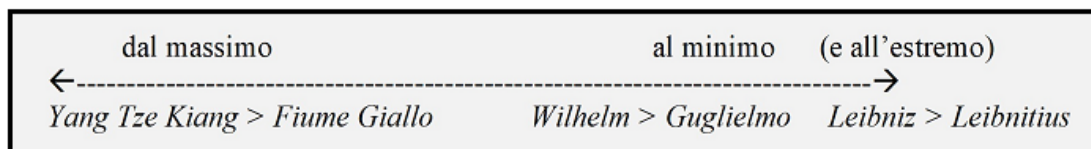
Verso la polarità sinistra di questo *continuum* si innestano alcune specifiche strategie di trasposizione del NP presenti in tutte le epoche storiche fra i bilingui e gli immigrati: i 'nomi di traduzione' e i 'nomi di assonanza' (Keune 1898, Dondin-Payre e Raepsaet-Charlier 2001). Ad esempio, nell'alto medioevo troviamo cognomi derivati da nomi personali di origine latina, come *Agnellus* 'agnello', *Leo* 'leone', *Lupus* 'lupo', *Ursus* 'orso' e *Porcus* 'porco', ma secondo G. Arcamone (1995, p. 15) i cognomi derivati da *Lupus* e *Ursus* (*Lupo, Lupi, Lupetti, Lupatti, Orso, D'Orso, Orselli, Orsetti, Orsini*) potrebbero anche essere traduzioni parziali di antroponimi di origine germanica (composti con *wulfa- = *lupus* e *bera- = *ursus*) diffusi in Italia nell'alto medioevo insieme all'onomastica personale gotica, longobarda, francone e di altre stirpi germaniche che furono presenti nella penisola.

I nomi di assonanza sono invece trasposti tramite omofonia e somiglianza. Questi nomi sono creati per adattarsi e 'mimetizzarsi' in un nuovo ambiente culturale, come è il caso di molti nomi studiati nell'Impero Romano, in cui persone di origine celtica o germanica sceglievano un nome latino che richiamava il proprio nome originario per pura assonanza: ad esempio, un individuo celtico che aveva nel nome la base lessicale del 'cavallo', celt. *marco*-, poteva passare a un nome di assonanza latino *Marcus*, quasi del tutto omofono al significante celtico. Questi nomi propri sono stati definiti da Weisberger 1969 come 'nomi di copertura' (*Decknamen*) perché funzionali alla mimetizzazione culturale operata dall'individuo. Ma il NP di partenza può anche costituire semplicemente uno spunto per la creazione di un nuovo nome riconducibile alla stessa persona: è il caso dei particolarissimi nomi d'assonanza in lingua dei segni, per cui un sordo francese di nome George può avere per segno-nome il segno GORGE 'gola'. Il rapporto di somiglianza si instaura, sul piano vocale ma anche meramente grafico, fra i due significanti francesi *George* e *gorge*, e il secondo viene poi reso dal segno gestuale corrispondente (Muscariello 2017). I nomi di assonanza mostrano modalità di realizzazione simili a quelle del calco omonimico o prestito camuffato (Gusmani 1981, Bombi 2005) per il lessico comune: la differenza è che il modo di operare specifico del NP fa sì che la somiglianza si limiti alla forma esterna dell'elemento linguistico, senza, ovviamente, conseguenze sull'estensione (la persona individuata infatti resta la stessa).

3. Nome proprio e teoria dell'interferenza

Il mantenimento del NP originale, non tradotto e non adattato, va posto oltre la polarità estrema *Leibniz > Leibnitius*: questo adattamento minimo connota l'individuo culturale tedesco Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz come individuo culturale di tutta la cultura europea, che all'epoca riconosceva nel latino la comune lingua d'elezione. Casi più recenti di adattamento estremo per sottrazione riguarda le formule onomastiche originarie: una russa Olga Beckmannova può diventare in inglese Mrs. Beckmann, anziché Mrs. Beckmannova (Harris 2004), poiché il suo cognome viene ricondotto alla forma maschile base (la morfologia del femminile è marcata in russo). Inoltre la formula onomastica trimembre russa (*nome + patronimico + cognome*) viene ridotta alla formula *nome + cognome*, con l'eliminazione del patronimico.

Oltre questi adattamenti sulla polarità estrema, rimane il territorio ancora più rarefatto dei confini del *fuzzy set*, che vede il mantenimento del NP originale, sia di un individuo fisico sia di un personaggio d'invenzione. Questi meccanismi traduttivi, nel complesso, mostrano come i nomi propri in questo caso non si comportino diversamente dal nome comune, mostrando la medesima pluralità di criteri su cui fondare la trasposizione o la possibilità di non-traduzione, lasciando che la parola mantenga un'identità estranea al sistema linguistico-culturale d'arrivo. Si ha quindi una vera e propria sovrapposizione con la teoria dell'interferenza, con la possibilità di prestiti, calchi, adattamenti, (ri)creazioni neologiche, concorrenza di più forme: tutte le possibilità previste dal contatto linguistico (Weinreich 1953, Gusmani 1981). Senza tralasciare nemmeno la possibilità dei prestiti di lusso, o, come secondo la definizione più corretta di Tagliavini, 'di moda' (Orioles 2015): un esempio è rappresentato dalla nuova concorrenza, in italiano, *New York ~ New York City*. Se prima la distinzione fra la città e lo stato di New York era lasciata a specificazioni lessicali ("New York" era sufficiente di per sé a intendere la città, o al massimo "città di New York" ~ "lo stato di New York", quasi sempre marcato), negli ultimi tempi ha fatto il suo ingresso in italiano anche il sintagma *New York City*, attraverso la mediazione dei mezzi di comunicazione. *New York City* è dunque un NP non tradotto 'di moda', rispetto al concorrente *New York* o alla vecchia espressione *Nuova York*, semi-calco ormai obsoleto.

4. Variabilità del nome proprio

L'estensione del *fuzzy set* traduttivo alla categoria del NP si accorda anche col concetto di mutamento: il NP può variare all'interno di una cultura, come

è stato sottolineato dagli etnologi, sicché uno stesso individuo fisico (o entità) può avere più nomi o formule onomastiche in base a diversi contesti sociali o assumerne di nuovi a seguito dell'assunzione di un nuovo status, che implica un individuo culturale diverso dal precedente (Prosdocimi 1989, p. 55). Ad esempio, *Rodrigo Borgia*, pur nella continuità dell'individuo fisico, diventa *Alessandro VI* con l'elezione a Papa (Prosdocimi 1989, p. 39)[2]. Un altro esempio è l'assunzione del cognome del marito da parte della moglie con il matrimonio (fenomeno molto marcato nel mondo anglosassone).

Peculiare, inoltre, il caso dei racconti di invenzione che riguardano il 'doppio': per indicare due diverse personalità, al personaggio vengono attribuiti due nomi propri che delineano due individui culturali con caratteristiche opposte, o che non hanno molto in comune (Terrusi 2015).

Ma anche l'individuo fisico che si trova in relazione con comunità linguistiche differenti assume diversi nomi: un esempio tipico è quello del sordo, che alla nascita ha, come tutti, un nome proprio ufficiale nella lingua vocale della nazione e ne riceve poi un altro in lingua dei segni, all'interno della comunità sorda segnante (Russo Cardona e Volterra 2007, Muscariello 2017). Un esempio d'invenzione è quello del personaggio di *Grampasso* nella saga del Signore degli anelli di J.R.R. Tolkien: il personaggio ha infatti l'eteronimo *Dúnadan*, che significa 'Uomo dell'Ovest' in lingua elfica (Calefato 2006, p. 43). Questi fenomeni facilitano quindi la possibilità di trasporre un NP mediante una neoformazione in un'altra lingua, con una diversa attribuzione di tratti salienti nell'individuo culturale.

5. Dare il nome, usare il nome

Alla base di qualsiasi attribuzione del nome va posto il concetto di "battesimo" secondo la definizione in Kripke 1972[3], che lo intende come aspetto performativo del NP: grazie alla nominazione, il NP diventa indessicale e chi lo porta entra nella storia (che sia da intendersi come *Geschichte* o come *Erzählung*, Prosdocimi 1989). Con il battesimo, il NP diventa referenziale rispetto a un determinato individuo culturale: esso non è

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[2] È stato Brunone, cugino di Ottone imperatore, eletto il 3 maggio del 996 con il nome di Gregorio V, a istituzionalizzare il cambio del nome come tappa obbligatoria per il Papa, come una sorta di 'seconda nascita'. Il primo Papa della storia a cambiare nome fu un prete di s. Clemente chiamato Mercurio o Mercuriale, che il 2 gennaio 533 fu consacrato Pontefice col nome di Giovanni II perché il nome originario era troppo legato al mondo pagano (Meacci 1995, p. 23).

[3] Non è questa la sede per discutere della definizione kripkiana di nome proprio come 'designatore rigido'. Risulta vantaggiosa, anche per le notevoli ricadute pragmatico-linguistiche, la connessione fra battesimo e referenzialità, valida anche in questo discorso sulla traducibilità del NP.

pertinente soltanto all'aspetto di *Namengebung* ma anche a quello pragmatico di una presentazione ("Ti presento X", "Mi chiamo X"). Il NP è indifferente alla *praesentia*: è un operatore *in praesentia* durante un appello, un'allocuzione o una tassonomia in atto (ad esempio l'attribuzione di posti a teatro), altrimenti, al di fuori di questi usi pragmatici, è invece un tipico individuatore *in absentia* (Prosdocimi 1989, pp. 43-44). Tutti questi fenomeni pragmatici sono dei "battesimi". È la definizione peirceana di NP (*rhematic*, *indexical*, *legisign*) che racchiude tutte queste caratteristiche e attribuisce il valore identitario a una storia (Weber 2008, p. 352).

Il fondamentale collegamento alla 'storia' ha delle ricadute sui casi di personaggi 'doppi', noti nella letteratura, che palesano quindi due nomi e due 'storie' diverse, o due modi di interpretare una stessa storia in base alle personalità espresse, pur nell'identità dello stesso individuo. Ma più interessante, e frequente, anche il caso contrario (Muscariello 2021): nel sistema onomastico antico romano vi sono casi di uno stesso nome attribuito a coppie di persone fra loro in relazione, in cui una persona porta il nome in forma latina e l'altra in forma greca (ad esempio un padre e un figlio chiamati *Phosphorus* e *Luciferus*, che indicano entrambi la 'stella del mattino', ma letteralmente "portatore di luce"). In questo caso questa strategia onomastica particolare tende a 'sdoppiare', per varie ragioni, uno stesso individuo culturale utilizzando lo stesso nome e sfruttando varietà diverse per mantenere l'individuazione. È il caso in cui possono ricadere le coppie gemellari, intese in molte culture come uno stesso individuo 'raddoppiato'. Il principio non è dissimile dalla strategia di riattribuzione ai nuovi nati dei nomi dei defunti in molte società contadine, per cui con la *Namegebung* si "rifà il morto" (Caprini 2001).

6. L'iconicità nel NP

Al NP pertiene anche il fenomeno dell'iconicità. Questa può essere intesa diversamente a seconda del sistema onomastico in uso ma, sul piano pragmatico, occorre distinguere una iconicità "diretta" e una iconicità "rovesciata" (Fabrizio 2013). La prima pertiene anche al nome comune: l'espressione linguistica del NP va quindi a descrivere caratteristiche proprie della persona (o dell'entità) che lo porta. Nelle società occidentali questo aspetto è legato al soprannome, nella comunità sorda segnante gran parte dei segni-nome sono costruiti sul principio dell'iconicità (Russo Cardona e Volterra 2007, Muscariello 2017). Nel caso del NP si può parlare anche di "descrizioni compendiate" (Searle 1958).

L'iconicità rovesciata è invece strettamente legata all'ideologia onomastica del *nomen omen*, che richiede che sia la persona che porta il

nome ad adeguarsi ad esso, somigliandovi o portando a compimento il destino rappresentato dal significato o dalla storia connessa al nome (una donna di nome *Cassandra* ha un nome che 'significa' sulla base alle storie che evoca, non in base al rapporto con il lessico[4]).

L'iconicità rovesciata e la descrizione compendiata possono sottilmente coincidere in situazioni particolari. Un esempio è quello dell'iscrizione latino-celtica di Todi, del II secolo a.C., dove il nome del defunto, *Ategnatos*, significa, in gallico, 'primogenito' (Poccetti 2015). Si tratta di un nome parlante, ma in quella cultura il primo figlio doveva ricoprire anche un ruolo particolare, per cui ciò che sembra in apparenza puramente descrittivo è anche prescrittivo di un comportamento, di privilegi e di obblighi futuri ai quali la persona dovrà dare seguito. L'importanza di questo aspetto è testimoniata dal testo latino dell'epigrafe: il nome *Ategnatus* si mostra infatti appena adattato alla morfologia del latino, ma al nome del dedicante viene aggiunta una specificazione, *frater eius minumus* 'suo fratello minore', che indica così, per inferenza, che *Ategnatus* era il fratello maggiore (Poccetti 2015, Muscariello 2020). Questa "traduzione" si colloca quindi in una posizione molto particolare del *fuzzy set*, sia al suo limite esterno (celt. *Ategnatos* viene appena adattato in lat. *Ategnatus*) sia all'interno, mediante una ipertraduzione realizzata per antinomia sul piano del lessico, del tutto fuori dai confini morfolessicali e sintattici del nome proprio. Questo caso, quindi, mostra come la pura fattualità dell'essere un primo nato (iconicità diretta) abbia anche un valore culturale che chiederà alla persona di conformare il proprio comportamento in una certa direzione (iconicità rovesciata).

Nel sistema onomastico occidentale contemporaneo si può comunque evitare un rapporto di iconicità del NP, anche quello legato alle storie. Ma, a differenza del nome comune, permangono nel NP principi iconici in senso lato, poiché il nome resta portatore di valenze culturali che testimoniano informazioni su chi lo porta: appartenenza sociale, rapporti famigliari, preferenze culturali dei genitori, religione, genere, mode onomastiche che possono dare un riferimento indiretto sull'età del portatore. Un altro principio iconico di fondo, infine, è l'attribuzione di 'ipseità' a chi, o a cosa, viene dotato di un NP in una cultura (Benveniste 1969, Prosdocimi 1989, Solinas 1997-1998, Muscariello 2021).

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[4] Il nome proviene dal patrimonio mito-storico greco del racconto della guerra di Troia ed etimologicamente può significare o 'colei che si distingue fra gli uomini' o 'colei che fa annunci in tono enfatico davanti agli uomini' (García Ramón 1992), cui si aggiungono i 'significati' del nome recepiti attraverso la storia del personaggio (rifiutato l'amore di Apollo, Cassandra viene condannata dal dio a vedere il futuro senza mai essere creduta).

7. La traduzione dei nomi dei personaggi Disney: modelli di base e tipologie

G. Garzone, affrontando la traduzione dei nomi della banda Disney, sottolinea che l'autore dell'opera di invenzione esercita un potere onomaturgico assoluto, che si esprime investendo il NP di informazioni utili al progetto narrativo, di "significati supplementari" ("significati associativi" secondo Van Langendonck 2007) e di chiavi interpretative in relazione alla storia (Garzone 2017, p. 173). La traduzione qui è considerabile come una nuova *Namegebung*, un nuovo battesimo nel senso kripkiano: nel caso dei personaggi della Disney, il nuovo NP deve rendere alcune caratteristiche del personaggio, inserirlo nelle storie che lo vedono protagonista, metterlo in relazione con gli altri personaggi e creare specifiche connotazioni all'interno della cultura della lingua d'arrivo. L'efficacia delle traduzioni proposte è stata così alta che i nomi italiani sono entrati nella cultura comune (Garzone 2017, p. 171) e sono diventati antonomastici di certi caratteri nella lingua corrente, secondo modalità di passaggio del NP al nome comune frequentissime (Migliorini 1927) e motivate dalle storie evocate.

La traduzione dei nomi dei personaggi Disney è stata operata con un esplicito intento di localizzazione, perché i nomi americani avrebbero comportato un senso di estraneità nel pubblico italiano e la perdita dei significati supplementari (Garzone 2015, p. 171). Da notare che, a differenza che con i fumetti, con i cartoni animati dei personaggi classici della Disney gli spettatori (almeno quelli già scolarizzati) hanno potuto leggere i nomi originali nella sigla iniziale dell'episodio e instaurare così alcune equivalenze: almeno per parte del pubblico, i personaggi presentano quindi eteronimi, il nome originale e quello tradotto, che entrano in concorrenza fra loro e che possono essere riconosciuti a seconda dei contesti (la gadgettistica Disney, ad esempio, mantiene spesso il nome inglese). La funzione referenziale del nome, anche in senso peirceano, viene dunque istituita per lo stesso referente extra-linguistico da entrambe le forme: il nome mostra per il personaggio d'invenzione la stessa variabilità che mostrerebbe se fosse attribuito a un individuo fisico, a riprova che ciò che importa per il funzionamento del NP come operatore sono le storie e l'ipseità. Su questa base possiamo inoltre considerare il *fuzzy set* di queste traduzioni circondato dalle 'siepi' (nel senso di Lakoff) date dal principio dell'iconicità, intesa sia in senso stretto sia a maglie larghe.

L'attribuzione del nome a personaggi con fattezze animali ma fortemente antropizzati dipende anche da modelli formali e culturali esistenti e diffusi (Dovetto e Frías Urrea 2019), che influenzano le scelte di adattamento linguistico. Dare un nome proprio a un animale è infatti un luogo

letterario antichissimo da sempre continuato e rinnovato[5], che si aggiunge alle modalità di denominazione degli animali nelle società più arcaiche, dove l'animale aveva un ruolo importante nella vita sociale e famigliare delle persone (Riegler 1981, Alinei 1981). Nella zoonimia popolare la paretimologia svolge un ruolo fondamentale per restituire trasparenza ai nomi di animale (Riegler 1981, pp. 326-327): ad esempio ted. *hermelin* 'ermellino' > *Heermännsche* "ometto"[6], oppure ted. *Schildkröte* 'tartaruga' > *Schilchkrot* nelle parlate della valle dell'Adige con accostamento a *schilchen* 'guardare in modo strabico'. Questi fenomeni, che partono dalla manipolazione fono-lessicale, potrebbero anche dar luogo a iconicità rovesciata: la tartaruga non è più strabica di altri animali, ma lo diventa in una certa cultura perché il suo nome le attribuisce questa caratteristica sulla base della casuale somiglianza di significanti.

Altri zoonimi sono attribuiti per motivazione tabuistica e questo dà vita a piccoli predicati (ad esempio rus. *medved'* 'orso', letteralmente "il mangia-miele") o a definizioni totemiche che implicano nomi di parentela, come sv. *bruder Lars* "fratello Lars" per la 'foca' o rus. *babočka* 'farfalla', letteralmente "nonna", o per la volpe il nome di *cummari Giovannuzza* o *cummari Giovannedda* a Modica, *zi Rosa* o *cummari Rosa* in Calabria (Alinei 1981, pp. 366-367). Vi sono poi attribuzioni di nomi di persona ad animali in cui, però, il termine indicante la parentela viene omesso per ellissi: come il rus. *Miška*, per l'orso, ted. *Peter Krus* o *Peter Wöhlmann* per la 'talpa' o il fr. *Pierrot* 'passero'. Questi zoonimi popolari affondano le loro origini nel sacro e sono un relitto di un'antica credenza totemica in cui erano realmente percepiti come parenti a tutti gli effetti.

Rivedremo ora i casi di traduzione e adattamento dei personaggi Disney analizzati da G. Garzone e aggiungeremo ulteriori osservazioni tentando di inserire i casi all'interno di un discorso più generale sul NP.

Il centro perfetto del *fuzzy set* è rappresentato dall'adattamento del nome di *Cruella De Vil*: *Crudelia De Mon* è infatti un perfetto nome di traduzione. La resa di *Cruella* con *Crudelia* mostra la traduzione lessicale di ingl. *cruel* con it. *crudele* e il suffisso *-la* dell'inglese che caratterizza alcuni nomi di origine italiana (*Bella*, *Stella*) reso con *-ia* dell'italiano, che serve a mantenere ben chiara la corretta trasparenza del nome. *De Vil* e *De Mon* rendono un gioco di parole che inserisce gli equivalenti lessicali ingl. *devil* ~ it. *demone* nella medesima formula onomastica connotata come aristocratica.

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[5] Ancora oggi l'antropizzazione è fortissima con gli animali domestici. Le fiabe, la letteratura per bambini in senso ampio (compresi quindi cartoni animati, film, etc.), i miti eziologici continuano ad essere il genere principale che vede la presenza di personaggi animali dotati di comportamenti umani.

[6] Agisce qui il principio di antropizzazione dei mustelidi rivelato dal loro nome, vedi anche l'it. *donnola* (Bettini 1998, Poli 2019).

Inoltre, a livello di figure di suono, l'allitterazione interna in *dark l* dell'inglese ha come equivalente quella della sillaba [de] in italiano. In questo fortunato caso vediamo tradotto il lessico trasparente alla base del nome, la struttura della formula onomastica con la sua connotazione sociale, la presenza di un'allitterazione con un fono coronale e perfino la struttura sillabica. Questo personaggio è umano, e questo certamente ha spinto per una soluzione simile strutturalmente all'originale, diversamente dagli altri personaggi dalle fattezze animali: l'iconicità entro la quale attenersi, oltre alle significazioni legate al campo semantico della 'malvagità', comprende quindi anche l'identificazione come persona umana, con il mantenimento dell'opportuna formula onomastica *nome + cognome*.

Diverso è il caso di *Mickey Mouse*, formula onomastica tipicamente antropica e di tipo allitterante che veicola forse una connotazione irlandese per l'abbreviazione *Mickey* (l'appellativo *Mick*, negli Stati Uniti, era riservato agli immigrati irlandesi); solo il 'cognome' *Mouse* viene tradotto, con la resa ipocoristica *Topolino*. La scelta della struttura ipocoristica assolve a più funzioni: quella di trasporre l'abbreviazione *Mickey*, che altera il nome, con una forma anch'essa alterata e quella di fornire una struttura italiana che, in caso di altre esigenze di adattamento, potesse agilmente corripondere alla struttura trisillabica originaria tramite l'elisione della vocale finale (*Topolin*, trisillabo come *Mickey Mouse*). *Topolino* è quindi ridotto a un unico nome parlante che vicaria il vezzeggiativo *topolino* a indicare un personaggio simpatico e sveglio, significato supplementare attribuito nella cultura americana all'immigrato irlandese; aspetto che, nella cultura italiana, non sarebbe stata compreso in queste sfaccettature. Il *topolino* è inoltre protagonista di fiabe per bambini dove, abitualmente, rappresenta un personaggio positivo, furbo o, comunque, non negativo. Un modello importante per la struttura del nome italiano può essere stata la tradizione onomastica di personaggi dei fumetti italiana, caratterizzata da nomi singoli alterati: *Mimmo* (che rende un originale *Buster Brown* del 1902), *Quadratino* (del 1910), *Fortunello* (1915) che rende un originale americano *Happy Hooligan*, *Marmittone* (1928). *Topolino* rappresenta quindi una coniazione onomastica riconducibile alla strategia dei nomi di traduzione e costruito su un principio di iconicità diretta.

Paperino e *Paperina* rendono i nomi *Donald Duck* e *Daisy Duck*, entrambi allitteranti. L'ipocoristico continua a essere scelto per tradurre la parte trasparente del NP originario e in questo caso è anche internamente allitterante. Come per Topolino, la formula onomastica è ridotta a un solo membro, così da rendere una regolarità nella localizzazione. Il paradigma maschile ~ femminile dei due nomi, basato sulla mozione, mostra la relazione fra i due personaggi (fidanzati), come avviene in una strategia onomastica segnalata da Rohlfs, per cui *Girolama* poteva essere un appellativo per

indicare la moglie di un *Carlo Girolami* nell'area fra Pisa e Pistoia (citato in Fabrizio 2013, p. 16). La struttura *nome* + *cognome* viene poi ripristinata per *Paperino* con l'aggiunta del nome *Paolino*, che consolida e rafforza la forma ipocoristica, l'omoteleuto del suffisso -*ino*, la struttura quadrisillabica dei due elementi della formula. Il traduttore accumula quindi in *Paperino* più figure di suono e di ritmo, cui possiamo aggiungere il collegamento alla parola *papera* nel significato di errore di pronuncia che indica impaccio e provoca imbarazzo: e difatti *Paperino* ha un modo peculiare di pronunciare le parole, non sempre comprensibili (specialmente quando si arrabbia). Sul lessico vicariato *paperino* confluisce così l'idea di un animale goffo, poco capace, per un personaggio sempre in mezzo a qualche guaio. La strategia resta quella del nome di traduzione a iconicità diretta.

I nipoti di *Donald Duck*, *Huey*, *Dewey* e *Louie*, sono costruiti sul principio della coppia minima, mentre le nipoti di *Daisy Duck*, *April*, *May* e *June*, vicariano i nomi dei tre mesi primaverili: come nota G. Garzone, solo *May* è nome usato nel sistema onomastico inglese come nome femminile. *May* quindi fa da ponte di collegamento all'onomastica femminile reale per tutti e tre i nomi, rafforzato forse da un lontano, ma suggestivo, richiamo alle tre Grazie dipinte nella *Primavera* di Sandro Botticelli (viste anche i tratti femminili stereotipati delle tre paperelle). La resa italiana funziona secondo il principio della coppia minima per entrambi i terzetti: *Qui*, *Quo* e *Qua* aggiungono anche l'iconicità onomatopeica del verso della papera, presentando nuovamente una ipercaratterizzazione rispetto ai nomi originali che già contraddistingueva il nome dello zio *Paperino*. Per *Ely*, *Emy* ed *Evy* sono state scelte tre abbreviazioni all'inglese, con morfema -*y*, che negli anni '50 era ben noto e introdotto nell'onomastica italiana (i tre personaggi fanno la loro comparsa nella banda Disney nel 1953). La costruzione morfologica rappresenta un prestito di morfema, tipologia di interferenza molto poco frequente (Gusmani 1981), che vede il NP come una categoria linguistica probabilmente più esposta di altre. La connotazione femminile dei nomi è da inferirsi in almeno due su tre dei nomi in questione: *Ely* richiama nomi come *Elisa*, *Elisabetta* o *Eleonora*, mentre *Evy* richiama *Eva*. *Emy*, così, viene ricondotto a una *Emilia* o *Emanuela*, benché di questi nomi si abbiano in italiano diffusi corrispettivi maschili. In questo caso dobbiamo ricondurre le traduzioni in punti più lontani del *fuzzy set*: *Qui*, *Quo* e *Qua* ed *Evy*, *Ely* ed *Emy* sono terzetti gemellari e, in questi casi, in italiano l'identità propria di ogni membro tende ad essere azzerata attraverso lo sfruttamento della coppia minima, per di più su nomi cortissimi, palesando per tre volte uno stesso individuo culturale, come nei casi discussi sopra a proposito del doppio e dei gemelli. La somiglianza dell'aspetto dei personaggi si riflette nella somiglianza dei nomi propri. In Italia vi era inoltre un modello onomastico proprio nella letteratura fumettistica: la resa *Bibì* e *Bibò* per i *Katzenjammer*

Kids inventati negli Stati Uniti nel 1897 dal tedesco Rudolph Dirks. Inoltre, come modello formale, la struttura del nome *Bilbolbul* del personaggio inventato nel 1908 da Attilio Mussino.

Nel caso di *Paperon De' Paperoni* si ha una resa interessante, tramite un doppio accrescitivo e una formula onomastica nobiliare, del nome originale *Scrooge McDuck*, che non ha alcuna connotazione aristocratica. Il nome e cognome di *Scrooge McDuck* implicano entrambi un riferimento all'avarizia: il notissimo protagonista di *A Christmas Carol* di C. Dickens[7], *Ebenezer Scrooge*, e la connotazione scozzese, cui gli inglesi attribuiscono lo stereotipo dell'avarizia. Oltre che un doppio accrescitivo, *Paperon De' Paperoni* riprende anche una antica formula di superlativo, riscontrabile ad esempio in amarico *negus neghesti* 're dei re' (> 'imperatore') o ebr. *shìr asshirìm* 'cantico dei cantici' (> 'canto sublime'), formula viva in italiano grazie al lessico religioso. Vi è dunque una figura iperbolica di fondo per entrambi i nomi: per *Scrooge*, l'avaro 'per eccellenza', si ha un'antonomasia, mentre *Paperon De' Paperoni* ricalca una strategia di superlativo. Il riferimento semantico, nella resa italiana, è spostato però sulla grande ricchezza del personaggio, raffigurato abitualmente in una casa-cassaforte riempita di monete dove nuota. L'appellativo presenta poi una variante ingl. *Uncle Scrooge* ~ it. *Zio Paperone* che mostra il principale rapporto di parentela che lo relaziona agli altri personaggi: se la struttura del nome è propria delle relazioni umane (*uncle* ~ *zio* X) nel caso italiano, dove il nome *Paperone* è anche avvertito come un accrescitivo del nome comune *papera*, entra in gioco il modello onomastico per gli zoonimi di tipo totemico, con un appellativo di parentela. In questa stessa struttura, piuttosto tipica, ricade anche il nome di *Grandma Duck*, tradotto come *Nonna Papera*. I nomi di parentela, tra l'altro, possono mostrare lo stesso comportamento sintattico del NP, come avviene nel caso di queste formule onomastiche.

Chief O'Hara, che riprende lo stereotipo culturale americano del poliziotto irlandese, è reso con *commissario Basettoni*, con una perdita totale delle connotazioni originarie, a parte l'appellativo che lo indica come capo-poliziotto. La resa della connotazione irlandese, come per *Mickey Mouse*, non avrebbe avuto molto senso nella cultura italiana, dove erano ben note le caratteristiche e gli stereotipi legati agli italo-americani ma non quelle che riguardano gli altri gruppi immigrati negli USA. La creazione *Basettoni* riprende, basandosi sul principio di iconicità diretta, una caratteristica del volto del personaggio, che presenta basette lunghe e visibili, ma mantiene

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[7] *Paperon De' Paperoni* sarà anche protagonista di una trasposizione della novella dickensiana, nei panni di *Scrooge* (*Mickey's Christmas Carol*, del 1983): in questo caso, limitatamente all'originale, vediamo in atto una sorta di iconicità rovesciata, dato che è *Scrooge McDuck* che deve vivere le vicissitudini di *Ebenezer Scrooge*.

anche la caratteristica di fungere da cognome e da mostrarne anche le caratteristiche morfologiche (*O'Hara* è un tipico cognome irlandese, così come le formazioni onomastiche in -*oni* per l'Italia): l'iconicità originaria viene quindi parzialmente conservata nell'aspetto della formula onomastica.

I *Beagle Boys* sono resi come la *Banda Bassotti*. Se da un lato il beagle sarebbe diventata una razza nota in Italia solo con *Snoopy*, è anche vero che la razza fa riferimento al cane noto come *bracchetto* (spesso *Snoopy* è definito così): si sarebbe quindi potuto rendere *Beagles* con *Bracchetti*, che, tra l'altro, avrebbe trasmesso l'idea di "braccare una preda", come possono fare dei ladri e come fa un cane da caccia come il beagle. Questa razza infatti è vivace e attiva e i *Beagles Boys* palesano un atteggiamento aggressivo, anche tramite le espressioni facciali, del tutto diverso da quello di un cane bassotto. La connotazione, quindi, cambia completamente nella traduzione, con una perdita di iconicità basata sul tratto comportamentale, recuperata con una iconicità nell'aspetto fisico in quanto i *Bassotti* sono tarchiati come è tarchiato e tozzo il bassotto. La connotazione negativa è data dalla resa di *Boys* con *Banda*, che in italiano annovera fra i suoi significati quello di 'gruppo organizzato di fuorilegge'. L'efficacia dell'adattamento italiano sta tutto nell'allitterazione iniziale del segmento [ba], dove i due suoni costituiscono attacco ([b]) e nucleo ([a]) delle sillabe chiuse iniziali dei due membri onomastici (['ban.da] e [bas.'sot.ti]). Da ultimo, va osservato che l'ipseità, manifestata dal NP, viene attribuita in questo caso a un gruppo e non ai singoli: i *Bassotti* sono privi di nomi personali e, non a caso, sono fra loro indistinguibili, se non grazie alla minima individuazione data dalla sequenza dei numeri che li identificano come carcerati. La sostituzione del NP con il numero è sempre un chiaro indice di spersonalizzazione.

Una traduzione speculare al caso di *Scrooge McDuck* è quella di *Gyro Gearloose*, dove letteralmente *Gyro* rimanda al lessico tecnico di matrice greca *gyro*- 'giro, anello, spirale' e *Gearloose* è un composto che significa 'a ingranaggi liberi'. G. Garzone ricorda la prima resa del nome del personaggio, al centro del *fuzzy set*, come *Giro Ruotalibera*, ma l'adattamento che poi si è affermato, Archimede Pitagorico, è avvenuto ai margini, con una lata iconicità di tipo culturale attribuita per antonomasia, in riferimento ad Archimede di Siracusa, matematico e inventore, e Pitagora, matematico e filosofo. Mentre il nome originale rappresenta una descrizione compendiata, la resa italiana è fondata sull'antonomasia e innescata dall'esclamazione "eureka!" che caratterizza *Gyro Gearloose* e che è attribuita ad Archimede di Siracusa. La connotazione di scienziato un po' svitato, resa bene dal nome originale *Gyro Gearloose*, rimane però in ombra nella creazione onomastica italiana, più seriosa.

Il personaggio di *Ludwig von Drake* presenta il nome *Ludwig* e una struttura di formula onomastica alla tedesca che richiamano Beethoven;

Drake vicaria invece ingl. *drake* 'anatra (maschio)'. La resa italiana *Pico de' Paperis* ricalca l'originale nel principio di riferimento a un personaggio noto nella cultura comune, che in questo caso è Pico della Mirandola. *Von Drake* e *de' Paperis*, oltre a costituire un buon esempio di nomi di traduzione, mostrano entrambi una connotazione aristocratica nella morfologia. La resa italiana trova inoltre come possibile modello esistente il personaggio di *Pier Cloruro de' Lambicchi*, disegnato da Giovanni Manca nel 1930 e che rappresentava uno scienziato piuttosto eccentrico.

Le medesime caratteristiche della traduzione di *Ludwig von Drake* sono mostrate da *Gladstone Gander* ~ *Gastone Paperone*: il cognome Gander è basato su un elemento lessicale che indica il maschio dell'oca ed è tradotto con *Paperone*, morfologicamente un accrescitivo. *Gladstone* ha invece una doppia valenza, antonomastica e lessicale: è il cognome di un noto statista britannico dell'Ottocento e, al contempo, significa letteralmente 'pietra felice', con una connotazione di positività al personaggio, sempre sereno e fortunato. La doppia valenza funziona bene per i bambini più piccoli che ancora non sanno chi è lo statista Gladstone e quindi comprendono solo il lessico trasparente con la sua connotazione positiva. La resa italiana *Gastone Paperone* seleziona il nome *Gastone* dall'omonimo personaggio creato da Ettore Petrolini nel 1924, un dandy frivolo e superficiale: la sovrapposizione col personaggio disneyano può essere condotta sul modo di presentarsi di *Gladstone Gander*, vestito in raffinati completi e coi capelli impomatati. *Gastone* è anche un nome di assonanza per la somiglianza fonetica con *Gladstone*. *Paperone*, oltre a tradurre, sebbene in modo impreciso, *Gander*, instaura un rapporto diretto con il nome di *Paperon de' Paperoni* / *Zio Paperone*; anche *Gastone* è nipote di *Paperone*, e va notata anche l'antinomia che si instaura, solo tra i nomi italiani, fra gli elementi onomastici del ricco zio e del fortunato nipote, che vicariano un accrescitivo, e quello del nipote sfortunato, *Paperino*, che vicaria un diminutivo.

Infine, abbiamo i nomi dei sette nani di Biancaneve, apporto originale della Disney rispetto alla nota fiaba dei fratelli Grimm. I nomi dei nani sono diventati nella cultura popolare una lista di ripetizione mnemonica, e la versione italiana traduce anche il ritmo di elencazione dei nomi, costruito su bisillabi piani per l'inglese e su trisillabi sdruccioli per l'italiano, con l'eccezione, in entrambe le liste, del nome del primo nano. Nella lista americana, il primo nano è *Doc*, abbreviazione del titolo *Doctor*, reso in italiano con *Dotto*, vicariazione dell'aggettivo *dotto*, 'erudito'. Benché la strategia di creazione del nome sia formalmente quella di assonanza, anche il contenuto semantico viene sostanzialmente tradotto. I nomi inglesi dei successivi sei nani presentano tutti struttura aggettivale: *Grumpy* 'scontroso', *Sleepy* 'assonnato', *Bashful* 'timido', *Sneezy* (deverbale da *to sneeze* 'starnutire'), *Happy* 'felice' e *Dopey* 'stordito'. In italiano, la resa sceglie una

terminazione omoteleutica *-olo* ottenuta tramite vari procedimenti: vicariazione di parole maschili, o rese maschili con suffisso *-olo*, calembour ottenuti da retroformazioni nominali da verbi, utilizzo di un NP antonomastico che finisce, casualmente, in *-olo*. Si ottiene così un paradigma di nomi propri più vario, come formazione, di quello originale. Le retroformazioni sono alla base dei nomi di *Brontolo < brontolare, brontolone* e *Gongolo < gongolare*; i nomi propri così ottenuti si distinguono dai nomi comuni *brontolio* e *gongolamento*. *Pisolo* vicaria direttamente il nome comune *pisolo*, che indica un 'sonno leggero e diurno', meno noto e frequente del diminutivo *pisolino*; *Cucciolo* vicaria direttamente il termine *cucciolo*. *Mammolo*, che rende *Bashful*, vicaria al maschile il nome comune del fiore della 'mammola' e del suo uso metaforico per una persona timida (*mammoletta*). *Eolo* è il nome del dio del vento in antichità, non in uso nel sistema onomastico italiano contemporaneo, e riprende per metafora il fatto che chi starnutisce produce una sorta di vento. Vi è dunque una reinterpretazione basata sull'iconicità diretta dell'azione che caratterizza questo nano. Dato che *Sneezy* avrebbe potuto essere reso, in teoria, con un nome tipo *Starnutolo*, molto più al centro del *fuzzy set* traduttivo, è probabile che la reinterpretazione metaforica sia dovuta alla volontà di avere per il nome proprio una struttura trisillaba sdrucciola come per tutti gli altri nomi, in modo da rendere omogenea la lista creata. Ritmo sillabico e omoteleuto sono infatti elementi di tipo fonologico che aiutano l'elaborazione dei nomi e ne facilitano l'accesso alla memoria a lungo termine (Papagno 2008). Significativo, per riflettere sui meccanismi di adattamento culturale, il caso di *Cucciolo*, creazione iconica basata su una reinterpretazione dell'aspetto fisico del nano *Dopey*, 'stordito, drogato', significato ritenuto inaccettabile per il pubblico italiano: viene quindi reinterpretato come impacciato, anziché stordito. Lo stesso principio di reinterpretazione è riscontrabile nella resa *Pippo* per *Goofy*, dall'aggettivo ingl. *goofy* 'sciocco', denigratorio e quindi tabuizzato nel sistema onomastico d'arrivo italiano, che non ammette tali tipologie di nomi[8]; la resa *Pippo* seleziona quindi un nome usato solitamente in Italia come soprannome, dando un'idea di 'simpatia' e 'semplicità' veicolata dalla sua struttura a *Lallwört*, attraverso un equivalente tipologico dell'appellativo *Goofy*, formalmente un soprannome.

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[8] La tabuizzazione di certe tipologie di nomi è strettamente culturale: nella lingua dei segni, ad esempio, i segni-nome possono anche far riferimento a caratteristiche sgradevoli delle persone cui vengono attribuiti. Non è così per l'italiano: è vietato attribuire nomi denigratori ai nuovi nati e un cognome denigratorio può essere cambiato legalmente.

8. Conclusioni

Abbiamo visto come la traduzione dell'onomastica personale implichi scelte molto varie nella resa, da inquadrare sia all'interno della teoria del NP sia all'interno della prospettiva traduttologica del *fuzzy set* delineata da G. Garzone. Lo sguardo su questo aspetto trae vantaggio dal considerare, oltre alle strategie diffuse nella realtà, anche quelle per la localizzazione dei personaggi di invenzione, dove l'interferenza fra onomastica e lessico, la presenza di significati associativi e la libertà creativa nella resa sono molto accentuate.

La libertà nella traduzione è in questo caso consentita dal modo di operare la referenza del NP, per cui l'istituzione del legame con il referente extra-linguistico attribuisce ipseità (un fattore ideologico) a qualcuno / qualcosa, e ciò è sufficiente per il suo corretto funzionamento, al di là delle scelte fatte nell'adattamento.

Dal punto di vista semantico, le trasposizioni più prototipiche avvengono facilmente quando il lessico vicariato è trasparente, tramite strategie di traduzione o di assonanza; ma quando, nonostante una trasposizione fedele sia possibile, le scelte si allontanano da questo *continuum*, con creazioni originali adattate alla cultura d'arrivo e con l'azzeramento di connotazioni di partenza non facilmente comprensibili, i meccanismi che agiscono nel nuovo battesimo sono l'iconicità e la delineazione di un eteronimo che dà forma a un nuovo individuo culturale. Questo è permesso inoltre dalla pluralità di nomi propri attribuibili a uno stesso individuo come eteronimi, a seconda della prospettiva da cui viene considerato.

Infine, un aspetto fondamentale per le traduzioni dei nomi propri sono i modelli presenti nella cultura d'arrivo: sia per le persone fisiche sia per i personaggi d'invenzione, infatti, l'acclimatamento onomastico avviene assumendo una tipologia di nome che, strutturalmente, deve essere riconosciuta come famigliare, cambiando, se necessario, la formula onomastica. È per questo motivo che i nomi originari della banda Disney, strutturati secondo la formula onomastica 'ufficiale' dei nomi di persona *nome + cognome*, mostrano forme differenti che dipendono dai modelli dei nomi popolari degli animali e dagli adattamenti già esistenti dei personaggi dei fumetti, che tendevano, in Italia, a essere costituiti da nomi alterati, simili alla tipologia del soprannome.

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CASE COMMUNICATION AT THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS
Genre-based and translation perspectives

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Abstract – This study contributes to research on the discursive practices at the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), as descriptions of ECtHR language and translation policies are scant. The study combines genre-based and translation perspectives to outline the system of procedural genres, with a specific focus on a hitherto unresearched and semi-"occluded" (Swales 1996) genre of *case communication*. This genre takes on an important role in the procedural flow of documents as it marks the case acceptance by the Court, orients the following written procedure and represents the first instance of institutional legal translation in cases when the initial application is lodged in a language other than English or French, the ECtHR official languages. The findings identify two alternative generic templates and hypothesize that the template choice could derive from a potential reliance on the so-called situated cognition and could correlate with a different set of translational competences required, when transposing knowledge from the initial applications. The study supplements previous research on institutional legal translation at the ECtHR, casting light on its "hidden" dimension, as well as uncovering its imaginative and creative side through an overview of case communications dealing with Article 10 provisions – freedom of expression – that exact the highest level of translational expertise on the lawyers dealing with these texts as they frequently feature creative, profane and even taboo language.

Keywords: case communication; genre-based; legal translation; European Court of Human Rights; freedom of expression.

1. Introduction

To talk of legal language in international courts is to talk of "usefully distinguishable" legal genres (Bhatia 1983, p. 227) embedded in a strictly defined "social-institutional context, including the lawyers and judges who work there and are actively involved in judicial decision-making, and the linguistic realisation of such legal processes" (Nikitina 2018a, p. 110). Legal genres at the European Court of Human Rights ("ECtHR" or "the Court") are situated in the context of forty-six Council of Europe Member States with their assorted legal systems and languages. The Court is called upon to interpret the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights

("ECHR" or "the Convention") in a multitude of subject matters, ranging from the right to life to the right to a fair trial, from prohibition of torture to freedom of expression, and others. This paper focuses on the topic of freedom of expression in a peculiar procedural genre within the ECtHR system: case communication to the respondent government, illustrated here by the Russian government[1]. ECtHR discourse has been the object of a limited number of linguistic studies (Nikitina 2018a, 2018b; Brannan 2009, 2013, 2018; Peruzzo 2019a, 2019b), covering aspects of legal translation (Brannan 2009, 2013), the genres of judgment (Weston 2005; White 2009; Nikitina 2018c; Peruzzo 2017, 2019a, 2019b) and written pleadings (Nikitina 2018a, 2018b), and the general setting of institutional communication (Brannan 2018; Nikitina 2019). Still, to the best of my knowledge, the genre of *case communication*[2] has never been the object of a linguistic inquiry.

This study intends to fill the existing gap. It sets the scene by describing the context and the language policy of the Court, illustrating the communicative situation in which the procedure is embedded and analyzing it as a system of genres. Naturally, as any international court, the ECtHR, too, relies on institutional legal translation. This theoretical framework is introduced in Section 3, first in general and then specifically for the ECtHR system. Next, the specific materials of the study are put under the spotlight in Section 4, explaining Article 10 provisions – Freedom of expression – in genre-based and translation perspectives. The aim of this study is twofold: to describe the semi-occluded genre of *case communication* and to cast light on the dark side of the institutional legal translation at the ECtHR carried out at the case communication stage.

2. Procedural genres at the ECtHR

2.1. Context

The ECtHR is a regional supranational court, meaning that while transcending national borders, this adjudicative body operates in a

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[1] The materials of this study precede March 15, 2022, when Russia withdrew from the Council of Europe.

[2] The term used in the Court's official database HUDOC is "communicated case" or *affaire comuniquée* in French, where the "communication" element is rendered through a premodifying participle. Such a denomination keeps the focus on the head noun, i.e. the *case*, which – understandably – is at the centre of the attention in legal terms. In the present study, however, it is the act of *communication* that is the object of analysis, and not the *case* as such. To better reflect this focus, the label "case communication" was created inverting the premodifier and the head noun. This label was chosen also on account of the phrasing in Rule 37.1 (Rules of Court), dealing with "communications or notifications". Its adequacy was verified through informal inquiry with the Registry lawyers.

geographically limited area of the extended Europe. The official languages of the ECtHR are English and French. Despite a declared bilingualism, the ECtHR is not always required to rule in both its official languages (Nikitina 2018b, p. 15; see also Weston 2005, p. 449). The Court underwent a reform in 1998 which recognized *inter alia* the right of individual petition (Art. 34, ECHR) for *all* member states, allowing applications from any person, NGO or group of persons. This revolutionary tool led to a significant increase in the workload, making universal bilingualism next to impossible as well as financially unviable. So the 1998 Rules of Court restricted bilingualism, making it an exception rather than a rule (Brannan 2018, p. 171). Today it is adopted for the Grand Chamber judgments and documents destined for law reports, whereas most of the procedural documents are drafted or translated in one of its working languages, depending on the language profile of the parties involved.

2.2. Procedure before the ECtHR

The documentary flow in the ECtHR procedure is graphically represented in Figure 1. The life of cases at the ECtHR starts with an *application*. As Brannan (2018, p. 170) aptly comments, "The right of petition, as it is known, would be meaningless if the applicant were unable to use his or her own language". Initial applications may be lodged in any national language of the states who have ratified the Convention, and sometimes even in non-official or minority languages, provided that the Registry staff understands these languages (Brannan 2018, p.171; Nikitina 2018b, p. 33; Peruzzo 2019a, p. 35).
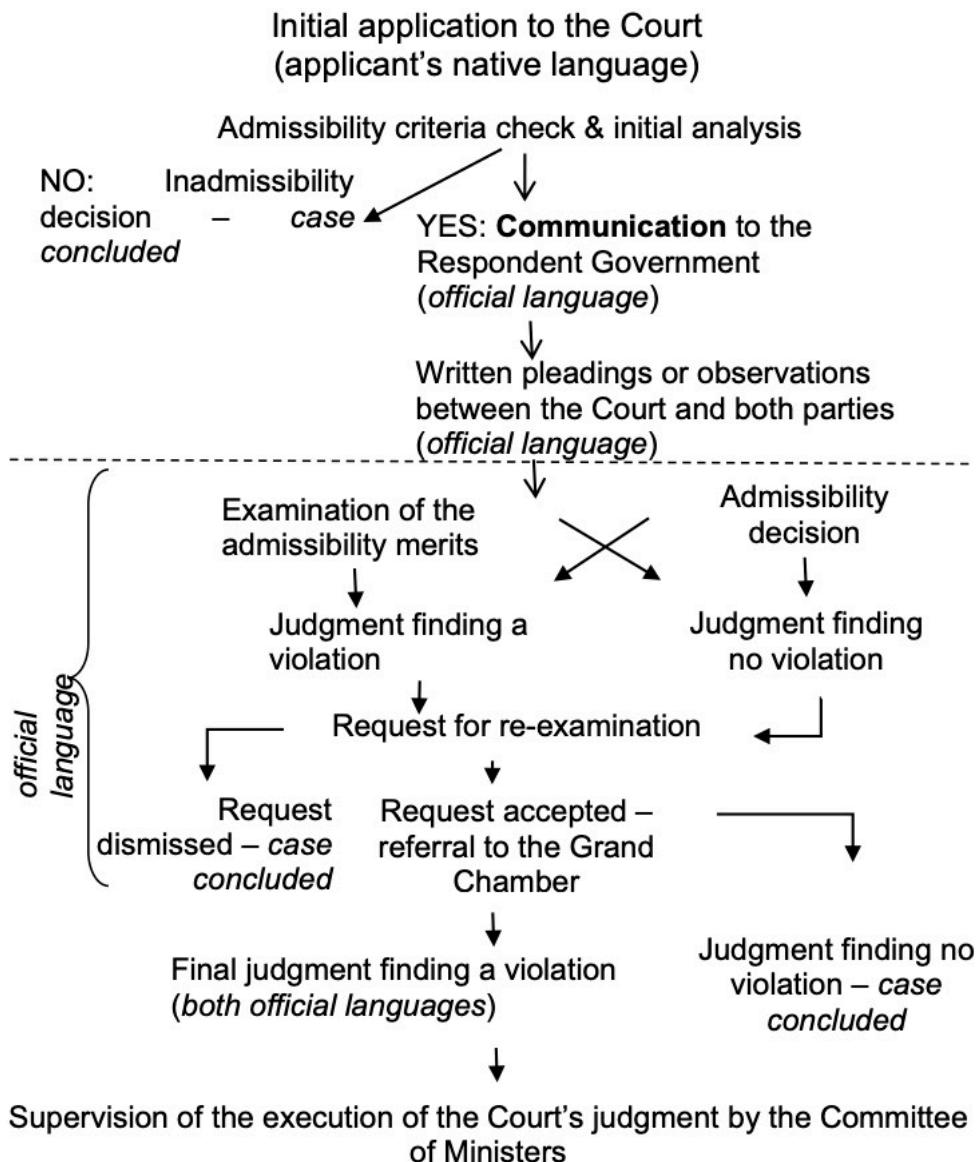
Figure 1
Procedure before the ECtHR (Adapted from Legal Protection of Human Rights 2012 cited in Nikitina 2018b, p. 32).

Once the application has been declared admissible, based on a number of strictly defined admissibility criteria[3], the case is *communicated* to the respondent State (see Figure 1), and starting from this moment all interaction between the Court and the Parties has to be carried out in one of its official languages. If the case is referred to the Grand Chamber, which is the highest judicial formation of the Court, its final judgment is available in both official languages. Typically, Grand Chamber judgments are not co-drafted but translated before delivery by in-house translators. In other limited cases,

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[3] See Peruzzo (2019a, pp. 22-23) for details on the admissibility criteria.

translation into the other official language can be carried out "after delivery for the purposes of publication (sometimes in the form of extracts) on the website (HUDOC database) and occasionally also in the printed reports" (Brannan 2018, p. 171). The life of judgments after they leave the Court is very country-specific, but this aspect deserves to be addressed in a separate study.

2.3. Genres

In a discursive perspective, the procedural flow of documents represents a *system of genres*, i.e. "the interrelated genres that interact with each other in specific settings" (Bazerman 1994, p. 97). Linguistic studies on the case-law of the ECtHR are limited, and those with a genre element tend to cluster around the most recognizable genre at the peak of this system, the judgment (e.g. Peruzzo 2017, 2019a, 2019b). An exception would be several studies by Nikitina (2018a, 2018b) that aim at highlighting the existence of other, "occluded" (Swales 1996) procedural genres, such as written pleadings, i.e. the exchange of written observations between the Court, the Applicant and the Respondent Government. To the best of my knowledge, no linguistic study so far has taken into consideration the genre of *case communication*. While being publicly accessible through the HUDOC database, it remains "out of sight" of general public and is written for "specific individual or small-group audiences" (Swales 1996, p. 46), which makes it reasonable to conceptualize it as a partially "occluded genre".

Pivotal studies grounded in genre theory (Swales 1990; Bhatia 1993, 2014 [2004]) highlight a number of convergent elements necessary to pinpoint reproduceable textual prototypes. In particular, Bhatia (2014, p. 27), building on previous research, defines *genre* based on the conventionalized setting, communicative purposes and stable structural forms, which form a matrix for genre description in this paper. The Registry lawyers drafting notices to the respondent government rely on their *genre knowledge*, i.e.

> the awareness of the characteristics and properties of each single text genre [that] is a form of *situated cognition* (Berkenkotter, Huckin, 1995, pp. 7-13), being strictly related to the discursive practices of the members of a disciplinary culture and the context where such practices are set (Garzone 2020, p. 131).

In practical terms, genre knowledge allows the drafters to navigate successfully discursive practices of the ECtHR, including by filling a preset structural form with system-specific text patterning, or the so-called "move" structure (Garzone 2020, pp. 133-134), and lexicogrammar (Bhatia 1993, p. 24-29).

*Lingue e
Linguaggi*

Yet, nothing is truly fixed, and text genres evolve and adapt to the needs of their users (Garzone 2020, p. 131). A certain degree of interference between situated cognition and traditional habitus of national systems may be expected in the supranational context of the ECtHR, as its lawyers carry the knowledge "luggage" of their own legal system and the system of the state involved (Nikitina 2018b, p. 30).

Some interference may transpire also through translation-related elements. The case communication stage is the first stage when elements of an application drafted and submitted in a non-official language are rendered in one of the official languages. This operation is carried out internally by lawyers of the Registry who have processed the initial application[4], and involves mechanisms of institutional legal translation addressed in the following section.

3. Legal translation

3.1. Background of Legal Translation Studies

Despite the obvious importance of legal translation, only recently was it recognized as an independent field of Translation Studies (Garzone 1999, p. 391). One of the most famous definitions of legal translation describes it as "an act of communication in the mechanism of the law" (Šarčević 1997, p. 55). Today legal translation is recognized both by comparative lawyers and translation scholars (Šarčević 2018, p. 9), with the latter positing that it is one of "the most prominent disciplines of translation studies" (Prieto Ramos 2014a, p. 261), which capitalizes on the developments in such neighbouring disciplines as comparative law, linguistics, terminology and general translation studies (Biel 2018, p. 25), as well as methodological innovation brought by corpus linguistics.

The mainstream orientation at the outset of Legal Translation Studies dealt with terminological equivalence and untranslatability of system-bound elements both in the national (Chromà 2008) and international context (Fletcher 1999; Weston 2005; Brannan 2013; Peruzzo 2019b). Later on, an additional focus on the communicative function of translation was introduced, heralding the functional approach to cater for inevitable imbalance (e.g. Šarčević 1997; Garzone 2000; Engberg 2013), and covering also aspects of quality of translation (Scarpa 2008; Prieto Ramos 2014b). A

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[4] Typically, applications against a particular state are assigned to the Registry lawyers who speak the same national language. Besides this national language, all Registry lawyers are fluent in at least one of the Court's official languages. However, their primary mansions are legal and not linguistic, so they cannot be equaled to the role of a lawyer-linguist present in the EU system (see, e.g. Gallo 2006, p. 182).

relatively recent turn included the study of phraseology in legal translation (Kjær 2007; Biel 2014; Goźdź-Roszkowski and Pontrandolfo 2018; Nikitina 2018a), recognizing the challenges legal translators face when dealing with the translation of phraseological units (Garzone 2007, pp. 218-219; Prieto Ramos 2014b, p. 16).

This study relies on the wealth of research dealing with legal translation transferring national legal knowledge into a supranational system (e.g. Peruzzo 2019a) and vice versa (Biel 2014), including aspects of legal terminology (Peruzzo 2019a) and phraseology (Goźdź-Roszkowski and Pontrandolfo 2018; Nikitina 2018a).

3.2. Institutional legal translation at the ECtHR

The operation of multilingual international organizations is characterized by complex processes of hierarchical institutional translation, or rather "the legal dimension of institutional translation" (Prieto-Ramos 2020, p. 456), with varying degrees of mutual conditioning between the legal and the institutional elements and shifting translation priorities depending on a specific genre and/or purpose of a text to be translated (Schäffner *et al.* 2014). By virtue of its setting, legal translation at the ECtHR is also an instance of institutional translation. Despite the self-evident importance of translation for a supranational body such as the ECtHR, it has been largely neglected both in the literature and in the Rules of Court (Peruzzo 2019a, p. 38).

The highest priority is assigned to the translation of judgments and decisions (see 2.2), which is carried out by in-house Council of Europe translators[5], whose mother tongue is either English or French. If we go back to Figure 1, it is possible to draw an imaginary line separating the graph into two halves. The bottom part, starting with the decision/judgment stage, is typically the object of in-house institutional legal translation. As a resident translator, Brannan (2018, p. 174-175) provides a detailed overview of the organization of translation activity at the ECtHR, referring predominantly to the procedural documents created after the decision stage, including also law reports, legal summaries, factsheets and press releases, which are all part of a larger system of genres (Nikitina 2019, p. 59) not discussed here on account of space restrictions. Here procedural genres are represented by the documents resulting from legal proceedings, and thus exclude the convention, press releases, factsheets, etc. The upper part of Figure 1, however, is rarely the object of institutional translation. Most frequently translation at this level is either carried out by the parties, the applicants (or rather their counsel) and

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[5] As Weston (2010, p. 77) describes, this professional figure is relatively new as there were no in-house translators for the Court before 1987.

the government agent's office, as is the case with written pleadings (Nikitina 2018a, p. 167, 2018b, p. 54), or by the Registry lawyers as is the case with notices to the government.

As a result, the upper part of Figure 1 corresponds to a "hidden" layer of institutional translation. As concerns the case communication stage, the Registry lawyers process the initial application in a national language, and then summarize (if applicable) and extract relevant fragments from the application, effectively "entextualizing" (Garzone 2020, pp. 171-172) information. This information is transposed or translated into one of the official languages of the Court, creating thus a document called here "case communication" which is then sent to the respondent government. Similarly to the ECtHR judges, for whom knowledge of languages is considered to be "one of the most important non-binding substantive criteria" (Kosař 2015, p. 133; also quoted in Brannan 2018, p. 175), language skills rank high in the selection of Registry lawyers[6], yet, obviously, no formal translation/linguistic training is required.

Not much is known about the translation procedures at this stage. Besides a marginal recognition in Brannan (2018, p. 190) that such "hidden" translation indeed exists (see also Peruzzo 2019a, p. 36), no other linguistic scrutiny has dealt with this topic. Informal interviews with the Registry lawyers indicate that the choice of a specific *modus operandi* frequently falls on the lawyer involved. The selection of the official language to use is also made implicitly, based on the active working languages of the legal professionals involved (both the Registry lawyers and the Government's agents). For instance, Russian-speaking lawyers and the Russian Government's agents appear to prefer to communicate in English, whereas Italian-speaking lawyers and Government agents most frequently seem to rely on French. So, whenever the respondent is not an English- or French-speaking state, in addition to the fact that procedural document drafters are non-native speakers of English or French (Weston 2005, p. 457), all decisions and judgments "incorporate a substantial amount of 'covert' translation from a third language" (Weston 2005, p. 449).

While the upstream part of Figure 1 (application – case communication – written observations) does not rank high in terms of translation priorities, any errors or imprecisions may leak later into a judgment along with the "covert" or "hidden" translation mechanisms described above. The judgment

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[6] A typical vacancy at B1-B3/ A1-A3 level requires the candidates to know at least one of the CoE languages, i.e. English or French, and knowledge of the other language is desirable. No minimum CEFR level is indicated; however, given the fierce competitiveness of the selection procedure, only proficient candidates are likely to be pre-selected. Knowledge of one's mother tongue and the national judicial system is a tacit requirement, because candidates in respect of a given country need to hold a university degree issued in that country, assuming their fluency in that national language.

wording may include quotes from preceding procedural documents, referring both to national legislation (Brannan 2018, p. 178) and to the so-called national "traces" or "system-bound elements", i.e. recontextualized elements that originated from a national legal system (Peruzzo 2019a, 2019b). As revisers and translators of judgments work typically in a French-English linguistic combination, it is unlikely that they could intervene substantially on such elements. The difficulty is further increased if the case concerns language-sensible statements, as it frequently occurs with allegation of violations of Article 10 ECHR – freedom of expression – addressed in Section 4.

4. Communication of cases alleging Art. 10 ECHR violation

Article 10 ECHR enshrines the right to freedom of expression, including "freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers". In the majority of cases, applications alleging violations of Article 10 are associated with image or reputational risks as well as defamation proceedings following a publication in conventional or new media outlets, or interference of authorities that censure or limit some outlets; however other forms of expression, e.g. a drawing modifying the President's face, posters and videos are also object of applications.

This study overviews an ad hoc corpus of case communications collected using the HUDOC database (Language: English; article: 10; respondent state: Russia; a 5-year timeframe: November 2016 – November 2021). The general search yielded 195 results, totaling 221,909 words (see Table 1). This larger dataset was used for genre description purposes aiming to uncover generic aspects of this hitherto unresearched genre. Although this is not a corpus linguistics study, WordSmith Tools 6.0 (Scott 2015) was used for word count and lexical search.

Corpus	Number of texts	Number of words
General corpus	195	221,909
Sample	18	31,201

Table 1
Study materials.

Almost all texts featured quotations of a varying length, ranging from single words to paragraphs. Based on the reconstruction of the procedural flow (see 2.2 and Figure 1), these quotes would amount later to instances of "hidden"

(Brannan 2018, p. 190) or "covert" translation (Weston 2005, p. 449) in judgments and decisions. The texts involve a significant amount of recontextualization from the initial applications lodged in the Russian language, as information is summarized and adapted to a new target audience (Peruzzo 2019a, p. 71).

I have extracted a smaller sample of eighteen texts and 31,201 words with graphically visible longer quotations. Two of the downsampled texts communicated more than one application, so the total number of cases concerned is higher (37) than the number of texts (18). A smaller corpus size was necessary to evaluate the translational side of case communications qualitatively on the basis of the descriptive Translation Studies paradigm, in order to explore the hidden layer of institutional legal translation at the ECtHR.

4.1. Case communication: genre-based perspective

Figure 2 below outlines the genre structure of the case communications analysed (the general dataset). The moves in italics are optional; A/B are alternatives; the moves in bold are core. As the main communicative purpose of the genre is to notify the respondent government about a case, all case communications briefly described it in move 4, where a minor variation appeared. 62% of texts introduced the case as "Subject matter of the case" (4A) and 36% of texts used the label "Statement of facts" (4B) (see Table 2). While it may seem just a different label, subtle presentation differences appeared. 4A texts were typically introduced by the formula "The application concerns…" followed by a synthetic description of the case. If the formula was not used, 4A move started with a description of an event or an action, foregrounding the actions that lay in the basis of the case. 4B, on the contrary, started with a different formula centred around the applicant(s) (see Figure 2), thus highlighting the person(s) who lodged the application. Another peculiarity concerns the length of case communications. As Table 2 reports, while texts using the 4B template were fewer, they were also significantly longer and more detailed. As all known variables were the same (subject-matter, timeframe, court section, respondent State, languages involved), the presence of two templates eludes a clear analytical explanation and invites further research with structured interviews. Peculiarly, all but one text in the smaller dataset are of a 4B type. As the additional criterion for the selection of texts in the smaller corpus was the presence of longer quotes translated from Russian increasing thus the level of difficulty in knowledge recontextualization, a question emerges: is there a correlation between the choice of the template (4A or 4B) and translation-related competence of the lawyers involved?

1. The Court logo and name

2. Date ("Communicated on…", sometimes adding "published on…")

3. Case details
- Court section number
- Application number
- Case name
- Date when the application was lodged

p e r i p h e r a l

4A. Subject matter of the case ("This application concerns…")

- *Subsections dealing with specific applications if more than one is communicated in the same document*

4B. Statement of facts ("The applicant, [Ms/Mr Name Patronymic Surname], is a Russian national, who was born in [year] and lives in [place]. He/she is represented before the Court by [Ms/Mr Initial Surname, a lawyer practising in

- **The circumstances of the case** ("The facts of the case, as submitted by the applicant, may be summarised as follows.")
- **Relevant domestic law**

- **Complaints**

5. Questions to the parties (numbered if more than one)
- *Common questions to the parties*
- *Additional case specific questions*

6. Appendix

C o r e

Figure 2
Generic structure in case communications.

Template	No. of texts	Percentage	Tokens
4A	121	62%	67,960
4B	71	36%	152,647
4C-5	3	2%	1,302
Total	195	100%	221,909

Table 2
Number of different of case communication templates.

There are three (2%) different texts, codified as 4C-5 in Table 2. These texts replace Move 4 by the intertextual formula in (1) and feature the only core move, "Questions to the parties" (Move 5 in Figure 2), focusing thus on the second communicative goal of case communications: to trigger the development of written procedure.

> (1) The facts and complaints in these applications have been summarised in
> the Court's Statement of facts and Questions to the parties, which is available
> in HUDOC.

The "Questions to the parties" core move, common to 4A, 4B and 4C-5, solicits the parties to provide written observations (or pleadings, see Nikitina 2018a, 2018b) and thus shift to the next procedural level (see Figure 1). This move lays the ground for future development of the written procedure, and the questions are formulated relying heavily on referential prepositions and short quotations from domestic law (e.g. "Did the national authorities provide any reasoning as regards the statutory requirement of 'exceptional circumstances'?"). The texts are also highly heteroglossic (Bakhtin 1981), but this aspect cannot be addressed here for space limitations (see Nikitina, forthcoming).

4.2. Case communication: translation perspective

As discussed in 3.2, the presence of translational traces in the ECtHR case-law is a well established fact in the literature. Analysis of the smaller corpus shed light on the nature of these traces that appear to be both of a system-bound type and of a linguacultural nature.

System-bound elements referring to the national legal system were among the most prominent translational traces even outside of direct quotations. They covered a variety of conceptual fields, such as national court types ("City Court", "District Court", "Regional Court", etc., preceded by a toponym), administrative bodies ("Duma"), judicial procedure and legal sources ("Code of Administrative Offences", "impediment to the exercise of official duties by a public official", "administrative escorting and arrest", etc.). This goes in line with Peruzzo's (2017, 2019a, 2019b) findings on the presence of system-bound elements in the ECtHR judgments with reference to the Italian system. The overall choice for such legal realia was to translate them literally (e.g. first-instance court) rather than to replace them with a functional equivalent[7] (e.g. trial court). Other types of Russian realia (geographical and social, such as currency and patronymics) also contributed to undeniably marking the texts as recontextualized and (partially) translated,

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[7] Translation-related terms are taken from Šarčević 1997, pp. 250-260.

but not legally transplanted (Fletcher 1999, p. 62), as the source legal system and culture were always easily identifiable.

Careful avoidance of legal transplantation is also represented by discourse transfer, i.e. "the tendency to insert typical language patterning of the source text into the translation" (Nikitina 2018a, p. 128). For instance, "repeated commission", "assist in the commission of crimes" or "guilt in the commission of an administrative offence" (2), calques the Russian multiword term *совершение преступления* (lit. "commission of a crime"), where the first element is typically omitted in English or rendered with a verb ("to commit").

> (2) It follows that [the applicant's] guilt in the commission of an administrative offence under Article 13.15(9) of the Code of Administrative Offence has been established. [Avagyan v. Russia 2020]

Analysis of the data suggests that most instances of discourse transfer were caused by the considerations of precision that shifted the translational balance towards a more literally oriented end of the continuum, resulting in stylistically deviant nominalizations. This goes in line with other studies on the ECtHR English signalling a certain amount of hybridization (Nikitina 2018a, 2018b; Peruzzo 2019a, 2019b) and studies on the EU legal English, or Euro-legalese (Koskinen 2008; see also Biel 2014), as in these varieties English functions as a European lingua franca (Scarpa *et al.* 2014, p. 54).

Whenever the system-bound terms were consolidated (e.g. court types), they were translated with literal equivalents, showing a different approach to the translation of system-bound terms to Peruzzo's (2019a, 2019b) findings on borrowings in judgments against Italy, where such authorities as *Questura* or *Consiglio di Stato* were left in Italian (Peruzzo 2019b, p. 22). However, when the concept was new, such as the novel definition of "fake news" (3), or potentially misleading, such as the name of a regional assembly (4), the Russian original was kept in brackets as a borrowing. It would be interesting to trace whether this choice is used consistently in other procedural documents, e.g. decisions or judgments (currently unavailable for the cases at hand), where it may occur more than once.

> (3) Paragraph 9 of Article 13.15 of the Code of Administrative Offences was added to read as follows:
> "Dissemination through the media and ICT networks, of <u>socially important information known to be untrue</u> [*заведомо недостоверная общественно значимая информация*] under the guise of reliable reports […] ... shall be

punishable by an administrative fine of between 30,000 and 100,000 Russian roubles ..." [Avagyan v. Russia 2020][8]

(4) On 31 May 2012 in a speech delivered during a parliamentary session, the applicant – who was then a parliamentarian in the Pskov Regional Parliamentary Assembly (*Псковское областное Собрание депутатов*) – addressed another parliamentarian (Mr S.) with the following phrase: "But you've been G.'s stooge, always – the whole region knows that!" ("*А вот то, что Вы были "шестеркой" Г., всегда, - это тоже знает вся область!*") [Savitskiy vs. Russia 2017]

Cases dealing with creative language, including profanity and colourful offensive lexis, such as insults reproducing jail jargon as in (4), deserve special attention. Legal translation is traditionally portrayed as a highly technical and specialized operation. Although some degree of creativity is allowed even in legal translation, it cannot be paralleled to the creativity in literary translation (Šarčević 1997, p. 116). The cases at hand demonstrate that institutional legal translation dealing with freedom of expression is, to use Garzone's term (2015), *a fuzzy set*. Here legal and terminological precision constraining translation choices coexist with liberal creativity necessary for the translation of colourful and obscene lexis acting as culturemes (Nord 1997, p. 37), i.e. "a cultural phenomenon that is present in culture X but not present (in the same way) in culture Y". Determining obscenity and profanity, also in relation to defamation cases, has been the task of forensic linguistics (Butters 2011). The need to transfer faithfully and effectively offensive expressions from one language into another is a well-known challenge for legal interpreters (see Hale et al. 2020 for an overview), as it requires top-tier pragmatic competence. Yet, to the best of my knowledge this issue has never been addressed from the point of view of institutional legal translation, let alone the one carried out by non-linguists.

Similarly to legal interpreting (Hale et al. 2020, p. 373), the main strategy to render vulgar or offensive expressions was to introduce a functional equivalent. But in contrast to legal interpreting – for obvious reasons of a different delivery mode and different expectations of target-orientedness – functional equivalents were followed by a borrowing, i.e. an untranslated Russian term, in parenthesis (Šarčević 1997, p. 256) as a kind of a translation couplet, see (5), also because it has been observed that lawyers favour the use of borrowings (Šarčević 1997, p. 257).

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[8] Original italics in every example. Underlining was added to highlight the object of analysis.

> (5) The applicant was found liable in civil defamation proceedings after he had exposed the fake news disseminated during his election campaign and described the person who had been at their origin as a "con man" (*аферист*). [Navalny v. Russia 2018]

Linguistic creativity ranged from colourful epithets to straightforward taboo lexis. At times, the case communications involved even translation of poetry (6), which is an undoubtedly complex semiotic product (Garzone 2015, pp. 135-136), further complicated by the need to keep the same level of derogatory connotations and lexical expressivity, as the one established by Russian-language experts in domestic proceedings.

> (6) The verse read:
> "You have not had a win in sixteen years, // Like <u>jackals</u>, you walked past the cups, // You salivated with jealousy // Wherever CSKA claimed victory.
> Your time had come, you won the Premier League, // You <u>wetted your pants</u> with joy, // It's funny to look at you, you are all like <u>imbeciles</u>, // Tell me what is the reason for all that joy?
> Have you ever won in Europe? // Have you ever brought glory to your country? // Spartak is <u>shit</u>, as are its fans, // I will <u>wipe my ass</u> with your crest!". [Ogurtsov v. Russia 2021]

> (7) His comment on the second video read: "Russia gifted $30 million to Kyrgyzstan. Putin is a fairy-tale dumbwit." The expression "fairy-tale dumbwit" (*сказочный долбоёб*) was first used to describe the hapless Prince Myshkin in the 2001 Russian comedy film *Down House*, a spoof of Dostoyevsky's novel *The Idiot*. Since then it has become a popular way of describing people who are so stupid that they could not possibly exist in the real world. [Kartyzhev v. Russia 2020]

Many profane expressions were rendered using a functional equivalent coupled with a zero-translation, an explanation or a gloss (7), going beyond the mere operation of translation and providing cultural background for the sake of the extended participation framework (cf. Goffman 1981), i.e. judges and lawyers coming from different contexts. The intensity of the expression in (7) was, however, toned down in translation, even though a number of closer taboo equivalents for *долбоёб* are available in English. The hesitation with straightforward taboo equivalents is comparable to many cases in legal interpreting, where obscenities are toned down (Felberg and Šarić 2017) as interpreters feel responsible for saying them. It is understandable that putting such equivalents in writing in a supranational context would require even a greater effort. Rendition of profanity in a different language requires the highest level of pragmatic competence (Hale et al. 2020, p. 388) and translation experience (Hale et al. 2020, p. 387), going well beyond a comparative law perspective, typically required of lawyers.

5. Concluding remarks

This study fills in the gap in the description of discursive and translational practices at the ECtHR, casting light on a previously neglected genre of case communication. Case communications represent a crucial junction in the procedural system of the ECtHR as they trigger the development of the written procedure and mark the linguistic turn from non-official into official language(s), paving the way for future references to national systems in judgments of this supranational court.

Drafting a case communication is a complex legal and linguistic operation, involving summarization and material entextualization from a longer application along with linguistic transposition from a non-official language of the ECtHR. The texts followed a variable template, the issue which eluded a clear analytical explanation. Is it just a manifestation of situated cognition of different lawyers? Is there a correlation between the choice of a template and the amount of (creative) translation involved? A future study with structured interviews would assist in uncovering the underlying mechanism.

The linguistic transposition amounts to a "hidden" layer of institutional legal translation at the ECtHR from a third language, which has not been extensively addressed so far in the literature. The study thus raises awareness on the origins of "covert" or "hidden" institutional legal translation in the ECtHR case-law, foregrounding the importance to assess its discursive practices holistically as a system of genres. The space limitations did not allow me to pursue this line of enquiry in detail, leaving exploration into the "life" of system-bound elements and their "migration" into other procedural documents for a different study (Nikitina, forthcoming).

Finally, against the widespread perception that institutional legal translation lacks creativity, the research uncovers its creative side. When dealing with Article 10 violations, lawyers had to deal with allegedly defamatory, colourful, offensive and taboo expressions in settings where at least the latter were unexpected. Profanity in the legal context has been extensively addressed in forensic linguistics and legal interpreting studies, yet it has not yet been covered in studies on institutional legal translation, identifying an exciting niche for further research.

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FRAMING THE NEW NORMAL IN TOURISM DISCOURSE
A Focus on Air Travel

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Abstract – This article sets out to map the discursive geographies of the new normal in tourism, placing its focus on airlines' communication after the COVID-19 crisis. Today, in the post-peak period, airlines are faced with new risk perceptions, forms of consumer behaviour and mobility trends. By means of a mixed-methods approach that focusses on linguistic cues and discursive frames identified with the support of an ad hoc textual corpus, this paper investigates how the enforced restrictions and required sanitary measures are explained and promotional messages addressed to customers by a number of major European airlines. The overview of a few salient linguistic and discursive strategies adopted on their corporate websites will show possible new attitudes and values in the world and words of air travel.

Keywords: air travel; crisis communication; linguistic framing; response strategies; tourism recovery.

1. Study background

With tourism as one of the sectors hit hardest, the COVID-19 pandemic has had a particularly negative impact on the aviation industry, forcing governments around the world to intervene to support airlines through various types of subsidies (Burini 2020). Trying to weather the shock, airline companies have adopted a number of recovery plans in order to mitigate the crisis and rebuild their business. Beyond the almost immediate crisis response strategies studied by established scholarship and adjusted to current times (Coombs 2007; Scheiwiller and Zizka 2021; Wodak 2021), the focus of this analysis is on the reshaping of their communication strategies as a key area of intervention and innovation and on the relationship of this reframing, if any, with new tourism paradigms (Gössling et al 2021 Tremblay-Huet and Lapointe 2021; Villacé-Molinero 2021).

The assumption that underlines the analysis is that new communication strategies go beyond mere corporate branding and are forced to some extent, at least, to address the reconceptualisation of travel made necessary after the pandemic. The reason for this rethinking has been induced by the risk scenarios and contingency measures that have affected our previously taken-

for-granted mobility (often indeed, hypermobility and overtourism) and have connoted the communication of the pandemic. Among the most frequent words and phrases we find *bans, confinement, disruptions, face masks, limitations, lockdowns, precautions, protective equipment*, *quarantines*, *restrictions, self-isolation* and *social distancing,* and all this against the contradictory notion of *non-essential* travel,[1] the closure of borders and the suspension of the Schengen area.[2] With regard to these deterring factors, it comes as no surprise that the official website of the European Union should host a "Re-open EU" section. [3]

In terms of public sentiment, two years after the outbreak, we can say that the pandemic has changed the way people think about travelling, making air passengers more aware of the risk of contracting infectious diseases, and not only when they fly to exotic destinations. This attitude, which becomes travel anxiety at times, is not without consequences for the civil aviation industry and the ways airlines connect with, and engage, their customers.

On the one hand, airlines' messages have to take in the respect for sanitary measures as imposed by international regulating bodies of civil airlines such as the International Air Transport Association (IATA) and the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) and as affected by specific national restrictions. On the other, airlines need to look ahead and rebuild trust and confidence with customers through proactive communication. However, it appears that, in order to be effective and long-lasting, recovery will have to take into consideration several factors, such as changing consumer behaviour, altered risk perception, increased attention to air passenger rights and emerging mobility trends. In particular, the COVID-19 pandemic has raised public awareness of the many dimensions of wellness and highlighted the importance of healthy, responsible and sustainable tourism (Wilks at al. 2021), although passengers still prioritise "price and connections over sustainability in booking decisions" (Ahmad at al. 2022).

By means of a qualitative approach that focusses on linguistic, discursive and rhetorical strategies enacted in the post-pandemic period, this paper investigates how European airlines explain the enforced restrictions and required sanitary measures and how they reframe promotional messages

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[1] Conversely, *essential* travellers belong to those categories with an essential function in society or are individuals having the imperative need to travel.

[2] Among several difficulties, passengers had to fill in their data in the European Digital Passenger Locator Form (dPLF), prior to entering a country.

[3] "Re-open EU provides information on the various measures in place, including on quarantine and testing requirements for travellers, the EU Digital COVID certificate to help you exercise your right to free movement, and mobile coronavirus contact tracing and warning apps. The information is updated frequently and available in 24 languages. This should help you plan your travel in Europe, while staying safe and healthy": https://reopen.europa.eu.

to customers in an effort to map the discursive geographies of the new normal in tourism.

2. Materials and methods

The analysis, which is qualitative in essence, resorts to the mixed-methods toolkit that goes under the name of Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis (CADS), whereby hypothesis-driven research is tested against linguistic evidence provided by corpora (Taylor and Marchi 2018). The qualitative approach has benefited from the concept of linguistic framing as applied in Critical Discourse Studies (Entman 1993; Wodak and Meyer 2016), which has proven useful in interpreting rhetorical structures that airlines have deployed to face the crisis in the aviation industry and then to attract customers again.

An ad hoc corpus of texts of over 73,000 words was created on November 15, 2021, with the help of the Sketch Engine web crawler tool (Kilgarriff et al. 2014). First, the websites of twenty European airlines (flag carriers and low cost) were selected: Austrian Airlines, Aegean Airlines, airBaltic, Air France, British Airways, Easy Jet, Finnair, Iberia, ITA, Jet2, KLM, Lufthansa, Norwegian, Ryanair, SAS, Swiss Air, TAP, Virgin Atlantic, Vueling and Wizz Air. To start web crawling, Sketch Engine was given the twenty URL addresses of the selected airlines. The suggested search words were *Corona*, *COVID-19*, *restriction*, *safety*, as they were thought to be general and inclusive enough to capture pertinent content. Secondly, as some airlines turned out not to be so visible in the collected data, these airlines' corporate websites were searched for posts on COVID-19 related content and the .txt files thus obtained were added to the corpus, a function allowed by Sketch Engine.

The linguistic data set thus collected was assessed and interpreted through discourse-analytic insights that will be illustrated in what follows.

3. Response strategies: a critical assessment

Recent research in corporate crisis communication and in trust-repair discourse has shown that airlines have resorted to three main types of post-pandemic response strategies, *instructing and adjusting*, *compensation* and *rebuilding* (Fuoli and Hart 2018; Scheiwiller and Zizka 2021; Tommaso 2021). This model is also employed here to begin the analysis. The first type of strategy aims to explain the necessity of the introduction of travel restrictions and health and safety measures, often subject to change, the

second offers redressive actions, and the third one promotes air travel, nonetheless. While the first two response strategies will be dealt with in this section, the third type will be discussed in the following one.

3.1. Risk, restrictions, responsibilities

The least palatable of response strategies, as it runs counter to the feeling of endless freedom and limitless opportunities associated with the tourist imagination in affluent democracies, is the implementation and enforcement of public health measures for epidemiological surveillance. This is confirmed by a first exploratory investigation of the corpus through the keyword extraction tool provided by Sketch Engine. The first five keyphrases (i.e. multi-word terms) that are obtained by comparing the target corpus against the pre-selected enTenTen20 reference corpus of over 36.5 billion words (Table 1) leave no doubt as to the pervasiveness of the strict COVID-19 regulatory framework in the aviation industry and airlines' communication.

Rank	Keyphrases
1	entry requirement
2	COVID-19 test
3	face mask
4	antigen test
5	travel restriction

Table 1
Keyphrases by Keyness in the Target Corpus.

Further insights may be gleaned by expanding the search to other semantically related collocations in the corpus. We encounter *Corona restrictions, entry restrictions, government mandates and restrictions, hotel quarantine restrictions, national and community restrictions, transit restrictions, travel and health restrictions, entry bans, travel bans, health requirements, quarantine requirements, testing centres, vaccination or test certificate.* Moreover, terms such as *compulsory*, *mandatory* and *necessary* add intensity to the framing of new unpleasant obligations, which are also *changing, latest, updated, varying, additional,* depending on the evolution of the epidemiological situation and the number of countries on the red list. The resulting feeling of uncertainty is often expressed through the use of the epistemic modal *may* (Table 2).

*L*ingue e
*L*inguaggi

Left Context	KWIC	Right Context
Face masks are	*compulsory*	and they significantly reduce the risk
they will have to	*compulsory*	self-isolate until the testing outcome is available
of their 10-day	*compulsory*	quarantine
testing is also	*compulsory*	for those vaccinated
entry bans or	*mandatory*	quarantines are put in place at your destination
it is	*mandatory*	to present the Green Pass
not made of fabric or surgical masks, are	*mandatory*	on all Lufthansa flights.
all the	*necessary*	health documents to travel
ensure you can provide all	*necessary*	documents and complete all pre-travel checks
Due to the travel restrictions currently in force, it may be	*necessary*	to adjust our schedule
where it is reasonably	*necessary*	to do so, or removing your face covering
the current rules and restrictions	*changing*	all the time
travel restrictions are	*changing*	frequently
Given the	*changing*	nature of this information
You must check the	*latest*	travel updates for each destination
Here, you'll find all the	*latest*	go-to countries
You can find the	*latest*	entry restrictions here
Please make sure to keep yourself	*updated*	since entry restrictions may change on short notice
Travel disruption information –	*updated*	9 June
our map info is regularly	*updated*	but it's simply a guide
travel and entry restrictions	*may*	apply for some destinations
alternative flight or hotel arrangements, but this	*may*	not always be possible
Quarantine	*may*	also apply to transit passengers
All the information in this section	*may*	be affected by current travel restrictions
security controls, which	*may*	further increase the queuing times
We understand your plans	*may*	need to change

Table 2
Edited KWIC Concordance Lines (Source: Author's Elaboration).

Moving from lexis to discourse, it can be generally observed that all the airlines here investigated try to avoid negative emotion words when referring to the pandemic. They give advice on risk-reducing behaviour and refrain from stigmatizing COVID-19 infection carriers – a passenger testing positive for the virus is described as a *confirmed case*. Nonetheless, this kind of market-driven persuasive discourse – often the hallmark of corporate branding – is ultimately at odds with the language of authority that is needed to announce the introduction and enforcement of new rules following government-level decisions. A case in point is when health-related information and requirements co-occur with words that convey explicit obligations, prohibitions and the negative consequences of violating them. It is hard to understate the fact that *failure to comply with* travel restrictions (or any *breach* thereof) may result in *denied boarding*, *refused entry*, *removal*

from the aircraft, *substantial fines*, *cancellation charges* and *costs imposed on the passenger*.

As the three examples below illustrate, COVID-19 requirements, which place a burden on air passengers and detract from the pleasure of flying, are frequently framed as restrictions.

(1)   Due to the current public health situation, travel restrictions are changing frequently. (Aegean Airlines, "Entry Requirements")

(2)   Some countries have established temporary entry requirements and restrictions, like having to show negative COVID-19 test results or going into quarantine. (Vueling, "COVID-19 Travel Requirements")

(3)   Please make sure to keep yourself updated since entry restrictions may change on short notice. As a traveler you are responsible for making sure you meet the necessary requirements to enter your destination, before leaving for the airport. (SAS, "Safe Travel")

We are faced with a legitimation of "the necessities of security" (Wodak 2021, p. 333) that includes the introduction of preventive public health and safety measures, another identifiable discourse strand within response strategies aiming to cope with the crisis.

(4)   The most stringent health measures against COVID-19. (Vueling, "Travel Safely and with Peace of Mind")

(5)   Unvaccinated Children 2-17, traveling with a fully vaccinated adult, must have a proof of a negative COVID-19 test (PCR or Antigen) taken no earlier than 3 days before departure. (SAS, "Traffic Information")

(6)   Below you'll find advice on what to do before, during and after your flight for travelling safely. Get to know our numerous health and safety measures designed to ensure your well-being throughout the journey. (Finnair, "Checklist for Safe Travelling")

Notably, compliance with regulations and health and safety measures – social distancing, amended cabin baggage policy, the array of COVID-19 tests (amplification test, antigen test, antibody test), the FFP2 mask requirement and mandatory quarantine in case of positivity, appropriate vaccine status – is framed as passenger responsibility by recourse to deontic expressions that in turn convey obligation (*must*, *should*, *to be required/compulsory/mandatory*, *to have to*, *to need),* recommendability (*to advise*, *to recommend, to suggest*) and permission (to *allow*, *to be allowed/permitted).* Customers should ensure they abide by these regulations. It is their responsibility to assess the risks and benefits of their decision to travel, also on the basis of their individual vulnerability to the virus which is implied in the warnings.

(7)   The customer is always responsible for finding out what requirements apply to documents (passport, visa, etc.). You are also responsible for

adhering to what entry requirements apply to vaccinations, which also includes the requirements that apply due to COVID-19. (SAS, "Entry Regulations")

(8) Depending on where you're going, certain countries are asking for different entry requirements, like completing specific forms, providing evidence of a negative COVID test, and quarantining on arrival. (Easy Jet, "COVID-19 Travel Restrictions")

(9) Due to the evolution of the pandemic situation, national and international mobility may be subject to the limitations imposed by local governments. It is therefore advisable to check the latest regulations before planning your trip. (ITA Airways, "Mobility Limitations")

As for sharing of risk and responsibilities in airlines' communication, we observe that hygiene protocols and safety measures are discursively prioritised. High safety standards work to contain the spread of the outbreak and minimise risk for airlines by means of *extensive hygiene measures* that include *disinfection*, *disinfecting and cleaning procedures*, *additional, deeper cleaning*, *efficient air ventilation and filtering* and *sanitation*.

(10) As well as disinfecting our aircraft, we've reinforced the cleaning procedure on board and in all the places where we have contact with customers: desks, buses between the aircraft and terminal, and all surfaces inside the aircraft. (Iberia, "Are the Aircrafts Disinfected?")

(11) During the new aircraft cleaning procedure, new mild sanitizers are used in order to clean and sanitize all sensitive touch areas such as seats, hand rests, tray tables, side walls, toilets etc, according to the instructions of the local health authorities. (Aegean Airlines, "COVID-19: Info & Prevention")

(12) The cabins of our planes are designed to keep the air clean at all times. The air is fully renewed every three minutes, purifying it and mixing it with fresh air from outside. HEPA filters get rid of bacteria and particles like those of the COVID-19 virus, with an efficiency of 99.99%. (Vueling, "Travel Safely and with Peace of Mind")

The mention of "certain countries", "local governments" and "local health authorities" in examples (8), (9) and (11) underlines an important element in the framing of response strategies, shedding light on mutual responsibilities in a complex landscape of rights and regulations. It is well-known that sanitary restrictions and safety measures were introduced by individual countries in different moments, as the pandemic spread through the world in subsequent waves. Analysts claim that such lack of coordination and the unilateral manner in which national measures were taken "contributed to the collapse of air travel" (European Commission 2021, p. 5). It follows that, to this date, airlines have had to frame their health and safety measures constantly negotiating with national biopolitics and body politics (Wodak 2021, p. 336), a difficult communicative task.

As for the issue of biopolitics, we are reminded of Adey's critique of the biopolitics (2009) that problematises the use of profiling and biometric sensitive data in airport and border security as a potential restriction of human rights. It should be pointed out, however, that the pandemic is not the first time that air passengers have had to adapt "to enhanced security controls in airports and strict rules regarding their luggage" (*The Lancet* 2020, p. 993). Added security measures that changed the way people used to travel were established after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Besides, the pandemic was very soon represented as a public health crisis, a situation in which the legal but also the affective focus is placed on the public good rather than protection of individual rights, despite the number of unsolved tensions between these two poles. At any rate, recovery in air travel "will rely on biopolitical decisions aimed at securing the mobile bodies and (re)creating place around the sanitary measures" (Tremblay-Huet and Lapointe 2021, p. 257).

3.2. Offering redressive measures

Drawing on Fuoli and Hart's observations on trust-repair discourse (2018), Tommaso applies them to the field of air travel and observes that "to meet the expectations of the customers who may be concerned with health risks, a strong degree of willingness is foregrounded through a wider range of linguistic resources" (2021, p. 158). A communication strategy which is consistent with their corporate ethics (Garzone and Catenaccio 2022), airlines display unrelenting empathy while committing themselves to their customers' well-being and safety.

With reference to health and safety measures, it is to be noted that they do not lose their priority in the post-pandemic context. Public health concerns are still cogent and continuity of action is important despite social bias towards underestimating the pandemic. In the post-pandemic context, instead, sanitary measures, often employing high-tech sanitizing technology, are discursively reframed as a sign of excellent corporate performance and customer service.

> (13) Your health and safety remain at the heart of everything we do. We have put in place the strictest health measures on the ground and in flight to keep you protected at every step of your journey. (Air France, "Health Measures")
>
> (14) We know that things look and feel a little different these days. But rest assured, your safety is our priority. We've put lots of extra measures in place to make sure you have a happy and healthy holiday. (Jet2, "COVID-19 Hub")

As restrictions are gradually lifted, a new service has seen the creation of rapid test centers, offering certified tests at the airport as opposed to self-

tests, as well as comprehensive forms of travel insurance with COVID-19 cover. This service aims to grant passengers "peace of mind" (in examples 4, 12, 15 and 18).

> (15) To ensure easy access to testing services at a discounted price we have partnered with the healthcare service companies Vaccina and Expresscare. You can start your journey with peace of mind, as you are provided with a COVID-19 test that meets the international quality standards. The test methods used by our partners is the most accepted coronavirus test in the world. (SAS, "Safe Travel")
>
> (16) Protect your trip with the insurance cover of our partner AIG. All important COVID-19 benefits are already included in our individual insurance packages and will therefore also provide you with comprehensive cover in the event of a COVID-19 infection. (Lufthansa, "The Right Insurance Cover for Your Trip")

Redressive promotional measures include compensation/e-vouchers for cancelled flights (on certain conditions). In fact, although air passengers are entitled to the timely reimbursement of airfare in case of cancellation, a 2021 European Commission report shows, instead, that they were often unprotected against airline insolvency, especially during the first wave.[4]

> (17) If your ticket is within the conditions mentioned on this page, we recommend that the free change of your ticket or the request of the refund voucher be made online through Manage Booking. (TAP, "Rescheduling and Refunding")
>
> (18) Travelling today comes with new concerns, and Finnair would like to offer you some extra peace of mind when you travel. Finnair Corona Cover is offered at no additional cost and provides cover in case you test positive for COVID-19 while at your destination. (Finnair, "How to Travel Safely on Holiday")

These marketing moves and communication strategies had already been anticipated in a 2020 editorial in *The Lancet*. The medical journal listed the availability of a vaccine, rapid testing for crew members and passengers, enhanced cleanliness and sanitation and a common use of masks or other protective equipment "as instrumental in reinstating confidence in travellers" (p. 993), together with "touchless service delivery and investments in digital technologies" (Babii and Nadeem 2021), such as contactless forms of

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[4] "The COVID-19 crisis brought into sharp focus the fact that air passengers were not informed fully about their rights, and that there was a risk that they would consequently lose money to which they were entitled. The crisis also shed light on limitations to Member States' enforcement of air passenger rights: many passengers were not reimbursed in the initial phase of the crisis; many others had no other choice than to accept vouchers" (European Commission 2021, p. 4).

payment and the introduction of downloadable menus and magazines. It is a new form of service that airlines have started to implement, while air passengers have become familiar with storing vaccine certificates and COVID-19 test results on smart devices.

(19) For your safety, we no longer offer newspapers and magazines on board. Download your favorite press titles 30 hours before your departure on the Air France Play app. (Air France, "Health Measures")

(20) No physical brochures or magazines will be located in seat pockets on board, only our easyJet Safety Card; these are sprayed with disinfectant which provides surface protection against viruses for at least 24 hours. (Easy Jet, "COVID-19 Travel Plans")

4. Promoting post-pandemic air travel

Despite an uneven post-pandemic recovery, confidence in travelling is slowly rising again (Ahmad et al. 2021; Krishnan et al. 2021). In Willie Wash's words, IATA's Director General:

> People are increasingly frustrated with the COVID-19 travel restrictions and even more have seen their quality of life suffer as a result. They don't see the necessity of travel restrictions to control the virus. And they have missed too many family moments, personal development opportunities and business priorities. In short, they miss the freedom of flying and want it restored. The message they are sending to governments is: COVID-19 is not going to disappear, so we must establish a way to manage its risks while living and traveling normally. (Cruise Guide, 7.10.2021)

In light of the restrictions and safety measures still in place and new risk perceptions and responsibilities, the question nonetheless remains about the effectiveness of airlines' persuasive rhetoric to resume successful promotional communication and engage old and new customers in a 'seamless' travel experience, after the economic shock and job losses they are trying to recover from.

After a number of promotional messages during the pandemic that more or less amounted to "Dream now, Travel later", a noticeable strategy now is that of reframing restrictions and regulations, which are still a burden for customers that have to keep abreast of change, as cautionary advice and new forms of agency. Within this frame, technology-assisted searches are offered as a way of engaging current and prospective customers against the

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disruption and fragmentation suffered in the last two years and placing them again at the centre of the tourist experience.[5]

> (21) We strongly advise that all customers continue to check our interactive travel map to ensure you are aware of the latest requirements and can comply with all entry requirements for your destination(s) both before and at the time of travel. (Easy Jet, "COVID-19 Travel Plans")
>
> (22) To check regulations in your destination, please select your origin and destination. Please note that the information in this widget is not managed by airBaltic, information is based on the most recent available data and might not be exhaustive. (airBaltic, "Travelling to Other Countries")
>
> (23) Where can I fly to? Check out the COVID-19 requirements for your dream destination with our new tool. (KLM, "Find Your Destination")
>
> (24) Enjoy the summer and plan your next trip to your dream destination. Use our interactive world map now to discover the destination that best matches your holiday requirements. Have fun planning your holiday! (Lufthansa, "Your Longed-for Destinations at a Glance)

In the following examples, *flexibility* and *rebooking* reframe limitations imposed by the epidemiological situation and the unavailability of some destinations as empowering opportunities and newly regained freedom, counterbalancing the burden of restrictions and regulations.

> (25) Plan your travels with flexibility. (Finnair, "Change Your Booking Flexibly")
>
> (26) Flexibility is important for travelers. We have therefore introduced more flexible rebooking options so that you can travel now or later. (SAS, "Flexible Booking")
>
> (27) In view of the exceptional circumstances caused by the spread of the coronavirus we offer even greater flexibility for your travel plans. All fares and ticket prices can be rebooked for existing as well as new bookings on short, medium and long-haul routes. This also applies for cancelled flights. (Lufthansa, "Extended Rebooking and Voucher Options")
>
> (27) We offer one free rebooking on all our flights. (Norwegian, "Flexible Travel")
>
> (28) Our Flexdeals offer maximum flexibility when you need it. Book now and reunite with your loved ones during the holiday season! (KLM, "Flexdeals")
>
> (29) Our current priority is to gradually resume our operations so you can travel once again on board our flights in the best possible health & safety conditions. We are also continuing our actions to ensure a responsible travel experience, to which we are still fully committed. After this crisis,

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[5] The impact of smart working will probably result in a decrease in business travel in the future, even for financially healthy companies, as technologies will likely replace that type of mobility.

> we will more than ever seek to be the pioneers of more sustainable aviation. (Air France, "Travel with Us")

Finally, the discursive expansion in example (29) from health and safety measures for "a responsible travel experience" to more sustainable flying highlights what could be a highly desirable permanent trend in the new normal of air travel (Ruban and Yashalova 2020). It has been shown that the halt to air travel during the past two years resulted in positive environmental impacts such as reduced carbon footprints, improved air and water quality, and ecological restoration. Among consumers, besides, a new breed of eco-travellers is emerging, 'flight shamers' that abandon air travel because of high emissions and are opting for more sustainable means of transportation.

Apparently, however, sustainable travel remains a marginalised discourse, despite earnest efforts on the part of those airlines that have started to invest in biofuel R&D. We read in the news media that the trend now is still "revenge travel" (Marcus 2022), where people long to go back to hypermobility, one of the deprecated excesses in the world of tourism (Renaud 2020; Milano and Koens 2022).

5. Concluding remarks

This paper has investigated the linguistic and discursive reframing of response strategies of twenty European airlines in post-pandemic times, collecting a textual corpus from their corporate websites and highlighting how these companies have managed to formulate their response strategies against the complexity of intervening changes: country-specific biopolitical practices, changed risk perception, new consumer behaviours and attitudes. Response strategies have turned out to be substantially standardised across the different websites.

In light of all this, it is still uncertain whether the aviation industry will move in the desirable direction of sustainability and degrowth, as "the emerging discursive field of sanitary responsible tourism […] is woven with neoliberal growth discourses, and therefore we should not underevaluate the capacity of the market to feed on risk as a growth factor, and especially on technologies and services that build a perception of risk mitigation" (Tremblay-Huet and Lapointe 2021 p. 258).

At the same time, a return of the industry to the mindset of pre-pandemic times seems unlikely (Bouwer, Saxon and Wittkamp 2021). Besides the introduction of biopolitical practices and technological solutions that are already changing air passengers' travel experience in diverse ways, it is hard to believe that the pandemic and climate emergency will not leave an

indelible mark on how a global crisis is framed and possible ways of recovery envisaged, no matter how contradictory.

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Sitography

IATA International Air Transport Association, https://www.iata.org
ICAO International Civil Aviation Organization, https://www.icao.int

Airlines

Aegean Airlines, https://en.aegeanair.com
Air Baltic, https://www.airbaltic.com
Air France, https://www.airfrance.com
Air Portugal, https://www.flytap.com
Austrian Airlines, https://www.austrian.com
British Airways, https://www.britishairways.com
Easy Jet, https://www.easyjet.com
Finnair, https://www.finnair.com
Iberia, https://www.iberia.com
ITA, https://www.itaspa.com
Jet2, https://www.jet2.com
KLM, https://www.klm.com
Lufthansa, https://www.lufthansa.com
Norwegian, https://www.norwegian.com
RyanAir, https://www.ryanair.com

Scandinavian Airlines, https://www.flysas.com
Swiss Air, https://www.swiss.com
Virgin Atlantic, https://www.virginatlantic.com
Vueling, https://www.vueling.com
WizzAir, https://wizzair.com

CIVITAS EDUCATIONIS
Testi, lingue e culture

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Abstract – What is the impact exerted by literary images in the context of translation and at which level of intersection do they meet in the field of critical reading of the text? One of the main objectives of comparative literature is the study of the foreign dimension of the literary text, the relation that the literary work entertains with the linguistic and cultural universe within which it co-exists and operates. The literary text creates at various levels - writing, reading and media use – encounters between languages, culture, and collective imagination and at the same time interchanges, manipulations and renderings of meaning. Exploring the foreign dimension of a literary creation requires that the analytical or interpretative project one is elaborating, takes into consideration the strictly textual, linguistic and cultural aspects that characterize the work, most importantly the translated version. Starting from these premises, the analysis proposed here, providing an operative exportable model for the text, focusses on processes through which the images of the Other exert a formative role in the various contexts in which the construction of the translated text is devised. This makes it possible to attribute a cultural influence in conjunction with a linguistic one, while reflecting on the translation, which is an increasingly topical issue nowadays, in the framework of the constant redefinition of identity to which we bear witness.

Keywords: imagology, literary translation, literary reception, textual analysis.

Le riflessioni che seguono si sviluppano intorno alla questione della dimensione straniera del testo letterario o meglio evocano l'esperienza dell'alterità, dell'estraneità o, ancora, di quello che definiamo l'Altro presente in un'opera e da questa veicolato attraverso strategie retoriche, soluzioni linguistiche, condizionamenti culturali: la ricezione delle opere straniere, nella loro lingua originale e, soprattutto, in traduzione.

Va subito detto che approcciare il testo letterario in questa prospettiva può comportare il rinvio a situazioni di ordine personale come ad esempio l'evocazione della tematica viatoria, la sua esperienza e la sua drammatizzazione attraverso l'atto della scrittura: come non essere d'accordo con il pensiero sofisticato ed elegante di Vita Sackville-West, che nel Chapter I, Introductory, del suo diario *Passenger to Teheran* afferma e scrive che "Travel is the most private of pleasures" (Sackville-West 1926/2007)? D'altronde, le attestazioni dell'Altro, di cui un'opera straniera è inevitabilmente espressione, possono affiorare nelle maglie di una scrittura

che reca i segni di una dimensione culturale e linguistica plurale, vissuta e fatta propria dallo scrittore e da questi restituita nel testo attraverso le dinamiche di un immaginario individuale e, spesso, collettivo: è in virtù di ciò che si proiettano e si fissano nel testo letture e modelli di pensiero attraverso i quali dialogano, più o meno facilmente, il sé e l'Altro, alimentando l'esperienza dell'alterità.

Il riferimento è al ruolo esercitato dalle immagini letterarie, intese come attori di assoluto rilievo nel processo di comunicazione del messaggio e di rappresentazione dell'alterità all'interno del testo letterario, nonché alla funzione da esse svolta a livello linguistico, sociale e culturale: la rappresentazione letteraria dell'altro "passa" molto attraverso il filtro di famiglie di immagini iconiche, verbali, inconsce, da quelle dei media a quelle ancor più diversificate del mondo della pubblicità, da quelle pittoriche e fotografiche a quelle verbali. Oggi le immagini alimentano immaginari nei quali la componente scopica si affianca a quella linguistica e a quella mentale fino a definire uno spazio privilegiato per la lettura e l'interpretazione della realtà che ci circonda: l'essere circondati da immagini che l'evoluzione nel campo delle tecnologie diversifica ulteriormente assegnando loro nuovi modi di esistenza e di contatto, determina in noi la tendenza a sviluppare il nostro pensiero proprio per immagini.[1]

Si tratta di riflessioni che riguardano da vicino pratiche linguistiche e culturali come la traduzione e la ricezione di testi tradotti che conservano la propria dimensione straniera e che entrano nel circuito della lettura di un pubblico terzo anche attraverso l'intermediazione critica o divulgativa di riviste di settore, di giornali e, oggigiorno, di un sistema intermediale rizomatico e interconnesso, sia specialistico che orientato verso il grande pubblico.

Se uno degli obiettivi principali della letteratura comparata è lo studio della dimensione "altra" presente in un testo e nelle pratiche di scrittura che lo caratterizzano, è facile intuire quanto la riflessione sulle opere straniere possa interessare lo studio comparatistico in una prospettiva critica centrata appunto sulla ricezione letteraria di testi stranieri in una letteratura data. Si potrà subito pensare agli studi attesi – e superati, aggiungiamo – che indagano il peso esercitato da un'opera straniera su un altro testo appartenente a un'altra letteratura oppure l'irradiazione esercitata da un'opera straniera in un'altra letteratura in un momento storico dato: il riferimento sarebbe a concetti fondativi e portanti della disciplina come lo studio delle influenze, la fortuna letteraria esercitata da un'opera, un autore e così via.

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[1] Per un approfondimento sul ruolo delle immagini in letteratura e sull'imagologia si vedano Proietti (2008), Puglisi, Proietti (2002), Puglisi, Proietti (2007), Proietti (2014: 170-181).

Rimanendo nella prossimità di questo orizzonte critico, credo poi che sia importante almeno ricordare in questa sede la portata innovatrice esercitata da un'estetica della ricezione che, teorizzata da Hans Robert Jauss e da Wolfgang Iser nell'ambito del progetto sviluppato dalla Scuola di Costanza nel corso degli anni Sessanta e Settanta del Novecento, ha assegnato al lettore, alla dimensione storica, sociologica e alla componente linguistica e fenomenologica che caratterizza la scrittura, un ruolo attivo e condizionante nei processi di ricezione dell'opera[2]. Una posizione teorica peraltro ripresa e declinata negli anni Ottanta in America entro i canoni di un *Reader-Response Criticism*, che valorizzando gli aspetti pragmatici della letteratura, ricomprende la questione della ricezione letteraria all'interno di un interesse prevalente per gli aspetti socio-culturali della comunicazione letteraria e per i fenomeni di identificazione che si instaurano fra il lettore e l'opera (Tompkins 1980).

Oggi sappiamo bene che il quadro globale entro il quale si genera e si colloca ogni fatto letterario – scrittura, lettura, traduzione, comunicazione, produzione, canale di diffusione – richiede un approccio analitico e interpretativo aperto a pratiche plurali e ibride intese come punto di convergenza di un sapere umanistico sempre più fondato sul principio dell'intersezione, dell'ibridazione, che tenga conto della rilevanza delle tecnologie nei processi linguistici e di comunicazione: la vasta produzione scientifica e convegnistica alimentata dagli studi sull'intermedialità, sulla fenomenologia dell'iconotesto, sul cosiddetto *visual storytelling*, sulle neuroscienze, per citare alcune delle più recenti prospettive critiche, è lì a ricordarcelo: queste sono le nuove frontiere verso cui tendono oggi molti studi di ambito comparatistico letterario.[3]

Tornando alla questione critica posta in apertura, ossia la ricezione delle opere straniere, nella loro lingua originale o in traduzione, e fatta una veloce ricognizione degli strumenti analitici e interpretativi di cui la letteratura comparata oggi dispone per affrontare criticamente tutto ciò, vorrei procedere focalizzandomi sulla relazione che il testo intrattiene con gli universi linguistici e culturali entro i quali si muove, perché ogni testo, indipendentemente dal proprio ambito di appartenenza (letterario, specialistico, pubblicitario, ecc…), indipendentemente dalla propria tipologia (narrativo, descrittivo, argomentativo regolativo, ecc..), produce a vario livello (scrittura, lettura, fruizioni mediali), incontri proprio fra lingue e

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[2] Oltre ai testi fondatori, ai quali si rimanda, si segnala qui una sintesi critica mirata e lucida dei principi teorici postulati dagli studiosi della Scuola di Costanza (Segers 1997/2001). Si segnala, inoltre, il più recente e mirato studio di Caracciolo (2014).

[3] Per un primo utile approfondimento si segnalano alcuni recenti studi di settore: Freeman et al. (2018), Fusillo et al. (2021), *Traduzione intersemiotica e nuove forme di testualità – Intersemiotic translation and new forms of textuality,* "Comparatismi", II, (2017).

culture e allo stesso tempo attraversamenti, manipolazioni, restituzioni di senso, mediati dagli immaginari che entrano in relazione, a loro volta rappresentati secondo precise strategie di scrittura. La mia allusione è alla forte vicinanza fra due ambiti della letteratura comparata: l'imagologia, in quanto strumento privilegiato nella rappresentazione letteraria e culturale dell'Altro e la ricezione dell'immagine dell'Altro attraverso la traduzione. Cercherò dunque di tracciare alcuni percorsi che possano orientare la riflessione critica su questo dialogo fra immagini letterarie e testo tradotto, fra imagologia e traduzione.

Lo studio delle immagini letterarie apre il testo alla relazione con l'alterità seguendo un percorso di letterarizzazione e di socializzazione e ciò permette di valutarne la sua portata estetica, letteraria, ma anche la sua reattività rispetto al contesto culturale nel quale esso è stato pensato, scritto e nel quale si alimenta l'immaginario. Pensiamo al ruolo esercitato in letteratura dagli stereotipi culturali e dai *cliché* per comprendere fino a quale punto, nel quadro di un immaginario culturale dato, un'immagine stereotipata possa rinviare a percezioni dell'Altro in qualche modo deformate o semplificate. Un esempio testuale potrà chiarire meglio questi concetti.

Ne *L'Auberge rouge (L'albergo rosso)*, Balzac presenta l'immagine di Hermann, un ricco negoziante tedesco, che accoglie nei suoi tratti di uomo di Germania, una serie di informazioni *prêt-à-porter*, pronte per l'uso, denotative dell'immaginario francese di quel periodo sulla Germania:

> Cet ami, chef de je ne sais quelle maison assez importante de Nuremberg, était un bon gros Allemand, homme de goût et d'érudition, homme de pipe surtout, ayant une belle, une large figure nurembergeoise, au front carré, bien découvert, et décoré de quelques cheveux blonds assez rares. Il offrait le type des enfants de cette pure et noble Germanie, si fertile en caractères honorables, et dont les paisibles mœurs ne se sont jamais démenties, même après sept invasions. L'étranger riait avec simplesse, écoutait attentivement, et buvait remarquablement bien […] Il se nommait Hermann, comme presque tous les Allemands mis en scène par les auteurs. En Homme qui ne sait rien faire légèrement, il était bien assis à la table du banquier, mangeait avec ce tudesque appétit si célèbre en Europe. (de Balzac 1831/1995: 9-10)[4]

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[4] 'L'amico in parola, capo di non so quale importantissima ditta di Norimberga, era un pacioso grassone tedesco, uomo di buon gusto e di cultura ma soprattutto di buona cera, con una bella larga faccia norimberghese, dalla fronte quadrata assai spaziosa e sormontata da qualche rado ciuffo di capelli biondi. Insomma, il prototipo dei figli di quella pura e nobile Germania, tanto feconda di caratteri schietti e incapaci di venir meno ai propri pacifici costumi, neppure dopo sette invasioni. Lo straniero rideva con cordialità, ascoltava con attenzione, e beveva con una bella tenuta (…) Si chiamava Hermann, come quasi tutti i tedeschi messi in scena dai commediografi. Da uomo che non sa dove stia di casa la leggerezza, se ne stava saldamente seduto alla tavola del banchiere, mangiava con quel teutonico appetito tanto celebre in Europa (…)'.

Il lettore può senza troppa difficoltà riconoscere nei tratti del personaggio Hermann, quelli di un modello stabile, saldamente presente nell'immaginario collettivo francese, fondato sulla persistenza di alcuni elementi invarianti, rinvianti all'immagine secolare di un'identità germanica fondata sui principi della solidità caratteriale "un bon gros Allemand", "une large figure … au front carré"; della purezza e dell'integrità morale "pure et noble Germanie, si fertile en caractères honorables", alle quali si accompagnano le qualità di formidabili fumatori, bevitori e di grandi mangiatori. Si tratta di un'immagine che ben evidenzia la strategia rappresentativa attuata dallo stereotipo: il testo letterario si coniuga secondo i dettami di un modello precostituito, che deriva i suoi contenuti dalla sfera extraletteraria, cioè dal contesto storico, sociale e culturale di riferimento, e che sono sostanzialmente condivisi dal pubblico dei lettori. Ciò si traduce in una precisa scelta poetica volta a garantire il massimo dell'efficacia nella comunicazione attraverso l'eliminazione di tutti quegli elementi semantici non immediatamente decodificabili e riconducibili nella logica riduzionista ed unicista propria dello stereotipo. Tanto l'immagine si caratterizza per la propria polisemia, per la propria capacità di presentare, quanto lo stereotipo si connota per la sua struttura monosemica: esso è un segnale che presenta sempre il medesimo messaggio. L'attributo, in questo senso, svolge un ruolo centrale nella funzione di enunciazione del testo e spesso tende nella sua qualità di accessorio a sovrapporsi al concetto generale, garantendo in tal modo sintesi ed univocità del messaggio: la purezza e la nobiltà di Hermann sono, per processo di qualificazione, estesi a tutta la Germania. Ogni scelta lessicale sembra essere funzionale alla comunicazione chiara ed univoca del modello condiviso e tutte le altre parti del discorso non direttamente riconducibili allo schema precostituito svolgono un ruolo marginale nella strategia di rappresentazione: così sapere che Hermann è "chef de je ne sais quelle maison assez importante de Nuremberg" risulta assolutamente marginale ai fini dei processi di attribuzione di senso seguiti dallo stereotipo; piuttosto questo tipo di informazioni serve a conferire un grado di maggiore realismo, senza modificare nella sostanza la fissità della rappresentazione. Questo significa che gli stereotipi, pur presenti nel quadro di situazioni storicamente o socialmente diverse fra loro, non cambiano nella sostanza e si configurano come una sorta di "variazioni su un tema": il nucleo centrale di credenze condivise in esso presente, mantiene la propria stabilità malgrado il mutare del contesto esterno assicurando in tal modo la persistenza dello stereotipo quale immagine che, staticamente, ripete il medesimo nucleo concettuale.

L'immagine, nella sua realtà molteplice e sfuggente, come si può osservare, intrattiene relazioni molto strette con lo stereotipo, che di essa costituisce una forma particolare, che si potrebbe definire "di massa" e statica. Gli studi di imagologia letteraria trovano la loro specificità nel

rapportarsi a questi contenuti focalizzandosi sull'''examen de la production du texte", nell'esigenza di mettere a fuoco "comment les rapports de Je avec l'Autre se transforment en conscience énonciative" (Pageaux 1994: 67).[5] Questo significa considerare la struttura fissa dello stereotipo nel quadro poetico, storico, sociale, culturale del testo letterario nel quale si inserisce ed attraverso il quale lo stereotipo stesso riceve attribuzione di senso ed effetto. Così, unità figurative stereotipate come "il tedesco gran bevitore", "lo scozzese orgoglioso", "è verde dall'invidia", ecc., assolvono alla loro funzione di enunciazione solo se trasposti nel contesto del discorso che li ricomprende. In tal modo lo stereotipo entra nel discorso letterario come precisa strategia retorica, che permette di stabilire una relazione diretta fra il testo letterario e l'immaginario sociale. È in questa soglia d'incontro che l'imagologia può, con successo, inserirsi per indagare i meccanismi di produzione di senso interni al testo, partendo dalla relazione che lo stereotipo istituisce fra il campo intrinsecamente letterario e questioni riconducibili alla ricezione letteraria, alla critica sociale, alla semiologia, agli aspetti storici e sociali del linguaggio.

D'altronde, attraverso la traduzione il testo richiede che si stabiliscano molteplici relazioni: fra autore, traduttore, lettore, senza dimenticare gli attori del processo di ricezione, dagli editori alla critica al marketing collegato.

Ora, analizzare le dinamiche di influenza che le immagini dell'Altro esercitano nei diversi contesti in cui si sviluppa la costruzione del testo tradotto – dalla scelta del testo da tradurre alla lettura della traduzione da parte del pubblico destinatario, passando per le strategie di riproduzione delle immagini e degli stereotipi dell'Altro – permette di assegnare alla riflessione sulla traduzione una portata culturale e linguistica che diventa sempre più attuale al giorno d'oggi, nel quadro di ridefinizione costante delle identità al quale assistiamo.

In effetti, l'analisi delle immagini dell'Altro alla quale rinvia ogni pratica imagologica svolge un ruolo molto importante nell'attività di traduzione e, parallelamente, la traduzione può svolgere un ruolo attivo o un effetto trasformativo sull'immagine esistente o emergente dell'Altro: si tratta di un'influenza reciproca sulla quale gli studi sulla traduzione e gli studi imagologici nel complesso si sono poco dedicati, ma che vale la pena di approfondire. Qual è, dunque, l'impatto esercitato dalle immagini letterarie nell'attività di traduzione e a quale livello di intersezione si incontrano questi due ambiti di lettura critica del testo?

A un primo livello, preliminare a quello della traduzione del testo, fattori come l'immaginario di attesa del pubblico verso il quale si traduce, possono esercitare condizionamenti sull'editore così come sul traduttore

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[5] 'come i rapporti dell'Io con l'Altro si trasformano in coscienza enunciativa' (T.d.A).

riguardo alla scelta dei testi da tradurre e anche sul successo di questi testi presso il pubblico terzo una volta che sono stati tradotti. In altre parole, l'immagine dell'Altro entra in una logica di condizionamento o di interferenza con le norme di carattere letterario o estetico che sono all'origine delle scelte traduttive operati dai traduttori e dagli editori.

Le scelte e i condizionamenti in tal modo determinati si ritrovano nel quadro delle norme sistematizzate da Gideon Toury e da lui definite *Preliminary norms:*

> Preliminary norms have to do with two main sets of considerations which are often interconnected: those regarding the existence and actual nature of a definite translation policy, and those related to the directness of translation. (Toury 1995: 58)

A partire da queste puntualizzazioni, si può affermare che un testo tradotto diventa l'espressione delle dinamiche che si sono prodotte preliminarmente alla sua stessa scelta, attraverso le quali fattori come la tipologia testuale, la comunità dei lettori e il suo orizzonte d'attesa, le case editrici, gli agenti letterari e editoriali esercitano un condizionamento sull'importazione di un testo dato, in una lingua e in una cultura considerati a un momento storico dato.

Questo approccio critico non alimenta una riflessione teorica rinviante alla teoria della traduzione, piuttosto favorisce uno studio storico e culturale del fenomeno della traduzione: si può pensare in questo senso ai percorsi critici intrapresi alla Scuola di Tel Aviv dallo stesso Gideon Toury, ma anche da Itamar Even-Zohar nel quadro della sua articolata " Teoria del Polisistema ", sviluppata a partire dal 1970, nella quale si ritrova uno spazio preciso dedicato a ciò che egli definisce *The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem* (Even-Zohar 1978: 21-7). In quello studio, nato da un intervento all'Università cattolica di Lovanio nel 1976, egli parla del ruolo di modelizzazione esercitato dalle traduzioni quando si verificano le condizioni relative a tre casi principali:

> (a) when a polysystem has not yet been crystallized, that is to say, when a literature is "young," in the process of being established; (b) when a literature is either "peripheral" or "weak," or both; and (c) when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature. (*Ibidem*: 23)

Si tratta di vere e proprie reti di corrispondenza esistenti fra pubblico da un lato e istituzioni dall'altro, reti che si organizzano a un livello nazionale o globale e che esercitano forme di condizionamento. In questo caso la traduzione gioca un ruolo molto importante: sia nei processi di creazione o di ricreazione delle eteroimmagini dell'Altro sulla base della prospettiva più o meno deformante dello sguardo di colui che osserva, sia nei processi di

produzione della sua propria autoimmagine e nei meccanismi di autopromozione alimentati da quest'ultimo. A questo stadio non si può negare la centralità delle scelte di selezione esercitate dal traduttore. D'altronde, in questi casi risulta importante anche la valutazione del ruolo svolto dalle traduzioni nella produzione letteraria complessiva di un'epoca.

Questi aspetti non devono essere sottostimati, poiché essi, sempre a un livello preliminare, implicano la possibilità o meno di fare ricorso a traduzioni indirette, passando attraverso l'intermediazione di alcune lingue piuttosto che di altre; in questi casi, inoltre, le traduzioni mettono in rilievo l'operazione di intermediazione linguistica stessa che si è prodotta o, al contrario, possono nasconderla.

Nel divenire del processo traduttivo del testo, a un secondo livello, ossia nel dispiegarsi del momento ermeneutico durante l'azione traduttiva, le scelte operate dal traduttore producono un effetto significativo sul prodotto finito.

Si tratta di una fase nella quale il testo che si sta traducendo entra in un vero e proprio processo di significazione: l'immagine dell'Altro, sotto forma di stereotipo o meno, può determinare le scelte traduttive promuovendo omissioni, integrazioni terminologiche, scelte lessicali – basti pensare agli aggettivi, ai descrittori, ai modismi – e tutto ciò si concretizza in una vera e propria codificazione del testo.[6]

Si può fare un esempio considerando i titoli delle opere letterarie tradotte, i cambiamenti a cui essi sono soggetti, anche a causa dei condizionamenti indotti dall'immaginario del pubblico di destinazione del testo tradotto, dall'immagine che esso si è fatto di un'opera o di un autore.

Daniel-Henri Pageaux, nel quadro di una riflessione più ampia sulla lettura e sulla ricezione del testo letterario, definisce la traduzione come

> l'expression linguistique, littéraire d'un écart entre deux cultures, d'une différence. Cette différence est proprement la part créatrice, originale dans le cas de la traduction. (Pageaux 1994: 42)

Questa idea di "scarto differenziale" fa sì che la traduzione possa ben configurarsi come processo di rilettura testuale attraverso il quale si offrono al testo di partenza nuove possibilità di espressione.

Il romanzo *Pölsan*, dello scrittore svedese Torgny Lindgren (2002), permette di sviluppare qualche ulteriore considerazione. Nell'originale in lingua svedese, il titolo rimanda al termine che identifica un piatto tipico della tradizione gastronomica popolare svedese, la *pölsa*, un piatto di "recupero" - mescolanza ribollita di interiora, radici e tuberi vari, con molte

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[6] Sulla significazione e sul suo valore semiotico, si rimanda a Eco (1975).

varianti territoriali - della cui ricetta migliore i protagonisti della storia si mettono alla ricerca. La *pölsa*, oltre ad esprimere una connotazione geo-culturale, acquista nel romanzo il valore semiotico della perfezione, a lungo ricercata e fatalmente mai raggiunta. Tradurre questo termine in un'altra lingua richiede al traduttore quello sforzo di rilettura a cui allude Pageaux, quando parla di traduzione e di "scarto differenziale fra due culture". La scelta traduttiva per la corrispondenza semantica fatta dal traduttore in lingua inglese, che opta per un iperonimo, il termine *hash* – una assai più generica sorta di polpetta di carni tritate, geo-culturalmente non connotata – determina un impoverimento in termini di simbologia culturale, e colloca la traduzione decisamente in un cono d'ombra rispetto all'originale (Lindgren 2004). Il traduttore italiano e il traduttore francese, invece, colgono appieno il problema dell'adattamento posto dal culturema di partenza - quali informazioni fornire? quelle relative alla forma, alla consistenza, alla provenienza, del cibo? all'uso, al significato metaforico del termine? – ed optano per un adattamento del titolo con il quale si annulla la specificità terminologica di partenza, non tanto ricorrendo alle categorie dei sovraordinati – come fa il traduttore inglese, per il quale un trito di carne può ben rappresentare il più connotato piatto svedese - piuttosto rimodulando il punto di vista critico e adottando un'altra prospettiva di lettura, ma pur sempre restando collegati alla rete tematica sviluppata nel romanzo. *La ricetta perfetta*, molto convincente titolo della traduzione italiana, permette allora di restare nel campo semantico del cibo e di collegare quest'ultimo alla ricerca della perfezione, percorso sul quale si snoda il progetto filosofico del romanzo. *Fausses nouvelles*, titolo della traduzione francese, indica invece che la scelta presa dai due traduttori, vira verso l'abbandono del campo semantico collegato al cibo e valorizza il percorso tematico di un romanzo che continuamente riflette sulle possibilità di una *mimesis* narrativa che mette in discussione ogni presunzione di verità e di certezza (Lindgren 2003).

Se nella traduzione in inglese si coglie la perdita di un importante referente culturale e il titolo risulta per questa ragione trasformato, le traduzioni in italiano e in francese sono altrettante espressioni di quel fecondo "scarto differenziale" che permette al lettore terzo di dialogare con il testo originale attraverso un titolo modificato.

In Italia, il romanzo *Amerika* di Franz Kafka, benché sia stato ormai chiarito che l'idea dell'autore fosse quella di intitolare il romanzo *Der Verschollene*, ossia *Il Disperso*, continua a essere pubblicato come *America* o come *America o il Disperso* o, ancora, come *America, il Disperso*, conformemente a un immaginario di ricezione che ha codificato il romanzo

con il titolo tradotto di *America* (Lindgren 2004).[7] Invece, il romanzo *Como agua para chocolate. Novela de entregas con recetas, amores y remedios caseros* della scrittrice messicana Laura Esquivel è presentato ai lettori italiani con il titolo *Dolce come il cioccolato: romanzo piccante in 12 puntate con ricette, amori e rimedi casalinghi*: in questo caso ci si trova di fronte alla scelta presa dal traduttore (o dall'editore?) che non riproduce l'espressione messicana "Como agua para chocolate" (ribollire di rabbia). La traduzione trasforma il titolo nel transito culturale che si compie dall'ambito di partenza a quello di arrivo e, soprattutto, introduce l'immagine di una storia d'amore piccante, che non si ritrova nella storia narrata: l'immaginario dei lettori italiani ha condizionato la scelta del traduttore o la strategia di marketing della casa editrice.

Ora lasciamo i titoli ed entriamo più propriamente nel testo, restando per comodità nel campo semantico del cibo. Talvolta la traduzione del cibo, quando la terminologia è posta al servizio della retorica, impone soluzioni che ogni traduttore letterario tende a non prendere volentieri: l'integrazione di note e chiose che accompagnano il testo e diventano la spia di un'alterità – linguistica, culturale – di uno scarto che per differenza non si è riusciti a colmare a scapito della stilistica.

L'incipit del romanzo *La seiche* della scrittrice francese Maryline Desbiolles (1998), offre a questo riguardo lo spunto per una breve considerazione.

Nel progetto narrativo della scrittrice francese la seppia, per la sua morfologia sempre cangiante, per la ricca terminologia francese che ne identifica le varianti e le prossimità di specie, diventa il simbolo di un'identità plurale, della quale la protagonista della storia è alla ricerca, e che persegue nella successione delle fasi di preparazione scandite dalla ricetta delle seppie ripiene, che presto si collegano, grazie al cibo, a momenti e situazioni particolari della sua vita. Così inizia il romanzo:

> La recette commence par une erreur. J'avais pris soin de la copier sous la dictée d'une dame qui ressemblait à la marraine de Cendrillon dans le film de Walt Disney, mais la bonne fée était persuadée de nous avoir cuisiné des seiches farcies. En vérité c'étaient des calmars, que j'ai entendu bien souvent appeler calamars, mais aussi encore encornets, et même tautennes quand on veut faire couleur locale. Il était bien dans la manière de cet animal au nom changeant et à la morphologie fluctuante de nous plonger dès l'abord dans la confusion. Nous avions mangé des calmars pour des seiches, lesquelles sont aussi des suppions, lorsqu'elles sont petites, voire des scipions comme je l'ai

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[7] La maggior parte delle traduzioni in italiano del romanzo di F. Kafka *Amerika*, presentano il titolo *America* (Garzanti, Mondadori, Einaudi). Feltrinelli titola invece *America o il disperso*, mentre Rizzoli e Fabbri titolano ambedue in due versioni alternative, a seconda dell'edizione considerata: *America: il disperso* oppure *America (il disperso)*.

lu sur le menu d'un grand restaurant où on voulait peut-être faire son malin. (*Ibidem*: 7)

Si parte dalla seppia e si giunge al calamaro, si potrebbe dire, e se la differenza fra le due specie può non essere stabilita con precisione - come fa la scrittrice giocando con i termini, piegandoli ad un progetto retorico preciso, al quale corrispondono pagine lavorate accuratamente e disseminate di difficoltà intelligenti grazie alle quali il ricorso alla terminologia si caratterizza per l'elevato livello di metaforizzazione, disorientando il lettore - diverso è il discorso per il testo tradotto, che di tutto ciò deve rendere conto. In questo caso, a livello retorico la traduzione in italiano qui considerata non si è concessa omissioni, descrizioni, modulazioni, adattamenti o addomesticamenti, mentre a livello terminologico ha optato per l'equivalenza o per la corrispondenza, nell'esigenza finale di ripristinare la dominante stilistica, focalizzata in quel frammento narrativo proprio sulla pluralità terminologica, anche se questa scelta ha determinato il ricorso all'impego di una nota:

> La ricetta comincia con un errore. Con molta cura l'avevo copiata sotto dettatura da una signora che assomigliava alla madrina di Cenerentola nel film di Walt Disney, ma la fatina era convinta di averci cucinato seppie ripiene. In realtà erano calamari, che molto spesso ho sentito chiamare caamari, ma anche calamai e addirittura totani quando si vuole usare un linguaggio più colorito. La mutevolezza dei nomi e la forma fluttuante di questo animale ci faceva andare subito davvero in confusione. Avevamo mangiato calamari per seppie, le quali sono anche seppioline quando sono piccole, o addirittura seppiette, come ho letto nel menù di un grande ristorante dove forse volevano mettersi in mostra. (Desbiolles 2013: 23)[8]

Comincia a diventare più chiaro che tradurre – in questo caso il cibo - significa investire la pratica interlinguistica di una portata propriamente culturale, poiché attraverso la lingua esprimiamo la nostra cultura, il nostro modo di essere e di pensare. Tradurre, allora, significa far viaggiare il testo, proiettandoci per il suo tramite nel perimetro di riferimenti a termini o a espressioni culturalmente specifici, i cosiddetti *realia*, i modismi, e fronteggiare le sfide traduttive che questi pongono.

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[8] La ricchezza terminologica della lingua francese ufficiale, per i termini calamaro e seppia, non ha un riscontro altrettanto abbondante nella lingua italiana ufficiale. Nella traduzione in italiano, laddove possibile, si è privilegiata la scelta dei termini corrispondenti indicati nel Vocabolario della lingua italiana dell'Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, riservandosi di fare ricorso anche a termini di carattere regionale per compensare le occorrenze altrimenti non traducibili. Il termine francese *calamars* è stato dunque tradotto con *caamari*, ricorrente in Liguria, mentre il termine francese *encornets* è stato tradotto con calamai, ricorrente in Campania, Lazio e Sicilia. (N. d. T)

L'ultimo livello del processo traduttivo riguarda le dinamiche della ricezione dell'opera tradotta, la sua lettura e la sua diffusione presso la comunità dei lettori. Si tratta di un passaggio importante perché in questa fase entrano in gioco numerosi fattori: editoriale (tradurre comporta anche l'esigenza di annotare, introdurre, premettere); commerciale, materiale (fiere letterarie, festival della letteratura, premi letterari, ecc…); di ordine intellettuale o socio-culturale (il ruolo della critica letteraria, delle riviste letterarie, dei blog dedicati). In questo scenario si inseriscono le immagini, gli stereotipi, i cliché, costituendosi come altrettante norme che entrano nel processo di valutazione di un'opera o di un autore. Tutto ciò finisce con l'influenzare, condizionare, orientare la lettura, il "consumo" della dimensione straniera dell'opera attraverso il ruolo svolto dalle immagini sul testo tradotto.[9]

Riprendendo la questione critica posta in apertura, centrata sulla ricezione delle opere straniere nella loro lingua originale e, soprattutto, in traduzione e provando ora a tracciare un bilancio, necessariamente provvisorio, si può prendere in prestito l'immagine matematica offerta dal sistema di riferimento cartesiano. Si può infatti affermare che ogni testo tradotto, nel paesaggio letterario d'arrivo si colloca all'incrocio di due assi fondamentali sui quali esso costruisce il proprio posto simbolico: l'asse orizzontale della distanziazione culturale e linguistica straniera, che valorizza l'identità estraniante dell'opera letteraria rispetto all'orizzonte d'attesa ricevente, e l'asse verticale della sua canonizzazione nel sistema d'arrivo, che misura il grado di assimilazione e integrazione stilistica, morfologica, tematica dell'opera tradotta nel sistema letterario di arrivo. Si tratta di prospettive di valutazione diverse ma complementari, nelle quali entrano in gioco questioni di ordine socio-culturale, linguistico, imagologico, stilistico, il cui impatto testuale genera un effetto di condizionamento sull'atto della lettura, della ricezione dell'opera tradotta.

L'idea di una *Civitas educationis,* cioè di una cittadinanza che si costruisce anche grazie al sapere riconoscere – da parte di critici, traduttori, editori, lettori - la stretta relazione che si istituisce fra testi, lingue e culture, diventa allora la metafora di una prospettiva degli studi di comparatistica letteraria che richiede di fare dialogare la ricezione critica dell'opera straniera sia con le ricerche e la pratica della traduzione, sia con gli studi di ambito storiografico-letterario e imagologico. Con questa consapevolezza comparatistica gli studi letterari si configurano come modello analitico e interpretativo che, in forma interdisciplinare, può dare un apporto strumentale

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[9] Per un approccio metodologico alla lettura critica delle opere in traduzione da una prospettiva imagologica, si veda anche Proietti (2018: 129-156). Sulla letteratura in traduzione in Italia, si veda anche Sisto (2019).

concreto e fare luce sui meccanismi attraverso i quali gli uomini rappresentano nel tempo il proprio universo culturale, gerarchizzano i propri valori, simbolizzano il proprio pensiero, creano discorsi e narrazioni di cui l'opera letteraria, straniera in particolare, è sempre una vetrina privilegiata.

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MULTIETHNIC FAMILIES AS PERFECT MATCHES
A Study of Verbal and Visual Metaphors in Children's Picture books on Interracial Adoption

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Abstract – This paper sets out to investigate interracial adoption narratives in children's picture books and explores how these narratives are constructed through the combined use of verbal and visual metaphors. The study examines a selection of six picture books published in the U.S.A. over the last few years and targeting a readership between the ages of four and eight. Interracial adoption books can help youngsters make sense of their reality and can be relied upon to initiate family conversations about difficult topics such as the lack of genetic bond and resemblance between parents and children. Since metaphors involve talking about one thing in terms of another, they can be strategically used in picture books to make complex concepts accessible to young readers. The study identifies the main metaphorical configurations of interracial adoption discourses in children's books by means of a hybrid methodological toolkit that integrates the approaches of Critical Discourse Analysis, Critical Metaphor Analysis and Multimodal Metaphor Studies. Findings suggest that narratives about interracial adoption are positively biased and often contain oversimplifications or inaccurate descriptions of adoptees' life situations; while these stories aim to offer children reassuring answers about complicated issues such as identity and ethnicity, they frequently fail to provide validation for adoptees' ambivalent feelings towards their new situations and families.

Keywords: metaphor; adoption narratives; critical metaphor analysis; multimodal metaphor studies; interracial adoption.

1. Interracial adoption and children's books: Some preliminary information

Interracial adoption (also known as transracial or visible adoption) started after World War II and the Korean War (Garcia Gonzales, Wesseling 2013, p. 257). Since then, this practice has been the object of an animated debate. On the one hand, there are those who claim that being adopted by parents from another racial background–white/Caucasian for the most part– may cause children to have difficulties in developing a sense of ethnic identity and to be ashamed of their origins (Docan-Morgan 2010, p. 337). International interracial adoption, involving adoptees from third-world countries, is also

heavily contested by people who consider it "a new form of colonialism and cultural imperialism" that reproduces unfair social structures in the adoption countries (*ibid*). Supporters of interracial adoption reply to these criticisms by highlighting that moving children out of institutionalized care to place them into a permanent family serves their best interest (*ibid.*).

Although racial homogeneity still represents the norm for most families in North America and in Western countries, multi-ethnic households "are on the rise in the context of globalization, transforming assumptions about what a family should be" (Sun 2021, p. 232). These demographic changes are, as yet, only partially acknowledged in literature and films (Satz 2007), although the situation is changing rapidly.

In this regard, scholars Macarena Garcia Gonzales and Elisabeth Wesseling remark the presence of a "flourishing niche market of children's books about adoption for young adoptees that are mostly produced by stakeholders in transnational adoption" (2013, p. 258). These books function as mirrors through which adopted readers can see their self reflected (Sims Bishop 2012), as the stories and characters presented are modelled on those of adoptive families. Children's literature has been shown to affect young readers' understanding of their lives and of the context in which they find themselves (Sun 2021, p. 232); as a consequence, interracial adoption books can help them make sense of their reality and "can be an effective way for families to address sensitive issues and contextualize their experiences, [and be turned into] a means to initiate dialogues between adoptive parents and adoptees who might be reluctant to open discussions or ask questions" (*ibid.*).

These stories offer both a source of entertainment and repertoires for identity construction (Garcia Gonzales, Wesseling 2013, p. 258) as they include narratives which contribute to children's progressive coming to terms with their past (Suter *et al.* 2014). Over the last few decades, scholars have increasingly recognized the importance of narratives, which they define as social constructions that permeate our everyday life to the point that we interpret the world and signify ourselves to others through them (Gergen, Gergen 1986). Visibly adoptive families in which "members' racial characteristics provide visual evidence of a lack of biological ties to both insiders and outsiders" (Galvin 2006, p. 242) negotiate their identity relying on language and social interaction remarkably more than biological families (*ibid.*). This might explain why adoptive parents are avid consumers, reproducers–and oftentimes even creators– of interracial adoption narratives.

Tropes based on analogy (e.g. metaphors or similes) are among the rhetorical and linguistic devices deployed to make complex issues such as adoption easily comprehensible to small children. As underlined in the following section, metaphors in particular are used to communicate – in simpler and more accessible terms – unfamiliar concepts which young

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readers may encounter in their books.

2. "Metaphors we adopt by"

2.1. Aims

According to Lakoff and Johnson's classic definition (introduced in their volume "*Metaphors We Live By*"), metaphors involve the representation of an "aspect of a concept in terms of another" (Lakoff, Johnson 1980, p. 10) on grounds of observed affinities or correspondences between them. These scholars define 'source domain' the semantic field metaphorical items are selected from, and 'target domain' the entity or conceptual meaning described by the metaphor. As this figure of speech aids with the understanding of notions which may be unknown to the audience, a readership of children lends itself by its nature to a wide use of metaphors. More recent research has focused not solely on metaphors' role as cognitive tools but also on other strategic functions (Garzone 2021, p. 161); more specifically, they have been recognized to also provide a framing for the entity or event that they describe (Semino 2008). The choice of source domain foregrounds certain elements of the target domain while backgrounding others (Lakoff, Johnson 1980, pp. 10-13 and *passim*), that is to say different metaphors can offer different framings of an identical object or experience. As a consequence, distinct individuals' understanding and interpreting of the same reality may vary depending on the metaphors they are exposed to.

The study of metaphors can thus offer a valuable insight into the narratives presented in children's books and describe the way in which this trope can contribute to young adoptees' coming to terms with and framing of their present and past situations. At the moment, scholarly work analyzing children's book on adoption is scarce (Jerome, Sweeney 2014, p. 681) and scientific inquiry into interracial adoption stories even more rare. Starting from this premise, this study intends to contribute to filling this gap. It sets out to identify recurring metaphors in a sample of picture storybooks for young interracial adoptees and to single out the dominant metaphorical configurations at the basis of adoption narratives. In so doing, the research aims to shed light onto the strategies utilized to help adopted children process their life history and investigate their identity against the backdrop of their multi-racial families. The findings of this analysis will enrich the debate about whether adoption narratives in children's books contain oversimplifications, stereotypes and inaccurate or biased descriptions. Stories targeted at small children are inevitably simple and easy to follow, but, according to some studies (cf., among others, Bergquist 2007; Kokkola 2011;

Chen 2013; Garcia Gonzales, Wesseling 2013; Jerome, Sweeney 2014; Sun 2021), numerous books provide an idealized representation of transracial adoption, a representation that may end up generating confusion or, worse, a sense of inadequacy in young readers if they do not feel or act the same way as the fictional characters. By focusing on how interracial adoption, young adoptees and birth/adoptive parents are metaphorically portrayed in children's picture books, this study verifies whether the latter present an unrealistic and romanticized view of adoption and of the parties involved.

2.2. Materials and method

In order to reach these objectives, a sample of books was constructed on the basis of the following criteria: first, all the stories had to be written in English for an English-speaking readership. Second, the dates of publication of the volumes span from the mid 2010s to 2020, which means they are relatively close to the time of writing[1]. As a matter of fact, by investigating books that were published recently, the study intends to provide a snapshot analysis of interracial adoption narratives currently circulating in the U.S.A[2]. Finally, the target audience of the books is comprised of readers between 4 and 8. This range was chosen since the age of 4/5 coincides with the moment "when parents begin to actively share adoption information and when children begin to understand adoption language and label themselves as adopted" (Jerome, Sweeney 2014, p. 682; cf. also Brodzinsky 2011). Finally, all stories had to be set in the post-adoption stage and explore issues connected with racial heterogeneity.

The picture books for the analysis were singled out by cross-referencing lists of titles featured on specialized websites[3] on interracial adoption, on the reading social media platform *Goodreads* (goodreads.com), and on the world's largest online selling marketplace *Amazon* (amazon.com). Specialized websites and *Goodreads* were instrumental in the identification

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[1] Five books out of six were published between 2016 and 2020 and provide a recent representation of interracial adoption in children's picture book. In spite of its 2003 publication, *"I Don't Have Your Eyes"* was exceptionally included in the data set because, besides meeting all the other criteria established for the selection, it had a strong focus on racial and cultural diversity within adoptive families which made it particularly suitable for the research.

[2] As already noted (cf. §1), over the last few decades the number of both interracial adoptions and of children's books featuring adopted protagonists different ethnicity than their parents have been rising steeply in the USA. Consequently, recent publications on the issue of racially diverse families represent a noteworthy object of study.

[3] The websites used in this study are the following: (i) *Adoptive and Foster Family Coalition* (https://affcny.org/), (ii) *The Open Book Blog. A Blog on Race, Diversity, Education and Children's Books* (<https://blog.leeandlow.com/>), (iii) *Colours of Us* (coloursofus.com), *Creating a Family* (https://creatingafamily.org/), (iv) *Pact, an Adoption Alliance* (https://www.pactadopt.org/).

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of the most popular books dealing with the topic of transracial adoption; *Amazon* was used "because there is a broader selection than what may be in any one physical bookstore at one point in time" (Jerome, Sweeney 2014, p. 682) and because sales of niche books (such as interracial adoption children's picture books) represent a significant portion of total book sales within the online marketplace (*ibid.*). *Amazon* is therefore a valuable source that allows determining what products are available for purchase and may have a significant circulation, thus exerting a certain impact on interracial adoption discourse.

Restrictions of language, dates of publication, age group and availability led to the following sample of six books:

1) *"And That's Why She Is My Mama"* by Tiarra Nazario (2020)
2) *"Mommy Doesn't Look like Me"* by Jason M. Rhea (2020)
3) *"Heart Match"* by Bernadette Pankey (2020)
4) *"Mommy and Me Don't Match"* by K. Monsma (2018)
5) *"My New Mom and Me"* by Renata Galindo (2016)
6) *"I Don't Have Your Eyes"* by Carrie A. Kitze (2003)

The materials selected were analyzed through the use of a hybrid methodological toolkit. Drawing on the assumptions that metaphors manifest themselves in a variety of semiotic resources and that the visual component is as important as text in picture books (Calvo-Maturana 2020, p. 286), this study relies on a combination of methods – whose main framework is discourse-analytical – suited for the examination of both verbal and pictorial metaphors. The tools of Critical Discourse Analysis ('CDA'; Fairclough 1989) are here integrated with those of Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004; 2005) and Multimodal Metaphor Studies (Forceville 1996; 2006; 2013) and synergically employed to investigate the selected book sample. Just like CDA, Critical Metaphor Analysis or 'CMA' has been traditionally utilized in research about media and political discourse. However, since it "is an approach to the analysis of metaphors that aims to identify the intentions and ideologies underlying language use" (Charteris-Black 2011, p. 45; Charteris-Black 2004), it can be legitimately applied to the examination of social constructs such as adoption narratives in order to disclose their ideological underpinnings.

Both CMA and Multimodal Metaphor Studies entail a three-step metaphor analysis process heavily indebted to Fairclough's model (1995) featuring the three stages of identification, interpretation and explanation and which, in turn, hinges on Halliday's systemic functional linguistics framework (1985). Metaphor identification is connected with ideational meaning "that is, identifying whether [metaphors] are present in a text and

establishing whether there is a tension between a literal source domain and a metaphoric target domain" (Charteris-Black 2004, p. 35). Both CMA and Multimodal Metaphor Studies share the view that "the *purposes of use* within *specific discourse contexts*" (emphasis in the original; *ivi,* p. 247) are crucial factors to account for in the identification/interpretation stages. As regards CMA, this is because "metaphor choices may be governed by cognitive and semantic and pragmatic considerations and by ideological, cultural and historical ones" (*ivi*, p. 248). As for Multimodal Metaphor Studies, the salience of context and purpose is also linked to the fact that the pictorial mode lacks the grammatical cues corresponding to the "paradigmatic verbal 'A IS B'" (Forceville 1996, p. 111); as a consequence, the wider pictorial-verbal context plays a key role in visual metaphor recognition. Metaphor interpretation is concerned with interpersonal meaning, i.e. the kind of social relations that are constructed through the use of this trope, while metaphor explanation has to do with textual meaning, "that is, the way that metaphors are interrelated and become coherent with reference to the situation in which they occur" (Charteris-Black 2004, p. 35)[4].

The three steps of metaphor identification, interpretation, and explanation make it possible to assess the degree of conventionality of the verbal/visual metaphors featured in adoption narratives; this kind of information is paramount in establishing how ideologically charged the latter can be, since, as Charteris-Black maintains,

> [t]he advantage of using metaphors *–especially those that have become the conventional ways of expressing certain points of view–* is that this taps into an accepted communal system of values. This has the effect of making a particular value system more acceptable because it exists within a socially accepted framework (emphasis added; 2004, p. 12)

After illustrating the method and before moving onto to the analysis, a couple of *caveats* are worth mentioning. The first is that the verbal component of two picture books (i.e. "*Mommy Doesn't Look like Me*", "*And That's Why She Is My Mama*") contains rhymes, which means that word choice may be affected by the presence of this device. The investigation of these texts will take this peculiarity into account. Another point that should be preliminarily raised is that the vast majority of the books has been written, edited, and sometimes even illustrated and self-published by adoptive parents. This is very common in the field of children's adoption publications (Bergquist 2007, p. 300) but should nonetheless be considered in a study like

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[4] Both Charteris-Black's and Forceville's model present taxonomic classifications of metaphors whose items are not described in this section but will be illustrated whenever necessary in the following sections.

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this. As a matter of fact, it is reasonable to assume that the fact that adoption narratives are produced by people who have a personal involvement in this practice may affect the way the latter is described in the books.

3. (Un)matching looks

An initial glance at the data set reveals interesting patterns. First, it is possible to observe that youngsters' point of view dominates the narratives. The presence of an internal focalization coinciding with adopted children's perspective is immediately apparent in the titles, which contain numerous instances of first-person singular pronouns and possessive adjectives. This may have to do with the fact that one of the plausible purposes of this kind of book is to offer a simulation of possibly awkward conversations within multi-ethnical families about lack of physical resemblance. It may be also claimed that these texts provide templates for identity-affirming responses that adoptees can rely on during challenging encounters (especially when their parents are not there; cf. Suter *et al.* 2010, p. 254).

Another feature shared by most of the books is that they construe the metaphor of the '(perfect) match' to indicate the developing relationship between adopted children and their parents. This metaphor is lexicalized and therefore not immediately detectable. However, the notion of 'match' belongs to the 'source domain' of clothes and fabrics and is utilized in the books to suggest that the combination of adoptive parents and children is congenial and harmonious just like textures and colors that fit together. In the stories, the 'target domain' of this metaphor is somewhat unstable as it either includes physical resemblance or behavioral affinity; as illustrated below, the target becomes the object of an intense discursive negotiation (sometimes realized through the use of reported speech) between family members.

The ways in which the 'match' metaphor is presented in the texts and in the pictures is characterized by a certain degree of ambiguity. From the textual perspective, recurring patterns emerge in the narratives: they start with the child's acknowledgment (often expressed through the PHYSICAL RESEMBLANCE IS (NOT) A PERFECT MATCH metaphor[5]) that their aspect is noticeably different from that of their parents. The subsequent step is represented by the adult's rejection or downplaying of the concept that family members are not a perfect match and the emphasis on similarities (conveyed in many books by the metaphor BEHAVIOURAL RESEMBLANCE IS A PERFECT MATCH). Finally, the epilogues of the

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[5] Block capitals are used in this chapter in accordance with the conventional notation for indicating source domains in metaphor theory.

stories may feature the metaphor of the 'heart match' and end with the child narrators no longer confused but at peace with their identity.

3.1. Dialogism and negotiation of physical appearances

As already noted, interracial children's books may present young adoptee readers with situations that they may be too intimidated to experience in real life; in particular, "child narrators in these books candidly express their feelings and raise questions adopted children are afraid of addressing or questions with which they are often bombarded from other people" (Chen 2013, p. 98). The issue of looking different from one's adoptive parents or siblings can be "unsettling, leading to a feeling of not fitting into the family" (Brodzinsky 2011, p. 2003) for some children. Even when it is not, this issue has inevitably to be tackled and the possible ways of doing it are described very similarly in most books. The starting point of the narratives coincides with either a question (which is answered by the mother in a subsequent reported dialogue) or with a statement contained in a concessive construction. Although all stories rely on a first-person narrator whose perspective coincides with that of the adoptee, the voices of other actors (those of parents but also those of people who bring up the subject of physical resemblance with the child) are also incorporated in the text, but to different degrees. In other words, an element of dialogism is observable in all the texts, but, whereas some stories incorporate reported speech (Fairclough 1992, pp. 117), others present instances of interlocutive dialogism (Brès/Nowakowska 2005, p. 139), that is to say they contain strategies aimed at anticipating the addressee's possible response to the narrator's utterance. In *"Mommy and Me Don't Match"*, the little protagonist starts her story by highlighting the visible differences between her mother and herself:

> My mom has light skin. And I have brown skin. She has brown hair and green eyes. I have black hair and brown eyes. (Monsma 2018)

She eventually expresses her uneasiness caused by the dissimilar looks with the 'match' metaphor with a direct question. Her mother's response consists in first briefly acknowledging the fact that her skin/hair/eye color is not the same as her daughter's and then in coming up with a list of reasons why the two of them in fact do match (i.e. they have the same number of hands, legs, toes, and belly buttons).

> "Mommy, how come we don't match?"[…]
> "You are right, honey" […] But I have a question for you! I have two hands. How many do you have" (Monsma 2018)

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"Heart Match" also begins with a case of reported speech including the 'match metaphor':

> I ask my mom why our family doesn't match. She says we do! / The bottoms of our feet match. / The palms of our hands match. / Our teeth match. Even our tongues match. (Pankey 2020)

In this case the mother does not mention physical differences but she asserts the validity of the 'match' metaphor by repeating it in a series of examples contained in the same sentence structure. It is to be noted that the way in which the speech is reported makes it impossible to conclusively establish whether these repetitions are to be attributed to her or to her son. Whatever the case, the latter seems to eventually internalize the adult's point of view because he eventually declares, *"I tell my mom that we all match in the dark"*.

What happens in both Monsma's and Pankey's books is that the mother figures partially or totally rejects the notion that they do not match with their children. The way in which they deny it is by modifying the elements of the target domain: in the first book, the attention of the adoptee is taken away from the color and drawn onto the matching number of body parts. In the second, the mother mentions physical features whose color is identical no matter the ethnicity, a strategy that her son appears to have learned as he notices that the dark makes it impossible to distinguish between skin tones.

If *"Heart Match"* may include some final hints at colorblindness, this notion plays an even more important role in *"Mommy Doesn't Look like Me"* where the grown-up tells the child not to worry about her skin shade because God's love is colorblind. The mother's response therefore contains a particular metaphor, a personification, which attributes an adjective typically used to qualify human beings ('colorblind') to an abstract entity ('God's love').

What the extracts from the reported speech of the three books suggest is that the maternal figure typically downplays (although not in the same ways) the potential issues connected with a dissimilar physical appearance, in spite of the problems they may create in adoptees' social relations. The belittling of the importance of skin color and, more in particular, the reference to colorblindness appear rather problematic as

> colourblind altruism downplays the adoptee's heritage, reduces racial antagonism to individual adaptation problems or generational conflicts, ones contained within the domestic locale. Raised in an assumed colourblind utopia, the adoptee is expected to live up to the multicultural ideal. Thus, because her subjectivity is presumed to be thoroughly assimilable, and her splitness is denied… (Chen 2013, p. 100)

The presence of dialogues in these narratives enables authors to show how adopted children initiate a conversation about something that they perceive as troubling (i.e. the fact that they do not resemble the rest of their family) and gradually come to accept their parents' opinion that looks are not important. In other picture books, the presence of phenomena of interlocutive dialogism – and, more specifically, of concessive constructions – may indicate that the point of view of the grown-ups has been totally introjected by the adoptee; in this case the parent's voice is not reported in a dialogue, but is embedded in the sentences that make up the child's narrative. In *"And That's Why She's My Mama"* the little protagonist affirms:

> So even though we may look different / she loves and cherishes me every day.
> / And that's why she's my mama / in every single way. (Nazario 2020)

The fact that mother and child do not share the same appearance is encoded in a concessive clause, that is to say a subordinate clause which carries less weight than the main clause. The loving attitude of the 'mama' is represented as what counts and what determines her parental status, not her physical resemblance (or lack thereof) to her child. The use of the modal 'may' to hedge the meaning of the expression 'look different' also deserves to be mentioned.

The book *"I Don't Have Your Eyes"* consists of a series of repeated statements containing a concessive 'but'. These statements follow an identical structure which starts with the acknowledgement of a physical difference between the adoptee and an adult family member (unlike in the other stories, here fathers and grandparents are also present) and ends with a coordinate clause introduced by a concessive 'but' which highlights the affinity in the behavior of grown-ups and youngsters (e.g. *"I don't have your ears… / … but I have your way of hearing those in need"*). This means that the remarks on lack of resemblance which occur at the beginning of the sentence are always contradicted by comments on how the child acts analogously to the rest of the family; the placement of the coordinate clauses arguably serves the purpose of providing the second one with more weight so that its message is given prominence.

The only book where the maternal figure appears not only acknowledge but to even value physical differences is *"My New Mom & Me"*[6]. The protagonists of the story are animals, a mom cat and her little dog,

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[6] Monsma's book is rather ambivalent in this respect. The mother recognizes that she and her daughter do not share the same look and she also says that she loves her little one's different features yet she appears to try and focus the child's attention away from them.

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characters which correspond to anthropomorphous metaphors. Lakoff and
Johnson (1980) define anthropomorphism an example of ontological
metaphor where human behaviors or traits are applied to animals or non-
human entities. Anthropomorphous metaphors are widely used in children's
stories to explain concepts or make abstract ideas easier to understand. In the
case at hand, the lack of biological bond between adoptive parents and
children is metaphorically represented by animals belonging to different
species. The dog narrator explains that he felt uncomfortable about not
looking like his mother (a striped cat) so he painted stripes on his body. The
cat, though, does not approve of this behavior as she claims that their
diversity is an enrichment:

> I was worried that I didn't look like Mom, so I tried to fix it. But Mom said I
> didn't need fixing. She likes that we are different. Actually, I think I like it,
> too. (Galindo 2016)

On the one hand, it is possible to affirm that the interaction between mother
and son seems comparable to the dialogues analyzed in the other books as it
once again confirms that (adoptive) children are very easily affected by their
parents' views and may quickly and uncritically accept them. On the other
hand, though, the message conveyed in this exchange is remarkably different
from the others which tend to downplay the lack of physical similarities
between parents and children.

3.2. Simile-type pictorial associations and metonymies

As already hinted at in the analysis of the textual component of the books, the
'match' metaphor is mainly based on metonymies where the various body
parts (hands, ears, skin etc.) stand for the whole body and the body stands for
the character. The visual representation of the 'match' metaphor possibly
makes its metonymic quality even more apparent, as three front cover pages
out of six as well as some of the books' pictures do not feature the
protagonists' full figures but only a part of them.

Whether children and their parents are depicted in their entirety or
metonymically, the books' illustrations typically rely on simile-type pictorial
associations, a kind of visual trope that consists in the juxtaposition of two
entities placed next to each other so that the viewer can establish a
comparison between them (Forceville 1996, p. 137)[7]. The simile-type
pictorial association can therefore be utilized to depict instances of identity

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[7] Similes are forms in which "indirectness in conceptualization through a cross-domain mapping is
expressed by direct language" (Steen *et al.*'s 2010, p. 58); as such, they can be considered as
"metaphor-related words" (*ibid.*) and included in the analysis.

negotiation, such as those examined here (Calvo-Maturana 2020, p. 296). Figure 1. well exemplifies a pictorial simile emphasizing the resemblance and the contrast between a body part of the mother and of that the adoptee. The sets of feet of the two are placed in front of each other (interestingly, the picture portrays the perspective of the parent and not that of the child who is the narrator of the story). While mother's and daughter's feet and toes may not match in color, their mirror position, identical shape (and the fact that the characters are wearing the same attire although in different shades) invite the viewer to construct the 'match' metaphor. Although these elements may be the most immediately impactful, the text and the little girl's hand detail in the image also contribute to drawing the reader's attention to the identical number of toes of the characters[8].

Figure 1
Mommy and Me Don't Match (Monsma 2018).

The books *I Don't Have Your Eyes, And That's Why She's My Mama*, and *Heart Match* also abound in simile-type pictorial associations which convey the message that adoptive parents and children do match in spite of their visible differences. Figure 2, taken from *And That's Why She's My Mama,* portrays a mother-daughter duo in which the former probably comes from an

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[8] As noted in subparagraph 3.1, the mother draws the child's attention away from the differences in skin tones and hair/eye colors and focuses it to the fact that they have the same number of toes, hands, belly buttons etc.

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Islamic country and the latter looks African-American. This image is rich in details which reveal the lack of physical resemblance between the two (for instance the dissimilar types of eye/nose shape and skin tones); moreover, the different headwear and accessories (a hijab in the case of the mother and little dreadlock wooden balls in the case of the daughter) metonymically indicate that they do not share the same religious or cultural heritage. However, the almost symmetrical position of the characters and the fact that they are both performing the same action, i.e. having a popsicle of an identical purple color, allow for the activation of the 'match' metaphor.

Figure 2
And That's Why She's My Mama (Nazario 2020).

To conclude, the pictorial similes appearing in the books seem to represent the outcome a careful balance between foregrounding and downplaying physical differences and similarities between adoptive parents and children, and between depicting them as 'matching' and as 'unmatching'. By and large, the analysis of the visual metaphors used in the picture books corroborates the results obtained through the investigation of the textual component: just like authors, illustrators tend to belittle dissimilarities and emphasize resemblance (although not in the same way and not to the same degree). This may be achieved shifting the attention away from features, such as skin tone or nose shape, that immediately reveal the lack of genetic bond between the characters and by giving prominence to those shared by all ethnicities. Another strategy which can be identified both in the verbal and in the visual elements of the books is the construction of the 'match' metaphor on grounds of behavioral affinities: children and parent match not because of how they look, but because they act in a comparable way. The emphasis on

similarity of behavior lies at the basis of another recurring metaphor which represents a sort of declination of the main one, the 'heart match' metaphor.

4. Heart Metaphors

Tropes based on heart metonymies are common in the books. In particular, two metaphors stand out because they are included in many of the narratives (namely *I Don't Have Your Eyes*, *Heart Match*, and *Mommy and Me Don't Match*): the 'heart match' and the 'heart is a womb'.

      The first metaphor represents another attempt to minimize the importance of physical differences by stressing the shared inner values at the core of the interracial family identity. The notion at the basis of the 'heart match' is that, although mother and child may only partially 'match on the outside', they perfectly 'match on the inside' because they have the same beliefs, ideals, and feelings in common. This idea is typically introduced in the conclusion of the stories as it seems to provide the character of the adoptee with an appeasing answer to her/his initial worries about not looking like her/his parents. The words and structures used to realize this 'happy ending' are almost identical in all books. In *I Don't Have Your Eyes* the narrator states

> I don't look like you on the outside…/ … but I look inside and *in our hearts we are the same*. (emphasis added; Kitze 2003).

The conclusions of *"Heart Match"* and *"Mommy and Me Don't Match"* are even more similar; the former reads

> My mom says that we are a perfect match where it matters the most – *in our hearts.* (emphasis added; Pankey 2020).

and the second ends with

> Even though we look different on the outside, *our hearts beat the same.* […] most of all I love your heart. *Your heart that matches mine.* (emphasis added; Monsma 2018).

Figure 3
Heart Match (Pankey 2020).

The 'heart match' metaphor is habitually depicted in images of the mother
hugging her little ones and holding them close to her bosom. These pictures
generally correspond to the final scene of the books and suggest that having a
difficult conversation about physical and behavioral appearances has
produced the effect of bringing parents and children nearer to one another,
both literally and metaphorically. Their remarkable closeness on the page (cf.
Figures 3, 4, and 5) is strategic in activating the conceptual metaphor
INTIMACY IS (PHYSICAL) PROXIMITY.

Figure 4 (left)
Mommy and Me Don't Match (Monsma 2018).
Figure 5 (right)
My New Mom and Me (Galindo 2016).

Figure 4 is a representative example as it both communicates the notion of physical and emotional closeness between the characters and constructs the conventional metaphor HEART IS (THE PLACE OF) LOVING FEELINGS. The hand of the little girl rests on her mother's chest, a gesture that draws the viewer's attention to the part of the body where the heart is located and that expresses various layers of meaning. It may be linked with the idea that the two characters 'match on the inside', but it may also suggest that the mother's heart is, metonymically, a symbol of her love for her daughter and, metaphorically, the place where the latter was born from.

Adoption narratives often draw on the notion that adoptees grew not in their mother's bellies but in their hearts and they rely on the metaphor A HEART IS A WOMB (cf. Calvo-Maturana 2020, pp. 302-305). The pervasiveness of this trope in these narratives is probably due to the ever-present "concerns in the determination of belonging between adoptive parents and children" (*ivi*, p. 303); the use of 'womb' as a source domain allows the authors of these books (who, as already mentioned, are often adoptive parents themselves) to discursively construct a figurative biological bond between them and their children. The interaction between the concept that the 'heart is a womb' and that the heart is the metaphorical location of love is also relevant in adoption discourse "in which love and longing are represented as the moving engines of adoptive parents" (*ibid.*).

However, the HEART IS A WOMB metaphor is only hinted at in most of the books selected for this study (i.e. in *Heart Match*, *Mommy Doesn't Look like Me,* and *Mommy and Me Don't Match*; cf. Figure 4): it mostly appears in pre-adoption narratives which aim at helping young readers make sense of their past experiences and arrival in the new family[9] (and not in post-adoption ones like those examined here). In any case, it is worth mentioning that the visual component of these books is extremely rich as it is often linked with multiple levels of sense-making.

My New Mom and Me also feature an illustration of the little dog and his adoptive mother embracing; the puppy's paw is, too, placed on mom cat's bosom thus construing both the INTIMACY IS (PHYSICAL) PROXIMITY and the HEART IS (THE PLACE OF) LOVING FEELINGS metaphors (cf. Fig. 5). However, unlike in the books mentioned above, this image does not coincide with the (happy) resolution of the story. As a matter of fact, it does not follow a conversation about physical differences at the end of which adoptees are reassured to be part of a perfect match, but it appears in the middle of the narration, when the dog confesses that sometimes he feels really sad for no reason (a tear falling from his eye can be seen in the picture). The visual metaphors activated by the hug/heart images carry out a

[9] Cf. Riboni (2022.

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different function than that realized in Pankey's and Monsma's books, because they convey the idea that the intimacy between cat and puppy is based not on the downplaying of differences but on the loving acceptance of the latter's negative feelings, in spite of the fact that he himself is incapable of pinpointing their origin.

Figure6
My New Mom and Me (Galindo 2016).

The narrative in *My New Mom and Me* does not culminate in a final embrace, but the book concludes with an illustration of mom cat and her little one walking away from the viewer (cf. Fig. 6) and the words *"We are learning how to be a family"*. The combination of the visual and the textual element gives rise to the metaphor (LEARNING HOW) TO BE A FAMILY IS A JOURNEY. Although both mother and child are involved in the learning process, the leading role of the former is indicated by the fact that her eyes are fixed on the path ahead while the dog is walking by her side looking at her.

The use of this metaphor provides a dynamic ending to the story: whereas the other books contain static epilogues that provide a final statement on the issue of visible differences between adoptive family members, *My New Mom and Me* depicts the challenges that may present themselves to a multi-ethnic household as obstacles that can be encountered and collectively overcome during a journey.

5. Discussion and conclusion

The analysis of the main metaphorical configurations of the selected interracial adoption picture books has revealed that they are not particularly creative, as the same tropes repeatedly occur and can be identified across

narratives. The fact that these stories not present significant variations may make them easier to understand, assimilate, and memorize by children. In particular, the presence of recurring metaphors can favor young readers' comprehension as they are used in these books to make sense of and communicate unfamiliar concepts in simpler and more accessible terms. Moreover, the choice of the 'perfect match' metaphor (and its declination of the 'heart match') can prove to be very reassuring for a readership of young adoptees; they can identify themselves with the child narrators who start their stories by raising uncomfortable questions about their looks and identity and end them by appropriating and reproducing their parents' view that lack of resemblance is not important. The main message of both texts and pictures is that physical similarity does not equate parenthood and that adoptive families belong together in spite of different looks.

However, although with exceptions and to varying degrees, these narratives provide a simplistic, inaccurate and sometimes biased illustration of the reality of interracial adoption. While it may be inevitable to simplify matters for a target audience of small adopted readers, exposing them to "the rhetoric of celebratory multiculturalism or a glorification of the maternal bond" (Chen 2013, p. 114) may not be the best way to welcome their feelings of anxiety or worry about their different looks (besides not preparing them to tackle possible unaccepting or even hostile behavior). What happens in most stories is that the parent re-negotiates the terms of the 'match' metaphor as far as the target domain is concerned. Whether the adult acknowledges that they do not match with their children or not, the argument that they bring forth is the same: the elements of the target domain selected by the adoptees to claim that they do not match with their parents are of little importance and others should have been chosen. In some cases, other physical attributes are presented as the 'correct' target of the 'match' metaphor (e.g. the color of the hand palms and not skin tone). Most narratives, however, focus on the dichotomy between the notion of 'matching on the outside' and that of 'matching on the inside', with the heart metonymy standing for the location of the emotions of the characters. All books suggest that the emotional alignment between family members counts more than their outer looks and the child narrators are depicted as eventually embracing this view.

Anyway, the young adoptees who read these stories (or whom these stories are read to) may feel differently from the characters they identify with. In spite of their authors' intentions, these books do not necessarily offer an authentic portrayal of adoptees' life situations (Sun 2021, p. 243) as children "are denied a chance to rehearse real-life situations and enact mixed, ambivalent feelings about adoption" (Chen 2013, p. 114). Rather than help adopted youngsters make sense of their emotions and accept them wholesale (even the negative ones), this kind of narratives does not seem to validate

them. Young adoptees may feel that their "resentment, anxiety, confusion, bitterness and ambivalence are unwarranted" (Sun 2021, p. 242) because they do not always necessarily harbor the same positive feelings towards adoption as their fictional counterparts. Moreover, the downplaying of the potential issues connected with different physical appearances may lead children who worry about them to feel unsupported and not understood. The definition of 'disenfranchised grief', which designates socially unacknowledged suffering, may be appropriate to describe the feelings of adoptees whose parents cannot accept and welcome negative emotions and anxiety about adoption and not fitting in (Doka 1989; cf. also Brodzinsky, 2011 p. 204).

It is important to stress that children who are exposed to these stories may find it difficult to challenge the romanticized view of interracial adoption contained in them not only because of their young age, but also due to the pervasiveness of narrative patterns and the conventional nature of the tropes these books are built upon. The main metaphors singled out in the research have become so lexicalized that they are not immediately identifiable as figures of speech, with the result that they are easily incorporated in dominant discourses and harder to contest (cf. par. §2). This may also explain why they are so widely and uncritically replicated in the picture books.

A possible reason for the idealization of interracial adoption in these narratives may have to do with the fact that the latter are firmly in the hands of adoptive parents, who are the authors of most of these books. In spite of opting for a child narrator presenting an adoptee's perspective, these stories reproduce adults' discourse on transracial adoption and (perhaps understandably) promote a positively biased view of it. Creating, circulating, and reading books which portray young adopted children as uncritically happy and not significantly affected by questions such as racism and isolation may have a therapeutic effect on adoptive parents, but not necessarily on adoptees. While it is easy to comprehend why adults struggle with acknowledging and accepting that their children may entertain ambivalent emotions towards their adoption, cancelling such emotions from books targeted at them may not be in their best interests. These narratives are devised with good intentions (Sun 2021, p. 243) but may partially fail to become a useful resource for young readers who have been adopted.

As previously noted, not all picture books offer a simplistic and biased description of interracial adoption. For instance, Galindo's and Nazario's stories appear to provide less ideological and romanticized representations of it. Neither *My New Mom and Me"* and *"Mommy and Me Don't Match"* seem to belittle physical differences and issues connected to them. In particular, Galindo's book contains and normalizes episodes of unhappiness and grief where the adopted dog claims to be sad without providing reasons

for his feelings and where he receives unconditional love and acceptance from his mom cat. A minority of authors thus seems able to come up with narratives and metaphors that can be empowering for adoptees, although most writers provide an idealized (and not particularly valuable) representation of interracial adoption.

As a consequence, it is hoped that over the next few years the number of publications attentive to the ambivalence of children's feelings and accepting of their negative emotions will increase, thus changing current prevailing discourse on interracial adoption. It is also hoped that more scholarly work such as this – admittedly limited – analysis will be produced that focuses on this topic and that can contribute to the shaping of future interracial adoption narratives in cultural media products and to the prevention of stereotypes and stigma.

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UN '*PALLIUM*' DALLA BRITANNIA

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Abstract – In the ancient site of Aquae Sulis, now Bath in Somerset, there was a temple dedicated to the goddess Sulis-Minerva and the only natural spa complex in Roman Britain. Here a group of laminae written on lead was discovered, many of which were composed after a theft suffered from the petitioner, who always asks for restitution of the stolen good and in some cases also for punishment for the guilty. In one of these laminae in particular, nr. 62, the integration that has been proposed affects the way in which the complaint is made ("I X have lost (my) Italian, Greek, Gallic cloak") and raises some problems. After the analysis of the *editio princeps*, whose interpretation is also accepted in subsequent works, we will offer an alternative which consists in a different integration of the lacuna concerning the first word (la[neum] instead of la[enam]). This new interpretation is based also on the double function of pallium, that, specified as woollen cloth, is not to be considered as a garment, but as an accessory to be used after the bath, as it is well explained by the semantic ambivalence of the word 'cloak or cloth', due to the fact that it is wrapped around the body.

Keywords: Aquae Sulis; prayers for justice; cloak; pallium; sagum.

Il sito di *Aquae Sulis*, odierna Bath nel Somerset, sede di un tempio dedicato alla dea Sulis-Minerva[1] e unico complesso termale naturale della Britannia romana, era meta di pellegrini e visitatori che hanno lasciato traccia del loro passaggio nelle offerte votive, spesso dedicate alla dea *pro salute et incolumitate*[2], negli altari e nelle epigrafi funerarie di militari, di stanza anche in località lontane, dato il nome e l'indicazione della legione di appartenenza, e soprattutto nel cospicuo gruppo di laminette scritte su piombo[3], rinvenute insieme ad uno straordinario deposito votivo nella fontana sacra[4], che per le sue caratteristiche testuali può essere collocato in quella border area a cavallo

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[1] La precedenza del nome indigeno, contrariamente alla norma, sottolinea la particolare importanza attribuita a questa divinità.

[2] Augurio che rivolgo a Giuliana della quale ho sempre apprezzato le qualità scientifiche e umane.

[3] *Editio princeps*: Tomlin 1988.

[4] I testi defissori spesso venivano 'imbucati' anche in pozzi o cisterne per facilitare il contatto con le divinità ctonie; quanto al numero solo un sesto delle lamine è stato recuperato e letto e 130 sono quelle finora pubblicate "among the five hundred and more tablets which may still remain" (Tomlin 1988: 100).

tra le maledizioni (*defixiones*) e le *prayers for justice*[5] e costituisce un *corpus* coeso nella provenienza dal medesimo contesto e nella datazione circoscritta tra II e IV secolo AD supportata anche dalle caratteristiche paleografiche[6].

Un centinaio circa è stato composto in seguito a furti subiti per i quali si chiede la restituzione e, talvolta, una punizione per il ladro che, in una quindicina di casi, si risolve nel richiedere l'espiazione della colpa con una formula fissa (paghi col 'suo sangue') o, in minor misura ma con maggiore fantasia, nell'augurio di malattie o disturbi invalidanti il che dimostra, quanto meno a livello di composizione del testo, una partecipazione attiva del *defigens*. Tra gli oggetti personali, i furti più frequenti durante il soggiorno termale riguardano alcuni capi di abbigliamento, soprattutto mantelli, lasciati incustoditi o in mani di schiavi disattenti.

Una di queste lamine in particolare, la nr. 62[7], per come è stata integrata una lacuna, interessa il modo in cui viene fatta la denuncia ("ho perso *laena*, *pallium*, *sagum*") e trascina con sé l'interpretazione dell'intera frase suscitando alcuni problemi. In primo luogo analizzeremo l'*editio princeps*, la cui interpretazione è accettata in lavori successivi[8], integrando e commentando quanto offerto da Tomlin 1988, il primo editore, per poi offrire un'alternativa che semplifica e allinea questo testo con gli altri nella descrizione dell'indumento rubato restando nell'ambito di quel "quasi legal-english" sottolineato dallo studioso.

La lamina, composta di due frammenti combacianti è redatta in grafia corsiva latina con *ductus* sinistrorso e le lettere rovesciate a 180 gradi in ciascuna riga, un meccanismo adottato per secretare il testo che in questo *corpus* ricorre una volta in maniera identica (nr. 44) e altre con leggere varianti (Tomlin 1988: 164).

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[5] Mentre la dedefinizione di Jordan 1985 "defixiones also known as curse tablets, are inscribed pieces of lead, usually in the form of small, thin sheets, intended to influence, by supernatural means, the actions or welfare of persons or animals against their will" è tutt'ora in uso, la prima definizione di Versnel 2010: 278: "I define 'prayers for justice' as pleas addressed to a god or gods to punish (mostly unknown) person who has wronged the author by theft, slander, false accusation or magical action), often with the additional request to redress the harm suffered by the author (e.g. by forcing a thief to return a stolen object, or to punlicly confess guilt) ha suscitato un ampio dibattito critico: al proposito si veda la discussione di Dreher 2012 (pp. 29-32) con replica immediata di Versnel 2012(pp. 33-45). Urbanová 2018, 33 e 95-100 ha enucleato i caratteri distintivi delle due categorie marcandone le differenze e giungendo alla conclusione che queste possano essere considerate "as peculiar innovative modifications and applications of common curses used in a specific context rather than an individual category of magical rituals essentially distinct from curses and votive inscriptions" (425).

[6] Illustrate nell'edizione con utili tabelle dedicate ai grafi di ciascuna lamina.

[7] La lamina si presenta ripiegata una volta; dimensioni mm 65 x mm 56.

[8] In Kropp 2008 (= *dfx* 3.2/54) e Urbanova 2012, 1071 e 2018, 86 e 182 edizione e interpretazione riportano fedelmente quella di Tomlin 1988.

Tomlin spiega alcuni errori nell'orientamento delle lettere come derivanti da una trasposizione del testo da una 'minuta' scritta regolarmente e questo apre l'interrogativo della presenza di scribi professionisti. L'analisi grafica delle lamine ha però mostrato una differenza di stili scrittori che allontana questa ipotesi o quantomeno di un loro numero ristretto: lo scenario allude piuttosto ad una *performance* individuale in cui ciascuno liberamente o per risparmiare sul compenso dovuto allo scriba (per implicazione inferito da una lamina, *Tab. Sulis* 54, per la somma inferiore a due *argenteoli*), si rivolgeva personalmente alla dea Sulis/Minerva per ricevere soddisfazione.

Per una maggiore comprensione della modalità di scrittura riporto anche il testo originale:

Tab. Sulis 62. Testo
[---]alidedrepsitorocoe[---] / [---]odmasxapmugasmuell[---] / meuonseidetnacohtusilu[---] / auresisareb[---]issuresisreb[---] / [---]rtso (ni)rn[--]lleupiserup[---] / [---]arefed/ [---]smerall   (c?)abac   /[---]reupisarebilisaures/[---]refedortsorousni

Trascrizione
[---]eocorotis perdedi la[enam] / [pa]lleum sagum paxsam do[navi]/ [--- S]ulis ut hoc ante dies novem / [si li]ber si ser<v>us si [li]bera si serva / [si] pure si puell[a i]n rostr[o] s[uo] / defera[t] / caballeram s[i ser<v>us si liber si] / serva si libera si puer [si puella]/ in suo rostro defer[at

Traduzione
I, [---]eocorotis, have lost (my) Italian, Greek, Gallic cloak (and) tunic, (which) I have given... Sulis, that (he) may bring it down in his snout before nine days, [whether] free man or slave man, whether free woman or slave woman, [whether] boy or girl... horse blanket, [whether slave or free, whether] slave woman or free woman, whether boy [or girl], bring down in his snout.

Il testo è ben articolato: l'autore dichiara di aver 'perso' alcuni indumenti personali e un accessorio[9], e ne richiede la restituzione entro 9 giorni[10] con una modalità particolare: chi ha preso questi oggetti, schiavo o libero cittadino, uomo o donna, li deve riportare 'nel suo rostro'. Dietro questa frase, ripetuta due volte si intravede il frutto di una scelta precisa e inequivocabile. L'editore ha interpretato giustamente *rostro* partendo dal suo significato originario 'rostro, becco di un uccello' (credo, anche se non esplicitato, che il significato metaforico 'elemento architettonico di nave o edificio' sia difficilmente sostenibile dato il legame con il possessivo 'suo' in posizione stilisticamente marcata nella prima ricorrenza e non marcata nella

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[9] *Caballarem* forse allude a una coperta per il cavallo.

[10] Un nutrito gruppo delle *defixiones in fures* riporta *ante dies novem* 'entro nove giorni' che delimita esattamente il periodo entro il quale va restituito l'oggetto rubato. Sull'argomento si veda Marco Simón 2010.

seconda); ha scartato il riferimento ad un episodio della vita di San Colombano[11], perché "marauding birds can hardly have been a hazard at the baths of Sulis" (Tomlin 1988: 195), e ha ritenuto invece più probabile un riferimento anatomico alla bocca del ladro poiché a volte il termine *rostrum* è utilizzato metaforicamente in questa accezione.

Accanto a questa spiegazione accettabile potrebbe essercene una più semplice che si intreccia con diversi temi: la circolazione di episodi reali o meno, noti in una civiltà contadina, di piccoli furti alimentari da parte di uccelli che hanno fama di essere 'ladri' e, nello stesso tempo, un gioco metaforico in cui l'uccello rappresenta l'uomo ladro, astuto nell'intervenire al momento opportuno e veloce nel portare a termine l'azione, come dovevano essere quei *fures balnearii* di cui abbiamo notizie anche nella letteratura[12]. La similitudine descritta in Plauto, *Poenulus* 5.2. 975-76 "ma quale uccello è mai quello ch'è giunto qui? Gli avranno forse rubato il mantello alle terme?" è illuminante se poniamo come soggetto il ladro che si aggira vestito della sola tunica con le maniche svolazzanti (simile a un uccello) per non destare sospetti e poter uscire indisturbato e abbigliato di tutto punto ma con vestiti non suoi.

La parte interessante si trova nella sequenza dei tre termini iniziali *la*[enam], [pa]*lleum* e *sagum* che definiscono l'oggetto del furto e che Tomlin interpreta come specificazioni aggiuntive al primo capo nominato, *laena* = mantello, scelta particolare soprattutto per la sua posizione in rilievo (vd oltre).

Le fonti antiquarie e letterarie su questi tipi di 'mantello' (la *laena*, il *pallium* e il *sagum*), generalmente composti da un largo pezzo di stoffa dai bordi diritti, facile da realizzare e indossare, ci danno un ampio ventaglio di informazioni sulla loro conformazione, sulla distinzione d'uso sociale e di genere; quelle più tarde ci danno la percezione di variazioni diacroniche e diatopiche[13] e in alcuni casi testimoniano anche un mutamento funzionale o una confusione semantica[14]; poiché inoltre il capo variava, non solo nel colore e nell'ornamento, ma anche nella finezza, nella consistenza del tessuto e nelle dimensioni è qui impossibile illustrare nei particolari le diversità d'uso nell'abbigliamento quotidiano su cui esiste una ampia letteratura. Basteranno

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[11] L'episodio è riportato in Giona, *Vita Columbani* I, 15 e riguarda il furto di un guanto del Santo da parte di un corvo.

[12] Sui *fures balnearii* vd. Plaut. *Rud.* 383; Catullo 33; Petron. 30, 8; Sen. *Epist.* 56, 1-3; Apul. *Met.* 4, 8; Tertull. *Apol.* 44, 2; *De idol.* 5; *De fuga* 13; nel Digesto (47,17) si ha una sezione intitolata *De furibus balneariis*.

[13] Soprattutto per il *sagum* definito *vox celtica* in Isid. *Etym.* 19.24.13.21; nell' Ed. Diocl. 19.61: σαγος Αφρος ('cloak, African'); in Val. Massimo III, 2 sagum *hispanicum*. Il *pallium* spesso è equiparato *all'himation* greco senza però entrare nel dettaglio. La questione è ben illustrata in Baroin- Valette-Cagnac 2007.

[14] *CGL* 5.306.56: *lena toga duplex vestis regia vel sagum italice dictum*: lena o sagum?

per i nostri fini, alcune semplici osservazioni sulle caratteristiche condivise dai tre indumenti, partendo dalle più evidenti: sono tutti capi di abbigliamento che concludono la vestizione, si avvolgono intorno al corpo e non si indossano dall'alto, nel rispetto della differenza tra *indumentum* 'indossato sotto la veste direttamente sul corpo' e *amictum* 'indumento che si drappeggia intorno al corpo'[15].

In particolare poi tutti e tre sono confezionati di lana di spessore diverso nel prodotto finito[16] e, ad eccezione del *pallium*, in età imperiale l'uso della *laena*, indumento nobilitato dalla sua presenza nelle cerimonie dei flamini, e indossato da re ed eroi come Numa ed Enea[17], si diffonde in contesti sociali più semplici e di vita quotidiana, e quello del *sagum*, caratteristico dei militari, passa a descrivere anche un mantello indossato da componenti di diverse classi sociali[18].

Proprio per il *sagum* e il suo utilizzo varrà la pena di citare alcune testimonianze dal sito di Vindolanda (Chesterholm), poco a sud del vallo di Adriano in Britannia. Questi documenti sono particolari per la natura delle informazioni che offrono, significative non solo per lo specifico 'forte' (militare) di pertinenza, ma per lo spaccato della vita quotidiana di militari e civili sulla frontiera settentrionale e delle loro dinamiche umane e organizzative. Le tavolette lignee, ritrovate casualmente nel 1973[19], a seguito di un delicato lavoro di recupero e decifrazione, hanno mostrato due macro categorie testuali: da un lato resoconti ufficiali, dall'altro corrispondenza privata, con riferimenti anche molto dettagliati. In tre testi vengono menzionati indumenti tra cui il *sagum* e il *palliolum* una versione 'minore' del *pallium*:

Tab. 192 Vindolanda Inventory No. 85.010.b
Il conto registra gli elementi ricevuti da Gavo e contiene un mix di prodotti commestibili (fave, miele) e tessili (lana e *sagum*) che sembra più verosimilmente riferirsi alle esigenze

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[15] Varrone *LL* V 131-132 *amictui dictum quod ambiectum est, id est circumiectum* "*Amictui* (sopravveste) è detto tutto ciò che è *amiectum* cioè gettato intorno"; Isid. *Orig.* 19, 22, 2 *indutus ad corpus induitur* "indossato (sotto la veste direttamente) sul corpo".

[16] Varrone *LL* V 133: *Laena, quod de lana multa* "La *laena* (è detta così) perché contiene molta lana"; Plauto *Miles gloriosus* 3.1. 687-88: *eme, mi vir, lanam unde tibi pallium, malacum et calidum conficiatur* "comprami della lana, sposo mio, perché voglio farti un mantello morbido e caldo"; Marziale XIV, 159: *Vellera Leuconicis accipe rasa sagis* 'Prendi la lana tosata per i mantelli leuconici".

[17] Plutarco, La vita di *Numa,* 7; Virgilio, Eneide 4, 262-264.

[18] Nel *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* le fonti sono presentate in due sezioni: a. *de veste militari* e b. *extra militiam, de veste agrestium et pauperiorum.*

[19] Il riconoscimento delle tavolette di Vindolanda come testi scritti è dovuto a una circostanza particolare: in seguito ad una prima pulitura dai residui di terra e fango e ad una analisi ulteriore sono apparsi segni impressi con l'inchiostro su quelle che apparentemente sembravano testimonianze di una produzione di manufatti lignei. Datazione: 95-105 AD.

domestiche del pretorio che alle esigenze ufficiali dell'unità. Gavo potrebbe essere un imprenditore o un fornitore di beni, se militare o civile non è chiaro.

Tab. 207 Vindolanda Inventory No. 85.018
Il testo è un resoconto, come il precedente, ma differisce in quanto sembra riguardare esclusivamente l'abbigliamento (*saga, sagaciae, tunicae, palliola* e almeno altri due articoli). L'alto numero di capi registrati (15 a riga 6) suggerisce che gli abiti fossero per uso militare piuttosto che domestico.

Tab. 255 Vindolanda Inventory No. 85.033
In questa lettera il mittente esprime la sua gioia per il fatto che Valentino, appena tornato dalla Gallia, avesse approvato alcuni vestiti e chiede che Ceriale gli mandi dei mantelli e delle tuniche per i suoi *pueri* (*saga, sagaciae, tunicae, palliola*)[20].

Tornando alla nostra lamina, la traduzione offerta da Tomlin 'cloak', sebbene come terminologia sia comunemente adottata, si scontra con il dato oggettivo di dover descrivere tre capi le cui differenze formali erano ben chiare nel contesto culturale di riferimento ma le cui sfumature sono intraducibili. Lo studioso ricorre perciò a una delle strategie traduttive più utilizzate, sostituendo il termine del testo di partenza con un gruppo di parole nella lingua di arrivo formato da aggettivi derivati da etnici ("Italian, Greek, Gallic") che caratterizzano l'origine del 'mantello' nella rispettiva area geografica. Diversa è la scelta dei traduttori delle tavolette da Vindolanda che rimandano in nota una spiegazione dei termini *sagaciae*, *sagum* e *pallio*(*lum*) lasciati nella lingua originale: "It evidently refers to some kind of a military cloak, as do the words sagum and palliolum. The precise differences between these different kinds of cloak are so unclear that we see no point in trying to translate the words".

Il punto in questione solleva qualche problema: è possibile che si tratti di 3 capi diversi? Se così non è perché il denunciante sente il bisogno di una simile specificazione?

Tomlin esclude il primo caso a livello personale e in effetti sarebbe come andare oggigiorno in una spa portando con sé una cappa, un mantello e una mantella. Vale però la pena di notare che Cato, *Agr.* 59 include *tunica* e *saga* tra l'abbigliamento da fornire alla servitù di famiglia e che queste categorie di abbigliamento insieme ad altre sono specificate nel *Digesto* 34.2.23 come *familiarica* (*i.e.* adatto agli schiavi), quindi, come ipotesi, potrebbe anche trattarsi di un acquisto da distribuire nella *familia* ampiamente intesa, effettuato il quale il Nostro si è concesso un momento ricreativo alle terme.

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[20] Bowman and Thomas 1994, versione online http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/TVII-192; http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/TVII-207; http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/TVII-255. Consultato il 28.10.2021.

Il secondo punto, che rientra fra gli esempi di quel quasi legal-English ampiamente presenti in questo e negli altri testi - come la specificazione del genere e della classe sociale, la cosiddetta catch-them-all formula – è interpretato come un eccesso di precisione nell'utilizzo di termini che non lascino dubbi sulla definizione del capo e permettano alla divinità una piena identificazione dell'oggetto. In genere non ci si aspetta che un parlante fornisca una informazione sovrabbondante ma che si limiti a offrire né più né meno l'informazione necessaria, a meno che non si trovi di fronte a un palese stato di incomprensione o cambi il contesto comunicativo. In questo caso può aver giocato un ruolo il passaggio dall'elaborazione 'mentale' del messaggio alla comunicazione scritta *in absentia* dell'interlocutore. Il risultato è però privo di immediatezza, si giustifica solo per l'esigenza di riportare fedelmente, quasi come davanti a un tribunale, i dati utili all'identificazione con precisione, densità di informazioni e distacco, esattamente come richiesto nel linguaggio giuridico.

Il redattore del testo avrebbe quindi compiuto una serie di associazioni dovute sia alla conoscenza di come deve essere fatta una 'denuncia' all'autorità sia alla sua competenza linguistica:

- descrive correttamente dal punto di vista giuridico tutte le possibilità per definire l'oggetto rubato pur tralasciando il colore, un dato importante ma in quel contesto ininfluente[21];

- attinge alle risorse a sua disposizione costruendo una rete di coiponimi che includono l'elemento sovraordinato 'mantello';

- applica una sorta di code-switching monolingue con l'intenzione di offrire il maggior numero di informazioni al destinatario.

In linea di principio l'ipotesi resterebbe valida se non avessimo un'alternativa in grado di eliminare la sovrabbondanza di questa terminologia e di mantenere la caratteristica di precisione.

Tomlin pone dopo *la*[una lacuna di circa 5 lettere e integra *la[enam*, pienamente plausibile dato il contesto in cui sono nominati, in quest'ottica, altri due capi di abbigliamento simili funzionalmente; lo spazio disponibile permette però una integrazione diversa nel rispetto della parte iniziale e della misura delle lettere e cioè *la[neum* 'fatto di lana'. Questa nuova interpretazione avrebbe l'indubbio vantaggio di eliminare una lista per identificare un solo '*reale*' e, *a latere*, di rispettare il criterio di precisione nella descrizione del capo rubato. Il dato nuovo non altera neppure il numero degli oggetti rubati che rispetto all'unico altro caso (*Tab. Sulis* 32) in cui

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[21] Come si trova specificato nel *Digesto* 47.2.19.4 (*De furtis*): *De veste quaeritur, an color eius dicendus sit. et verum est colorem eius dici oportere* "Riguardo al vestito si chiede se si dovrà dire del suo colore. Ed è vero che si deve dire il suo colore".

sono citati due indumenti risulta consistente e riguarda gran parte del guardaroba del proprietario.

La specificazione dell'aggettivo non è casuale e ci aiuta a definire la funzione del *pallium*: un esempio calzante ci viene dal termine *paxsam* ("a soft-finished woolen garment": in Britannia col significato generale di 'tunica': Tomlin 1988:151) che qui a r. 2 è menzionata come semplice *paxsa*, in *Tab. Sulis* 32, in cui il furto riguarda anche un *pallium*, è definita *balnearem* presumibilmente come indumento specifico per o dopo il bagno e in *Tab. Sulis* 63 semplicemente *balnearis* per metonimia. Sappiamo che i frequentatori delle terme, per detergersi o asciugarsi, utilizzavano non solo panni di lino (*linteis*), ma anche *palliis ex mollissima lana factis*, teli molto morbidi adatti allo scopo[22]; il set era completato a volte da uno *stragulum*, un tappetino o una coperta da stendere su cui sdraiarsi o sedersi. Nulla osta che il nostro frequentatore delle terme, di cui non è possibile specificare lo status sociale, si sia attrezzato per il suo soggiorno portando un panno di lana in cui avvolgersi, anche da seduto, dopo il bagno. La multifunzionalità del *pallium*, dovuta alla sua manifattura semplice, è sottolineata in Baroin e Valette-Cagnac:14 in base ad una accurata disamina delle fonti: "En fait, le pallium apparait comme un piece d'etoffe qui sert a tout: à s'envelopper pour dormir (ie. un *pallium* per il letto) ou pour sortir…" per finire a un insieme di usi in contesti ufficiali o ludici che gli sono sistematicamente associati. Anche il *sagum* doveva all'occasione essere multiuso se uno spagnolo citato da Strabone dormiva avvolto nel suo *sagum* a conferma che la caratteristica di avviluppare il corpo ne ampliava la funzione.

Per il *pallium* il significato generico 'pezzo di stoffa che avvolge/copre', l'associazione con il verbo *amicio* 'avvolgere, indossare' spesso utilizzato con questo termine e l'impiego di *amictus* come suo sinonimo, spiega bene l'ambivalenza semantica che lo caratterizza (mantello e coperta/telo) e ci permette di definire meglio questo capo utile nel contesto termale particolare in cui è inserito confermando l'aspetto polisemico del termine.

Propongo pertanto la seguente traduzione:

I, [---]eocorotis, have lost (my) woollen cloth, (my) Gallic cloak (and) tunic, (which) I have given... Sulis, that (he) may bring it down in his snout before nine days, [whether] free man or slave man, whether free woman or slave woman, [whether] boy or girl... horse blanket, [whether slave or free, whether] slave woman or free woman, whether boy [or girl], bring down in his snout.

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[22] Come ricorda Petron. *Sat.* 28 *Iam Trimalchio unguento perfusus tergebatur, non linteis, sed palliis ex lana mollissima factis*. "Intanto Trimalcione, cosparso di unguento, si asciugava non con panni di lino ma di lana finissima".

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LA TRADUZIONE SCIENTIFICA DEI TESTI LETTERARI: VERSO IL RIGORE E LA RETROVERSIBILITÀ
Anna Karenina prima e dopo il modello teorico

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Abstract – The last fifteen years, beginning in 2005, have seen the development of a theoretical model for translation that is capable of transforming the amateur approach to literary translation that has been standard in the past to a new scholarly-based procedure (Salmon 2017). The application of this scientific model allows us to obtain a high level of functional equivalence between ST and TT and to minimize entropy — all of the information coded in Russian ST can indeed be re-coded in the TT with sufficient precision to predict a successful back-translation into Russian (if applying the model itself). This paper addresses the project of a scientific "remake" of an Italian translation (TT_1) of *Anna Karenina* (Roma 2004), which was made at the highest possible amateur level before the theoretical model was developed. The new Italian translation (TT_2, Milano 2022) pursues the *f*-equivalence of TT_2 to any ST textual element, thereby preventing any solutions inconsistent with either *Anna Karenina*'s specificity or Tolstoy's unique choices. The application of the theoretical model is thus a crucial step in the formalization of the literary translation process, which will eventually provide translating with the requisites (*leges artis*) of any rigorous "liberal profession". Moreover, the opportunity to compare TT_2 with both Russian ST and TT_1 offers a new scientific approach for translation critics, as any single mismatch between TT_2 and TT_1 can be analyzed, described, and argued on the basis of *discrete* parameters, strategies, and techniques.

Keywords: academic translation; translation theoretical model; translation techniques; Anna Karenina.

1. Obiettivi

Il presente lavoro parte da una sintesi critica di un percorso teorico e applicato di ricerca traduttologica che – nell'arco dell'ultimo ventennio – ha perseguito due primi obiettivi:

1) partendo da un approccio al contempo induttivo (*bottom up*) e deduttivo (*top down*), ottenere un modello traduttivo scientifico, applicabile su scala *generale* a qualsiasi testo (senza distinzioni di tipologia, formato e coppie di lingue), ovvero formalizzare almeno in parte procedure atte a definire ad applicare nel TA la massima *equivalenza* possibile al rispettivo TP;

2) applicare il modello teorico alla traduzione di testi ad alta complessità

(espressivi/letterari) in modo tale da predisporre la verifica del modello stesso mediante una retroversione operata applicando lo stesso modello e le stesse tecniche di conversione. Sebbene nessun modello teorico potrà mai ovviare a un certo grado di entropia, tuttavia, se il modello 'funziona', il grado di approssimazione sarà tale da garantire un'altissima equivalenza tra i tre testi: il TP (testo d'autore in lingua di partenza), il TA (testo del primo traduttore verso la lingua di arrivo), il TP-derivato (testo del secondo traduttore verso la lingua di partenza).

Per quanto riguarda il primo punto, la versione preliminare del modello teorico – che, negli auspici, rispondeva ai criteri scientifici di generalità, economicità, coerenza interdisciplinare e predittività (come proposti agli umanisti dal teorico della biologia E.O. Wilson [2001, pp. 227-228]) – è stata pubblicata nel 2005 in italiano (cfr. Salmon 2005)[1]. Il modello si è poi evoluto negli anni successivi ed è stato riproposto, in diverse pubblicazioni in varie lingue, fino alla versione più recente (perfettibile, ma avanzata), inclusa nel manuale *Teoria della traduzione* (cfr. Salmon 2017, pp. 178-196)[2]. Il parametro di equivalenza funzionale (*f*-equivalenza) è commisurato al criterio generale di *funzionalità*, ovvero al complessivo livello pragmatico che commisura tutti i livelli della comunicazione linguistico-testuale al *contesto* (nel terzo paragrafo vengono sintetizzati i concetti).

Per quanto riguarda il secondo punto, il modello teorico costituisce la premessa fondamentale per passare dalla traduzione, per così dire, "pre-scientifica" (amatoriale e soggettiva) a procedure coerenti, rigorose e scientificamente argomentate: prevede, infatti, che qualsiasi TA tradotto da qualsiasi TP risponda a un criterio di *reversibilità* tale per cui la ri-conversione del TA in lingua di partenza – ottenuta applicando il modello stesso alla *retroversione* – sia massimamente approssimato al TP, ovvero soggetto alla *minima entropia*.

In tal senso, si ritiene che l'approccio "scientifico" alla traduzione possa produrre testi letterari rigorosi sul piano non solo estetico e stilistico,

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[1] Devo molto a Giuliana Garzone che, per prima, mi ha incoraggiato a sviluppare il modello teorico e che ne ha poi pubblicato questa prima versione nella miscellanea da lei curata per FrancoAngeli nel 2005.

[2] Il manuale contiene un'ampia lista bibliografica aggiornata, con riferimenti a opere (in lingue diverse) che afferiscono ad ambiti diversificati della teoria della traduzione, della linguistica e delle neuroscienze: a quella bibliografia si rimanda per la verifica della coerenza del modello teorico e delle relative controargomentazioni. In questo saggio, per ragioni di spazio, sono inclusi solo i riferimenti connessi ai postulati di base. Altresì, non vengono qui inclusi i riferimenti critici essenziali relativi ad *Anna Karenina* (cioè al paragrafo 4 del presente contributo), utilizzati nel progetto della nuova traduzione: la bibliografia fondamentale (cfr. Tolstoj 2022, pp. 1018-1019) è riportata a conclusione della Postfazione alla nuova edizione (in seguito indicata come TT₂).

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ma propriamente filologico, superando l'approccio amatoriale "pre-scientifico" che ha caratterizzato la traduzione letteraria fino a tutto il Novecento. L'applicazione del modello alla traduzione letteraria è fondamentale per due ragioni correlate. Innanzitutto, un modello scientifico, per adempiere al requisito di *generalità*, deve 'funzionare' proprio là, dove è tradizionalmente accettata la concessione all'arbitrio (motivata, peraltro, dalla complessità stessa, che si è ritenuta per secoli un deterrente per qualsiasi rigoroso intento teorico). In secondo luogo, pur in minima parte, nella traduzione dei testi ad alta stereotipia, già nell'ultimo trentennio del XX secolo, grazie al supporto della linguistica contrastiva e all'utilizzo dei corpora, si erano introdotti criteri di qualità.

Pur in assenza di dati formali, è evidente a livello empirico che le traduzioni eseguite applicando il modello teorico offrono un livello di rigore che l'approccio "pre-scientifico" amatoriale non rendeva possibile. Per una verifica empirica, si rimanda ad alcune traduzioni italiane di testi della narrativa russa "classica" (di F.M. Dostoevskij 2013, 2019; I.S. Turgenev 2021, L.N. Tolstoj 2022) e della poesia russa, come la versione italiana della "piccola tragedia" puškiniana *Il banchetto al tempo della peste* (cfr. Puškin 2021).

È importante comprendere come i due obiettivi al momento raggiunti siano stati perseguiti nonostante la diffidenza di un'ampia compagine della comunità umanistica (soprattutto dei letterati), propensa a difendere lo *status quo* della traduzione soggettiva pre-scientifica e ostile a qualsiasi intento scientifico *disciplinante* (cfr. Salmon 2020, 2021; alla svolta epistemologica è dedicato il secondo paragrafo). Nel terzo paragrafo viene illustrato in sintesi il modello teorico.

La fase finale prevista dal percorso teorico (non ancora realizzata) riguarda il potenziale processo probatorio del modello, mediante il controllo del grado di retroversibilità dei testi tradotti applicandone i parametri. Questa verifica non può essere eseguita dal traduttore del TP per due ragioni: se costui – come previsto e attendibile – è nativo della lingua di arrivo e non della lingua di partenza, non sarà in grado di eseguire la retroversione verso una L2 in modalità *native like*; inoltre, conservando (anche a livello subliminale) la memoria delle espressioni in lingua di partenza, il traduttore del TP sarebbe condizionato da un *priming* (riconoscimento mnestico implicito) che prescinderebbe dai dati del TA e potrebbe inficiare un'affidabile verifica del modello. La fase probatoria, dunque, spetterà a traduttori-revisori nativi della lingua di partenza, dotati dei requisiti professionali e addestrati ad applicare il modello: solo così si potranno ottenere dati relativi all'affidabilità stessa del modello teorico, evidenziandone eventuali limiti o difetti (da correggere in elaborazioni successive).

In quest'ottica auspicabile, nel quarto paragrafo, verrà descritto in sintesi il progetto di rielaborazione globale di una prima traduzione di *Anna Karenina* (cfr. Tolstoj 2004), eseguita a distanza di un ventennio sulla base del modello teorico e pubblicata *ex-novo* (cfr. Tolstoj 2022): la prima versione pre-scientifica del 2004 è indicata come TA$_1$; la rielaborazione scientifica come TA$_2$; il TP russo corrisponde all'edizione di *Karenina* nelle *Opere* di L. Tolstoj (1974-75).

A differenza di TA$_1$ – dove l'approccio amatoriale, pur non arbitrario, aveva implicato ripetuti interventi soggettivi mirati alla sola qualità del testo italiano – in TA$_2$ è stata rispettata l'equivalenza funzionale che predispone alla verifica della *retroversibilità*: si prevede, cioè, che – sottoponendo TA$_2$ a processo inverso di traduzione verso il russo (secondo i medesimi parametri del modello applicato nel passaggio da TP a TA$_2$) – nel TP-derivato si rilevi un'entropia minima rispetto a TP.

2. Dalla tradizione pre-scientifica alla traduzione accademica: una svolta 'epocale'

Per secoli la riflessione teorica in àmbito traduttivo ha evidenziato l'esigenza di reperire un "metodo" per tradurre e di definire il "compito del traduttore". Tuttavia, un effettivo impegno *disciplinante* ed epistemologicamente consapevole si è reso possibile solo nella seconda metà del XX secolo, grazie al consolidarsi della linguistica e alla crescente esigenza su scala internazionale di disporre di traduttori e interpreti affidabili e professionali. Il graduale e faticoso passaggio della traduzione dal dominio dall'empirismo soggettivo al rigore teorico, metodologico e procedurale ha coinciso con la nascita, nel secondo dopoguerra, della *traduttologia scientifica*, disciplina teorica e applicata che coniuga in chiave interdisciplinare l'analisi testuale, la linguistica contrastiva, la psicolinguistica, la neurolinguistica e gli studi terminologici[3].

La traduttologia ha assunto l'arduo compito – mediante il metodo scientifico – di fornire ai traduttori, alla comunità accademica e ai docenti parametri di riferimento sufficientemente rigorosi da consentire un sistema di valutazione critica delle traduzioni *condiviso* dai futuri studiosi e

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[3] Il termine *traduttologia*, presente nelle principali lingue europee (*Traductology*, *traductologie*, *traductología*, *Translationwissenschaft*, *perevodovedenie translatologija* ecc.), indica la formalizzazione dei processi traduttivi e i parametri per valutare i prodotti, differenziandosi dalla più generica *teoria della traduzione*, che comprende sia gli studi sui prodotti di taglio storico o socio-culturale (*Translation Studies*), sia la ricerca formale sui processi.

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professionisti. A partire dai pionieri, come Eugene Nida e Jiří Levý, i traduttologi più lungimiranti hanno indagato la correlazione tra progetti, procedure e processi decisionali, convinti dell'evidenza che, solo *disciplinando* la professione, si possa sancirne lo status di disciplina professionale. È emerso nei decenni che traduttori, committenti, destinatari e studiosi possono esprimere un giudizio critico rigoroso sulle traduzioni solo mediante un concetto di *equivalenza* al relativo TP: il processo di formalizzazione, infatti, è vincolato a un qualche sistema utile a misurare l'equivalenza.

Circa settant'anni fa, Roman Jakobson (2008, p. 58) affermava che proprio l'"equivalenza nella differenza" fosse "il problema centrale del linguaggio e l'oggetto fondamentale della linguistica". Nei decenni successivi, il pressoché irrisorio riconoscimento in àmbito umanistico dei pur vistosi sforzi teorici non è dipeso da fallacie o incoerenze teoriche (magari vistose), bensì dal desiderio di ovviare agli impegnativi vincoli teorici e procedurali imposti dall'approccio scientifico. Le ragioni dell'avversione al controllo della qualità, infatti, si possono attribuire a) all'umana diffidenza per i cambiamenti, b) all'idea di alcuni di avere diritto a considerarsi 'al di sopra della critica', c) alla rigidità o inerzia di chi, pur privo di presunzione, non sia disposto, con quotidiano impegno, ad aggiornare le proprie conoscenze teoriche e le proprie abilità tecniche[4].

Nonostante l'opposizione delle correnti legate al postmodernismo, la virata epistemologica si è oggi consolidata assieme all'idea che sia legittimo richiedere ai traduttori alcuni requisiti preliminari, rendendo la disciplina consona ai parametri qualitativi e deontologici delle altre professioni liberali. È necessario, dunque, superare le resistenze diffuse proprio tra numerosi letterati inspiegabilmente ostili alla linguistica (come se oggetto dei loro studi non fossero opere *fatte di lingua*).

Ancora oggi è diffuso tra alcuni traduttori letterari l'ingenuo assioma che la "creatività" non sia descrivibile o che descriverla sia faticoso e inutile. Curiosamente, l'idea è stata propugnata anche da traduttori che disponevano di tecniche sofisticate (e descrivibili), che sapevano usarle e che hanno contribuito a dimostrare che poesia e prosa sono traducibili grazie allo studio e alla ricerca scientifica. Valga per tutti il caso di Pietro Marchesani, traduttore del premio Nobel Wisława Szymborska, che ha contribuito con il suo lavoro a indicare tecniche e strategie formalizzabili, ma che ha più volte pubblicamente negato che potesse esistere un nesso tra competenze teoriche e risultato estetico (affermando, ad esempio, che la teoria servirebbe solo a

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[4] In qualsiasi settore scientifico-professionale, durante la fase disciplinante, sono note analoghe resistenze da parte di chi abbia esercitato in precedenza l'attività sottraendosi a critica o valutazione.

chi… non sa tradurre; cfr. nota 4). Eppure, le migliori traduzioni di Marchesani costituiscono la dimostrazione empirica che l'effetto estetico di un TP di massima complessità si ricrea applicando tecniche precise e descrivibili, come si evince, ad esempio, da questi virtuosistici versi di Szymborska/Marchesani (da "Compleanno" ["Urodziny"]):

Tyle naraz świata ze wszystkich stron swiata:	Tanto mondo a un tratto da tutto il mondo:
moreny, mureny i morza, i zorze,	morene, murene e marosi e mimose,
i ogień, i ogon, i orzeł, i orzech –	e il fuoco e il fuco e il falco e il frutto –
jak ja to ustawię, gdzie ja to położę?	come e dove potrò mettere il tutto?
Te chaszcze i paszcze, i leszcze, i deszcze,	Queste foglie e scaglie, questi merli e tarli,
bodziszki, modliszki - gdzie ja to pomieszczę?	lamponi e scorpioni – dove sistemarli?
Motyle, goryle, beryle i trele –	Lapilli, mirtilli, berilli e zampilli –
dziękuję, to chyba o wiele za wiele,	grazie, ma ce n'è fin sopra i capelli.
Do dzbanka jakiego tam łopian i łopot,	Dove andranno questo tripudio e trifoglio,
i łubin, i popłoch, i przepych, i kłopot?	tremore e cespuglio e turgore e scompiglio?
[…]	
(Szymborska 2008, 311)[5]	

Si tratta di un testo a fronte che in entrambe le versioni presenta le medesime complesse tecniche compositive ad ogni livello della lingua. L'effetto-naturalezza del TA italiano (che lo rende sul piano *funzionale* equivalente al TP) è dato da un'attenta selezione delle opzioni traduttive, secondo criteri precisi e coerenti, i quali non solo possono, ma devono essere descritti e formalizzati in ottemperanza al primario compito dell'accademia di trasmettere il sapere. Numerosi traduttori della generazione di Marchesani, con immenso svantaggio per la comunità scientifica, sono arrivati a negare le loro stesse ricerche pur di convincere se stessi e gli altri di disporre di un elettivo e nobilitante "talento" impermeabile alla trasmissione del sapere (secondo l'assioma implicito "*après moi le déluge*").

Come avviene in ogni disciplina che unisca creatività a esercizio, studio a sperimentazione, tradizione a innovazione, l'effetto-naturalezza risponde a un noto paradosso dell'arte: più è alto il livello professionale dell'artista, più la sensazione d'istintiva naturalezza che innesca la sua prestazione nasconde la fatica dell'addestramento e dello studio. In realtà, come avviene per i grandi ballerini, non è "bravo" chi ha "talento", ma ha talento chi si allena per anni, applicando regole e istruzioni codificate, al solo

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[5] Nel giugno 2011, Marchesani dichiarava in un'intervista che, per tradurre questa poesia, il requisito era "essere innamorati" (cfr. Małyszkiewicz 2013, p. 322), mentre due anni prima aveva dichiarato a un prestigiosissimo evento bolognese (citando senza fonte Leopardi) che a parlare di teoria sarebbero coloro che peggio traducono (Cfr. youtube, "Il Collegio incontra Wisława Szymborska":
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v =_d-TZt5bacY [min. 13.46-13.52 della registrazione; ultima cons. 1/12/21]).

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scopo di *far sembrare agli altri* che la sua fatica non esista. Per questo la traduzione *ri-creativa* professionale è l'opposto di quella *ricreativa* amatoriale (e, quando non funziona, si può argomentare perché). Tuttavia, ancora oggi nelle aule universitarie accade che la traduzione letteraria sia presentata come una *non-disciplina* che non può e non deve sottostare a istruzioni. Praticamente s'insegna qualcosa che si afferma non si possa insegnare: invece di spiegare la teoria, le strategie e le tecniche indispensabili per tradurre, gli studenti sottostanno a una tra due aporie: devono tradurre senza disporre di alcun criterio formale, oppure secondo le istruzioni soggettive di un singolo docente che contraddicono quelle degli altri docenti.

Il primo passo che separa il soggettivismo empirico dal rigore accademico concerne la condivisione di concetti e termini, argomentazioni e strumenti necessari per operare e per valutare il proprio e l'altrui operato rispetto a 'qualcosa'. Un sistema di valutazione coerente è la *conditio sine qua non* per superare una lacuna penalizzante per tutto il settore umanistico: se il sistema accademico di valutazione dei "prodotti della ricerca" nega o discrimina la scientificità dei testi letterari tradotti è perché gli stessi traduttori negano o ignorano l'esistenza di rigorosi parametri critici che convincerebbero anche il "sistema" a considerare che una traduzione approvata da esperti *è* un "prodotto" *della ricerca*, la cui qualità scientifica (relativa al progetto, alle strategie e alle tecniche applicate) è misurarabile non meno "oggettivamente" delle monografie, degli articoli o saggi accademici. In tal senso, nel 2003, sul *Sole – 24 ore*, compariva un emblematico articolo di Dario Antiseri dal titolo programmatico: "Tradurre Tacito è fare ricerca". Antiseri (2003), rifacendosi a Popper, ribadiva l'idea che il metodo "unico" della "ricerca scientifica" dovesse includere la traduzione:

> Dovunque si faccia ricerca – in fisica come in sociologia e storiografia, in biologia e in chimica, come anche in filologia o *nella traduzione di un testo* – non si fa altro che *risolvere problemi tramite la proposta di ipotesi o congetture da porre al vaglio delle loro conseguenze*, nella consapevolezza che l'errore individuato e eliminato è il debole segnale rosso che ci permette di venire fuori dalla caverna della nostra ignoranza. (ivi; corsivo mio)

Questo breve articolo rispecchiava un momento storico: nei primi anni Duemila si diffondevano in Italia gli insegnamenti di Lingua e Traduzione con la conseguente necessità di sviluppare le competenze teoriche e pratiche, e la consapevolezza professionale dei futuri traduttori; in sostanza, pur in modalità implicita, s'iniziava a contrapporre l'approccio accademico-scientifico a quello amatoriale. Questa svolta epistemologica, tuttora in atto, prelude: a) al rigore delle recensioni, ovvero alla diffusione di un'oggettiva *critica della traduzione letteraria* e, quindi, al maggior potere contrattuale dei

traduttori rispetto al "patronato" degli editori; b) al riconoscimento sociale e giuridico dei traduttori non solo come meri "autori" di "opere derivate dell'ingegno" assoggettate ai "diritti d'autore" (cfr. Megale 2004, p. 21), ma anche come "autori professionisti" di una disciplina intellettuale assoggettabile a *leges artis*, la quale, pertanto, va "protetta"[6]; c) al riconoscimento delle traduzioni accademiche come autonomi e completi contributi alla ricerca e non come lavori 'collaterali' quasi irrilevanti nelle procedure di valutazione dei concorsi e in quelle relative ai finanziamenti.

3. Il concetto di "equivalenza funzionale" secondo un modello teorico *universale*

A partire da John Catford (1969, pp. 93-94) il concetto di "equivalenza" e "corrispondenza formale" è stato il tema centrale della traduttologia sia in Occidente, sia nei Paesi Slavi (dove più intensa è stata la ricerca). Kenny (2006, pp. 77-80) considera a ragione che quello di "equivalenza" sia il concetto più "controverso" degli studi traduttologici: a partire dagli anni Sessanta, si sono succedute proposte di parametrizzare l'equivalenza "referenziale", "connotativa", "denotativa", "pragmatica", "dinamica", "funzionale" ecc. La varietà di termini e concetti ha generato una notevole confusione che, a sua volta, ha diffusamente alimentato la convinzione che trovare un modello universale fosse impossibile. Per oltre vent'anni, quindi, in veste di traduttore (*bottom up*) e di traduttologo (*top down*), mi sono dedicata a elaborare un concetto di "equivalenza" che riflettesse tutti i dati apparentemente contraddittori forniti nei decenni da studiosi dell'Est e dell'Ovest, eliminando le ridondanze (secondo il citato principio wilsoniano di "*parsinomy*" dei modelli scientifici). Il concetto di *equivalenza funzionale* (*f*-equivalenza) che ne è derivato (cfr. Salmon 2017, pp. 190-196) è il fondamento del modello teorico generale (ivi, pp. 178-196) che, con crescente consapevolezza, ho applicato alle traduzioni letterarie dal russo a partire dall'*Idiota* di Dostoevskij (2013) fino alla nuova versione di *Anna Karenina* (2022).

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[6] La normativa che tutela il diritto d'autore per i traduttori (cfr. Megale 2004, pp. 19-20) riflette la differenza giuridica tra "autore" – che può essere chiunque – e "autore-professionista", che è un autore *esperto* che afferisce a un campo disciplinare. Se un architetto firma un progetto o un chirurgo brevetta una tecnica operatoria, vengono loro riconosciute entrambe le funzioni, mentre identificare il traduttore con il solo "autore" del testo tradotto implica disconoscere le sue competenze *professionali*. La *qualità* della traduzione diverrà fondamento dell'affidabilità dei "prodotti" tradotti solo se, oltre alla mera "autorialità", si riconoscerà giuridicamente la *professionalità* dei traduttori.

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Secondo il modello teorico, il concetto di *f*-equivalenza consente al traduttore – scartando, appunto, le opzioni non *f*-equivalenti – sia di ottenere un TA con lo stesso *potenziale estetico* del TP, sia di valutare l'operato proprio e altrui secondo parametri oggettivi. Con "potenziale estetico" s'intende l'insieme di tutte le informazioni, esplicite e implicite, che – nel TP – possono essere recepite o non recepite da lettori diversi (o dallo stesso lettore in momenti diversi): in ogni testo, l'innesco potenziale è sempre *maggiore* di quello che si attua a una sola lettura; pertanto, il traduttore deve ricodificare nel TA *tutti* gli elementi formali che potenzialmente possono agire a livello psico-cognitivo su destinatari diversi e in momenti diversi.

La *f*-equivalenza si basa su un parametro unico, universale ed esaustivo: la *marcatezza funzionale* (*f*-marcatezza), ovvero la marca che condensa l'insieme delle informazioni pragmatiche commisurate al preciso contesto comunicativo di ogni enunciato nel testo. La *f*-marcatezza, infatti, misura ogni informazione codificata nell'enunciato sul piano dell'*invariante* (il COSA è detto) e sul piano della variabile espressiva (COME l'invariante è formulata). Ogni variabile (COME) contiene informazioni codificate su combinazioni diverse di fattori contestuali, ovvero sull'interazione dei *fattori -wh* (chi dice cosa a chi, quando, dove, perché). La stessa invariante (COSA), grazie alla specifica variabile espressiva (COME) risponde a una e una sola marcatezza pragmatica (contestuale e funzionale). In altre parole, il potenziale d'innesco di ogni enunciato dipende da COME è espressa l'invariante rispetto alla frequenza d'uso *nel contesto*.

Espressioni che sono non-marcate (attendibili) in contesti colloquiali possono essere estremamente marcate (inattese) in contesti ufficiali, e viceversa: il COME determina la *distanza interpersonale* tra i comunicanti su scala gerarchica e affettiva (rappresentabile su un piano cartesiano: cfr. Salmon 2017: 192). La *f*-marcatezza, infatti, considera sia la reciprocità, sia le asimmetrie gerarchiche: se una madre o un professore dicono a un ragazzo "Stai zitto!", la marcatezza è diversa rispetto alla direzione inversa, che viola le attese pragmatiche; due colleghi possono parlarsi in modo reciprocamente ufficiale o colloquiale, ovvero uno dei due può *marcare* la sua posizione più autorevole o subordinata, più amichevole o distante sul piano interpersonale. Ogni variazione lessicale, ogni opzione prosodica, ogni elemento morfologico (anche nell'uso di genere, numero, caso, tempo, modo, aspetto verbale, locuzione avverbiale o avverbio), ogni diversa collocazione e dislocazione sintattica dei costituenti, ogni relazione tema/rema, ogni idiomatismo o similitudine, ogni espressione "formulaica" (cfr. Wray 2002) fa variare l'insieme delle informazioni trasmesse dall'autore al destinatario in un dato enunciato o sintagma (considerato, in traduzione, un'unità traduttiva minima).

Lo "stile" di ogni autore, dunque, non solo si riflette nelle opzioni selezionate, ma anche nelle opzioni scartate (de-selezionate): lo stile di Tolstoj (e di qualunque autore che abbia uno stile) è dato dalle sue predilezioni e dalle sue idiosincrasie (variabili che *mai* avrebbe usato). In sintesi, lo stile può essere definito come "insieme delle marcatezze pragmatiche selezionate e scartate da un autore in un testo (orale o scritto)". Ricodificando in traduzione la stessa *f*-marcatezza di ogni unità traduttiva del TP, si ottiene nel complesso un TA *f*-equivalente al TP anche sul piano stilistico. L'equivalenza si ottiene valutando attentamente l'asimmetria pragmatica tra le due lingue di lavoro: infatti, qualcosa di attendibile e non marcato in una lingua può essere marcato (più o meno offensivo, stucchevole, accademico, neutrale, strano, obsoleto ecc.) nell'altra: la ri-codifica di queste concrete informazioni codificate nel TP va attuata con gli strumenti che in lingua di arrivo assolvono alla stessa funzione, prestando attenzione a ri-codificare quelle e solo quelle informazioni. Ciò consente di tradurre non *quasi la stessa cosa*, ma *la stessa cosa*.

Il parametro della *f*-quivalenza, in sostanza, garantisce un alto *grado di retroversibilità* delle unità del TA in un TP-derivato massimamente simile al TP. Infatti, la più rigorosa verifica che il modello 'funziona' dipende dalla potenziale prova di retroversione del TA in un TP-derivato, per misurarne la corrispondenza formale al TP. Ovviamente, più un TP è costituito da enunciati ad alta stereotipia (non marcati) minore è l'entropia in retroversione. Viceversa, più un TP è complesso (la stereotipia è minima), come in poesia, più diversificati e numerosi sono gli artifici impiegati dall'autore per innescare il potenziale d'innesco, maggiore sarà anche l'entropia sia nel primario processo traduttivo, sia in retroversione. Rispetto a un testo ad alta stereotipia (supponiamo, a istruzioni tecniche), un testo complesso richiede più *approssimazioni* nella ricodifica delle marcatezze in altra lingua, nonché il ricorso alle tecniche per ricodificare tutte le informazioni del TP (compensazione, condensazione, esplicitazione, spostamento; Salmon 2017: 212-220). La massima entropia si ha in presenza di giochi di parole, calambour, metafore linguo-specifiche, tecniche versificatorie o altri artifici della creatività linguistica; tuttavia, se le procedure operative dal TP al TA e dal TA al TP-derivato sono rigorose e formalizzate, commisurate alla *f*-equivalenza (cioè ogni unità traduttiva ha la stessa *f*-marcatezza), l'entropia attendibilmente dovrebbe risultare minima.

La "scientificità" dell'ipotesi non implica affatto che sia "giusta", "vera" o "definitiva", ma solo che sia definita, argomentata e falsificabile. Altrettanto può dirsi dei requisiti richiesti a un traduttore per applicare il modello. Infatti, se mancano i requisiti al traduttore (sofisticato bilinguismo, solida preparazione teorica e lungo addestramento), il modello non può essere applicato in modo affidabile. Viceversa, se il traduttore dispone dei requisiti

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indispensabili ad applicare il modello, è ipotizzabile la prova della retroversione per misurarne il grado di affidabilità.

4. *Anna Karenina* 'prima' e 'dopo' la formalizzazione

Se comparata con le traduzioni italiane all'epoca disponibili, la mia prima traduzione di *Anna Karenina* (TA_1: Tolstoj 2004) evidenziava talune qualità, soprattutto una buona leggibilità e un coerente progetto di attualizzazione. Tuttavia, presentava tre tipologie di problemi:

1) la prima riguardava i fattori "accidentali" (non consapevoli) dovuti sia ai tempi contrattuali ristretti, sia alla mancanza di una pedissequa revisione da parte della redazione; comprendeva, in particolare, omissioni di alcuni enunciati dovute a omoteleuto o omeoarchia, o di singole parole (per lo più in sequenze di aggettivi e avverbi); erano presenti anche alcuni errori d'interpretazione[7];

2) la seconda tipologia riguardava il rigore epistemologico di tutto il testo che, nonostante il progetto accurato, non poteva essere perseguito senza un solido modello teorico di riferimento: alcune conoscenze teoriche, l'esperienza empirica, la buona volontà e una generica idea di "funzionalità estetica" erano i soli riferimenti cui mi fossi attenuta traducendo; pur auspicando che TA_1 innescasse risposte analoghe al TP, non ambivo a ri-codificare *ogni informazione* codificata nel TP; ero convinta a) che nessun tipo di equivalenza *generale* fosse possibile e, di conseguenza, b) che si dovesse selezionare (nel processo decisionale) *un livello esclusivo* di equivalenza (nella fattispecie, la 'godibilità estetica' della lingua italiana). I requisiti di cui disponevo lavorando a TA_1 erano un alto bilinguismo, generiche nozioni teoriche e una certa esperienza come traduttore letterario e interprete;

3) la terza tipologia era la sostanziale assenza degli strumenti elettronici oggi disponibili, atti a verificare, soprattutto, le occorrenze su corpora di confronto dell'epoca del TP e le illustrazioni collegate allora e oggi al lessico tolstojano.

Al contrario, la seconda traduzione di *Karenina* (TA_2: Tolstoj 2022) è stata ottenuta secondo un preciso e formale "protocollo operativo", cioè improntata al modello teorico e a parametri verificabili. Infatti, lavorando a TA_2, i requisiti di cui disponevo (quindici anni dopo aver ultimato TA_1),

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[7] Il più vistoso: [VI/10] Al posto dei due sparvieri erano i beccaccini a stridere a decine volando sopra la palude (TA_1); Invece di un paio di sparvieri, ne volteggiavano a decine, stridendo, sopra la palude (TA_2). Qui e in seguito, gli esempi sono preceduti tra parentesi quadre dal numero della Parte e del Capitolo ([II/2]). Il romanzo è composto da otto parti.

erano un più sofisticato bilinguismo, una maggiore esperienza, basi teoriche solide e rigorose e strumenti elettronici di gran lunga superiori a livello qualitativo e quantitativo[8]. Adeguando TA_1 al criterio di *f*-equivalenza previsto dal modello teorico generale (già applicato ad altre traduzioni precedenti), il rigore di TA_2 è cresciuto esponenzialmente sia sul piano formale, sia a livello estetico: si sono ristabilite corrispondenze etimologiche, morfosintattiche, lessicali e pragmatiche che concorrono a riportate ogni possibile elemento riferito al COME Tolstoj ha formulato gli enunciati. In tal senso, TA_2 è sottoponibile alla procedura di controllo prevista per i lavori professionali: la potenziale prova di retroversione prevede che – applicando lo stesso criterio di *f*-equivalenza previsto dal modello alla traduzione verso russo di TA_2 – si ottenga un TP-derivato simile al TP di Tolstoj in ogni componente e con bassa entropia[9].

Il lavoro di revisione e ri-scrittura che ha portato da TA_1 a TA_2 ha comportato l'adeguamento di ogni unità traduttiva alla *f*-marcatezza dell'unità corrispondente del TP: sono state ripristinare in TA_2 tutte le informazioni che in TA_1 non era stato possibile ri-codifcare in mancanza dei necessari strumenti teorici e computazionali, ma (soprattutto) nella convinzione che non fosse possibile.

A livello formale, gli interventi di ripristino sono innumerevoli e riguardano diverse categorie della lingua del TP[10]:

1) sintassi del periodo (dislocazioni, tema/rema, anafore, connettori):

[VI/13]
il giardiniere stupito *li vide passare accanto col viso tranquillo e raggiante mentre tornavano a casa* (TA_1).

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[8] Lavorando a TA_2, l'uso dei repertori elettronici e della rete ha consentito (anche grazie alle immagini e agli audiovisivi) d'identificare con ampio margine di affidabilità la corrispondenza dei traducenti italiani ai termini scientifici, ai vocaboli obsoleti, ai gergalismi e ai *realia* presenti nel TP. Ad esempio, si è compreso che il famoso "sacchetto" ("*mešok*") rosso di Anna era in realtà una "borsetta" a mano (il russo usava il calco "sacchetto/sacchettino" dal francese "*petit sac*"), che avrebbe dato il nome, al recente modello "Karenina" di Christian Dior).

[9] Questo tipo di verifica ipotetica presenta questo problema concreto: la prova andrebbe effettuata grazie a un professionista russofono, esperto di traduzione letteraria, in grado di applicare lo stesso modello nella retroversione, cosa che richiede studio ed esercizio; in altre parole, se la prova fallisse potrebbe dipendere sia da un difetto del modello, sia da una sua difettosa applicazione; tuttavia, il fatto stesso che il metodo sia sottoponibile a un regolare e descrivibile procedimento di falsificazione formale implica che si tratta di un approccio corrispondente a ciò che si definisce (a livello interdisciplinare) "metodo scientifico".

[10] Per vincoli di spazio, si riportano solo pochi simbolici esempi e solo per alcune categorie (si sono attuati interventi relativi anche alla punteggiatura e all'onomastica, soprattutto a toponimi e antroponimi). Il lettore russista può recuperare gli esempi nel TP (la parte è in numero romano, il paragrafo in numero arabo) in uno dei numerosi siti russi che offrono *Anna Karenina* in open access.

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il giardiniere stupito, *passando lì accanto, li vide rientrare a casa col viso rasserenato e raggiante* (TA$_2$).

[VI/27]
Se però *a non sostenerne la candidatura fosse stato il solo distretto di Svijažskij,* Snetkov si sarebbe candidato lo stesso (TA$_1$).

Se però *fosse stato il solo distretto di Svijažskij a non sostenerne la candidatura*, Snetkov si sarebbe candidato lo stesso (TA$_2$).

Di conseguenza, *una volta saltati gli accordi, il partito dei vecchi avrebbe potuto candidare* un altro dei suoi (TA$_1$)

Di conseguenza, *il vecchio partito avrebbe potuto scegliere un altro dei suoi, visto che i calcoli sarebbero saltati* (TA$_2$)

[VII/3]
e, dal viso intelligente e tranquillo dello studioso, *non riusciva a intuirlo* (TA$_1$)
né riusciva a intuirlo dal viso intelligente e tranquillo dello studioso (TA$_2$)

2) tempo/aspetto e modo del verbo:

[I/21]
Più che agli altri, parve ad Anna*, e non le parve un bene* (TA$_1$).
ma era sembrato strano a tutti, soprattutto ad Anna*, e non le era parsa una buona cosa* (TA$_2$).

[VI/21]
«Allora andrò avanti» disse lui riprendendosi (TA$_1$)
«Dunque, proseguo» disse lui riprendendosi (TA$_2$)

[VII/1]
I suoi occhi sinceri dicevano a Levin che Kity era contenta di se stessa e lui, *nonostante lei fosse arrossita* […] (TA$_1$)
I sinceri occhi di Kity dicevano a Levin che lei era soddisfatta di se stessa e, *nonostante stesse arrossendo* […] (TA$_2$)

[VII/2]
Da quando mi sono sposato non c'è stata una sola volta in cui io *potessi* dirmi che qualcosa avrebbe potuto esser meglio di com'era… (TA$_1$)
Da quando mi sono sposato non c'è stata una sola volta in cui io *abbia potuto* dirmi che qualcosa avrebbe potuto esser meglio di com'era… (TA$_2$)

[VII/7]
Attraversando la prima sala *con il paravento* (TA$_1$)
Dopo aver attraversato la prima sala *di passaggio con le paratie* (TA$_2$)

3) determinatezza/indeterminatezza[11]:

[I/1]
Tre giorni dopo la lite" (TA1)
Il terzo giorno dopo la lite" (TA2)

[III/5]
L'imbarazzo nei confronti del padrone era sparito da tempo (TA1)
Qualsiasi imbarazzo nei confronti del padrone era sparito da tempo (TA2)

4) lessico generico:

[I/1]
tutti i *servitori* (TA1)
tutti i *domestici* (TA2)[12]

[IV/22]
Vorrei sapere cosa *desidera* (TA1)
Desidero sapere cosa *vuole* (TA2)

[VII,3]
non sapeva fino a che punto avrebbe potuto *contare sulla sua approvazione* (TA1)
non sapeva fino a che punto avrebbe potuto *sperare di essere sostenuto da lui nelle sue nuove idee* (TA2)

[VII,5]
si mise ad andare *da una parte e dall'altra* alla ricerca *dei musicologi* e fu felice *di vedere che uno degli esperti più famosi* stava discutendo *con il suo amico Pevcov* (TA1)
si mise ad andare *in giro* alla ricerca *degli esperti* e fu felice *quando ne vide uno tra i più noti che* stava discutendo con Pevcov, *che lui conosceva* (TA2)

5) terminologia:

[III,5]
immerse *il contenitore di latta* in cui teneva la cote abrasiva (TA1)
immerse *la gamella* in cui teneva la cote abrasiva (TA2)

[VI,10]
si aspettava uno stormo di *beccacce* (TA1)
si aspettava uno stormo di *beccaccini* (TA2)

[VI/28]
«Votare! *Al voto*! Basta discutere! *Al voto*!» (TA2)
«Votiamo! *Con le ballotte*! Basta discutere! *Con le ballotte*!» (TA2)

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[11] In russo non esiste la categoria dell'articolo e la determinatezza/indeterminatezza viene codificata con altri strumenti (deissi, preposizioni, qualificativi, indefiniti ecc.).
[12] Nella parola russa "*domočadcy*" (TP) il richiamo implicito, etimologico, non è al "*servire*", ma alla "*casa*" ("*dom*").

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6) marcatezze morfologico/pragmatiche:

[VI, 29]
Secondo me andrebbe tagliato *quel tiglio* (TA₁)
Secondo me andrebbero tagliati *questi tigli* (TA₂)

[VII/8]
Ecco, tu ridi, ma *tutti noi ormai stiamo aspettando* di diventare *'pappette'* (TA₁)
Tu ora ridi, ma *ogni socio del club si aspetta* di diventare*, lui stesso, una spugnola* (TA₂)

a furia di andare *e riandare* al club si diventa *una 'pappetta'* (TA₁)
a furia di andare *su e giù* al club, si diventa *spugnole* (TA₂)[13]

7) interiezioni e locuzioni esclamative:

[I/18]
«Hai ricevuto il telegramma? Stai bene? *Grazie a Dio*» (TA₁)
«Hai ricevuto il telegramma? Stai bene? *Meno male*» (TA₂)

[VI/21]
«*Sì,* questo mi *conduce* proprio allo scopo del mio discorso» (TA₁)
«*Già*, e questo mi *porta* proprio allo scopo del mio discorso» (TA₂)

8) fraseologia, proverbi, modi di dire, citazioni in versi:

[I/10]
Da certi segni rinvengo nei cavalli prova d'ardore, dagli occhi vedo nei giovani prova d'amore
(TA₁)
Dei cavalli rivela il marchio a fuoco l'ardore, nei giovani svela lo sguardo un felice amore
(TA₂)

come dice Puškin, "*Rivedo* disgustato la mia vita *e maledicendola fremo* d'amaro pentimento…
(TA₁)
eppure, come dice Puškin, "Disgustato *rileggo* la mia vita *e fremo, maledicendola,* d'amaro
pentimento… (TA₂)

[I/17]
Per questo la maggioranza preferisce farsela con *un'altra categoria di donne* (TA₁)
Per questo la maggioranza preferisce farsela con *una Messalina (di quelle che noi chiamiamo
"Klara")* (TA₂)

[I/24]
E se consideri la cosa umiliante, beh, *là c'è la porta* (TA₁)
E se consideri la cosa umiliante, beh, *questa e la sorte e quella è la porta* (TA₂)

___

[13] Con il vocabolo metaforico 'pappetta' (virgolettato) si era reso il russo (non virgolettato) *šljupik*,
che corrisponde a un fungo particolarmente acquoso. In TA2, con *spugnola* si è ripristinata
l'informazione completa (molliccio+fungo).

Tutte queste categorie di elementi testuali – assommandosi (sia nei dialoghi dei personaggi, sia nella parte di commento della voce narrante) – concorrono a marcare tanto le strutture retoriche (ad esempio, ironia e sarcasmo), quanto lo stile dell'autore in questo specifico testo. Per "stile", infatti, si può proprio intendere la *qualità dell'espressione* che emerge dalle caratteristiche *formali e distintive* del linguaggio narrativo tolstojano in *Anna Karenina*. Si ribadisce, in sintesi, la rilevanza del fatto (pur tautologico, ma trascurato dalla traduzione pre-scientifica) che – scegliendo una variabile (COME esprimere qualCOSA) – l'autore scarta (a livello implicito e/o esplicito) *tutte le altre variabili*. Rispetto a TA$_1$, in TA$_2$ si è cercato di evitare che ogni opzione traduttiva coincidesse con le variabili scartate da Tolstoj: il fatto stesso che questo sia sottoponibile a verifica – a prescindere dalle abilità applicative dei singoli traduttori – presuppone di avere parametri chiari per misurare la coerenza ai postulati, l'affidabilità e il rigore della versione finale del TA. E, se qualcosa non funziona (e non dipende dai requisiti mancanti del traduttore), significa che va migliorata la traduzione oppure che va perfezionato il modello teorico su cui si basa.

Bionote: Laura Salmon is a literary translator from Russian and Full Professor of Russian and of Translation Theory at the University of Genoa. Her preminent research fields are: Translation Theory, Onomastics, Humor Studies (particularly Jewish humor), Literary theory, Russian literature. She has published tens of papers on the mentioned topics and several books. Among the latters: the monography *Mechanisms of Humor. About Sergey Dovlatov's works* (Moskva 2008; in Italian, Milano 2018) and the academic Handbook *Translation Theory* (Milano 2017; in Russian, Moskva 2020). She has translated a large number of masterpieces from the Russian prose (included Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Dovlatov) and poetry (Pushkin, Ryzhy, Guberman), and was awarded three prizes for literary translation (Monselice 2009, Tolstoy-Italy/Russia 2010, Gorky 2017).

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EXPLORING THE COVID-19 EVALUATIVE DISCOURSE IN RESEARCH-FOCUSED COMMENTARY BLOGS
Appraisal Resources for *Engagement* Meanings

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Abstract – This study investigates how bloggers discuss the public health emergency amid the global COVID-19 pandemic and use the options made available by evaluative language to realize interpersonal stance-making meanings on public-facing blog platforms. Using a representative corpus of Covid-19 blog posts, I examine the Covid-19 evaluative discourse through the APPRAISAL system and its subcomponent of *engagement* suggested in Martin and White's (2005) social semiotic framework. Findings show variation in the frequency and function of *engagement* resources, exemplifying how blog writers construe evaluations for their own or other value positions and recognise the presence of their readers in the texts. These findings are contextualized within the wider rhetoric of Covid-19 public discourse effected by the bog genre, which is informed by multidisciplinary views and perspectives on the public health emergency as required for effective public communication in crisis management.

Keywords: discourse; genre; appraisal; blogs; Covid.

1. Introduction

In a digital age, when Web 2.0 technologies have grown by leaps and bounds for collaborative frameworks, the multifunctional nature and use of blogs as a genre (Herring et al. 2005, 2013; Myers 2010; Garzone et al. 2007; Garzone 2020) has massively instantiated across diverse fields, such as public relations, marketing, science, and politics. This had made it extremely easy for anyone to become an online publisher, personalise content, and build virtual communities of practice worldwide around their blog niches. When built through different types of publishing content, blogging provides a unique way to gauge public opinion on a business, product or brand (Hallett 2005), to serve as a pipeline to political information and opinion (Farrell/Drezner 2008/2021), or provide several different reasons for academics and researchers to blog in wider academic settings (Walker 2006; Myers 2010; Kjellberg 2010; Puschmann 2014), among other goals. In this, blogs have become a major digital publishing phenomenon as well as a

significant element of contemporary mass media culture (Elega/Özad 2018), affording the rapid expansion of new "prosumption" (Ritzer 2014) activities (a combination of production and consumption), on account of their interaction with digital technologies. At the same time, blogs have facilitated and intensified "digital practices", as defined by "'assemblages' of actions involving tools associated with digital technologies, which have come to be recognised by specific groups of people as ways of attaining particular social goals, enacting particular social identities, and reproducing particular sets of social relationships" (Jones et al. 2017: 3). Just as the effectiveness of using blogs emphasizes 'what is shared' by an audience and makes it possible to understand new kinds of (technology-driven) social practices, so too it implies diverse communicative activities and different degrees of public engagement for the creation of new, collective knowledge. As a social medium for public engagement and indeed new social practices, blogs lean heavily on the two key dimensions of "social presence/media richness" for virtual communities and "self-presentation / self-disclosure" for content communities (Kaplan/Haenlein 2010).

Standing alongside the view of blogging as a wider programme of knowledge dissemination, collaboration and public engagement associated with digital practices is evidence for the existence of evaluative and interpersonal features of language in blogs (Myers 2010; Bondi/Diani 2015; Tessuto 2015; Bondi 2018; Zou/Hyland 2019, 2020; Tessuto 2020, 2021a/b; Curry/Pérez-Paredes 2021). As with any written text which embodies interactions between writers and readers, these evaluative features are significant for the ways bloggers frame ideas, beliefs, and attitudes-through a set of interpersonal options to engage their readers, and contribute with an ideology or value system that is influenced by personal opinions, roles, and identities in rhetorically persuasive patterns of interactions between writers and readers. By the same token, the expression of evaluation and the role of interaction in blogs draw together a number of research paradigms that have been dealt with elsewhere via academic discourse analysis, including *evaluative orientations* (Lemke 1998), *evaluation* (Hunston/Thompson 2000; Bednarek 2006), *stance* (Conrad/Biber 2000; Hyland 2005a; Biber 2006; Hyland 2009), *metadiscourse* (Hyland/Tse 2004; Hyland 2005b), *appraisal* (Martin/White 2005), and the genre-focused argument function of evaluation (Paltridge 1997; Swales 2004). All of these influential lines of research into academic writing in some way address the idea of 'positioning' as being not just about taking sides (making evaluations) in relation to the propositions and issues discussed in the text, but also about connecting people and ideas (doing interaction).

As many institutional websites churn out blogs for academic or non-academic practitioners to establish their own niches around an evaluative

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system of linguistic expressions, blogging about the Covid-19 pandemic creates an opportunity for understanding how bloggers wish to position themselves and other people in relation to the specific topics they write about, that is, how they make evaluations about their own or other propositions and construct the role of persuasive interaction in text. But having this niche topic to 'hook' blogs on to can also inform our understanding of the coronavirus pandemic as a "crisis discourse" that threatens life (Gjerde 2021: 7), in much the same way as the concept of 'crisis' has an immense lay, media and academic currency, involving for instance sociologically-oriented discourse analysis of crises (Jessop 2013). Not only this, but discourses of Covid-19 have also elicited a global policy response to this crisis, perceived as a threat to "important expectancies of stakeholders" (Coombs 2010: 99), and in this way they have implicated an array of risk management measures operationalised through a range of micro/macro-level discourse and communication strategies articulated in (social) media texts and genres. By representing a far-reaching humanitarian crisis, the Covid-19 pandemic has thus exposed an important, multidisciplinary debate across several different fields, including epidemiology, political science, economics, sociology, and law, with a view to providing comprehensive insights into a rapidly changing situation arising from this global public health crisis, and ultimately inform society and produce new knowledge.

Focusing on this important debate serves as a benchmark to understand how bloggers think over the discursive processes of the coronavirus outbreak, and use an evaluative/interpersonal system of linguistic expressions made available by Covid-19 blogs. For the purposes of this study, blogs are treated as rhetorical and semiotic models of text, discourse, and genre with socially-inferred conventions, goals, and practices. Hence, the objectives of this paper, which is guided by two interrelated research questions:

1. What are the evaluative, linguistic resources by which blog writers convey their own or other position toward the content and reader, and ultimately construct a text that is regarded as effectively persuasive for writer-reader dialogue in the public-facing genre?

2. What differences are there in the use of such resources for explicitly positioning a text's proposition interpersonally in blogs?

Prior to answering these questions, I will first outline the empirical material and research method employed, and thereafter undertake the analysis and discussion of the findings for these questions in order to draw some conclusions.

2. Material and Method

2.1. Corpus data

The empirical data source for this study came from a synchronically randomized corpus of 80 blog posts on the Covid-19 topic sanctioned by the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) institutional website and labelled as 'LSE Covid-19 Blog – From research to global policy response'. They were collected over a one-year period - from July 2020 to July 2021.

Sampled posts were retrieved and downloaded from this database and subsequently converted into text format, leaving out structure-wise features ('permalinks', 'trackbacks') and follower comments running down these posts. Using WordSmith retrieval system (Scott 2015), the overall data source for this study was a 93,241 word corpus of representative postings published by the institution.

2.2. Understanding the nature of LSE Covid-19 blog posts

The scope of Covid-19 blogs over the LSE's website is essentially multidisciplinary, bringing together the health and social care, financial, political, legal, governmental and other consequences of the outbreak across the world. This means that health issues are inherently complicated under the Covid-19 crisis, so situating different kinds of discourses from multiple disciplines within these blogs exemplifies a commitment to communicating significant challenges and risks posed by the pandemic across nearly every industry worldwide, and to similarly emphasise an immediate global policy response to this crisis. In other words, blogging about Covid-19 implicates an array of critical insights and perspectives from different disciplines to better understand the public health crisis, and ultimately lay a foundation for policymaking in the government and health sectors.

Sampled posts were written by internationally-dispersed single or joint authors in their roles of academics, who stated their positions and expertise over the LSE's blogging platform. Full attribution can be seen by the blog posts carrying the author's name as well as a small colour photo headshot at the bottom of the posts and spicing up the text with the writer's position and research interests. These presentation features helped bloggers gain control of their own academic or professional public identity over the website.

Alongside this online identity presentation, sampled posts relied on "commentaries" to present arguments and opinions (Iedema et al. 1994) and were published through a "peer-reviewed thematic collection" (personal communication with this author). In this way, and as clarified by the vision statement of the LSE institution over its website, blog posts took the form of

expert and research-focused commentary of multidisciplinary issues borne out by the coronavirus pandemic and its implications upon which bloggers argued from their own perspectives.

In conjunction with the research and commentary format generated by the bulk of the blogging content was a more natural language style of the posts. Essentially, bloggers avoid overusing specific lexis that may not be well known outside disciplinary circles, so that using an easy-to-read and transparent style to its full potential was a convenient strategy to write posts with a relatively wide audience in mind, including policymakers and other non-academics. Just as bloggers made only modest use of hyperlinks to direct readers to more detailed reports or other pieces of research, news items or other blog posts, so too they moderately injected tables or charts into the text to quickly assist in the reader's interpretation of blog topics.

Consistent with a wider programme of dissemination and knowledge of topical issues over the existing website, writing posts suggests just how bloggers seek to set up an online information and communication platform for the broadest possible audiences to become aware of a breadth of research analysis and commentary of the Covid-19 landscape in a loose but still intellectual tone. As an indispensable tool for publishing accessible academic commentary and research, therefore, the blog genre contributes to enhancing online public debate and understanding about this outbreak in the public sphere.

2.3. Data analysis procedure

For the analysis of the linguistic features of blog posts, reference was made to the typology of APPRAISAL suggested in Martin and White's (2005) comprehensive framework of evaluative language. Developed as part of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Martin/White 2005), the generality of the APPRAISAL framework attends to the "subjective presence of writers/speakers in texts as they adopt stances towards both the material they present and those with whom they communicate", and extends to the ways in which writers/speakers forge "particular authorial identities or personae", and how they "align or disalign themselves with actual or potential respondents", and with "an intended or ideal audience" (Martin/White 2005: 1). As such, this framework, consists of the "major discourse semantic resources construing interpersonal meaning (alongside involvement and negotiation)" (Martin/White 2005: 34-35) realized across the three interacting subsystems of ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT, and GRADUATION (Martin/White 2005: 34-40).[1]

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[1] These categories draw upon the Systemic Functional elaboration of interpersonal meaning resources, such as mood, modality and attitudinal lexis (e.g. Halliday/Matthiessen 2004) as well

For the purposes of this study, however, only the subsystem of ENGAGEMENT was chosen from this theoretical framework, with a view to examining the ways "writers adopt a stance towards the value positions being referenced by the text and with respect to those they address" (Martin/White 2005: 92). ENGAGEMENT, as claimed by the authors, is related to "those meanings which in various ways construe for the text a heteroglossic backdrop of prior utterances, alternative viewpoints and anticipated responses" (Martin/White 2005: 97)[2]. The point of departure for this system is the distinction between the monoglossic utterance or undialogized bare assertion (one which does not allow for any viewpoints other than the author's) and the heteroglossic or dialogistic one, which allows for other utterances or alternative positions and their relationships to be represented (Martin/White 2005: 98-102).

In line with this, the analysis of ENGAGEMENT relied on lexically and grammatically different items that "contract" or "expand" dialogue in heteroglossic text (Martin/White 2005: 97-135), and provide a classification of the particular type of dialogistic positioning associated with rhetorical effects and meanings in this kind of text. More precisely, dialogic expansion allows for "alternative positions and voices" (Martin/White 2005: 102) and extends over the "entertain" and "attribute" instances of the propositions made, with the dialogic grammar of "attribute" also attending to instances of "acknowledge" and "distance" on the part of the writer (Martin/White 2005: 98, 102-104). Dialogic contraction "acts to challenge, fend off or restrict the scope of such" (Martin/White 2005: 102) through propositions that either "disclaim" or "proclaim". Propositions of the "disclaim" type cover constructions of "deny" and "counter", while those of the "proclaim" type cover constructions of "concur", either in terms of "affirm" or "concede", alongside "pronounce" and "endorse" (Martin/White 2005: 97-98, 117-132). Together these various modes of ENGAGEMENT were taken to account for a variety of linguistic resources, such as modality, concession, and reporting, used for heteroglossically construing the writer's intersubjective stance towards the propositions made and the ways this stance made the issue of alignment, misalignment, or neutrality central to writer-reader relationships in heteroglossic text.

The linguistic analysis of ENGAGEMENT was manually checked for accuracy of coding by two raters (including this author) to ensure reliability of the coding scheme and minimize subjectivity in coding data. Overall,

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as prosodic structure (Martin 2003) to construct an evaluative stance (Lemke 1998; Martin/Rose 2003; Hood 2006).

[2] By contrast, ATTITUDE is concerned with one's personal feelings (emotional reactions, judgements of people and appreciations of objects), while GRADUATION considers how language functions to amplify or diminish the attitude and engagement conveyed by a text (Martin/White 2005).

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then, the choice for this analytical procedure was to provide a qualitative and quantitative analysis of evaluative resources used in a representative corpus of blog posts on Covid-19 and the ways in which they play significance and role in this kind of evaluative discourse.

3. Analysis and discussion

Based on this data analytical procedure, it is now possible to look into how linguistic resources of heteroglossic ENGAGEMENT operate in both frequency and function across the samples.

3.1. Heteroglossic ENGAGEMENT: overall data

Upon close inspection of the sampled texts, a total of 1,474 ENGAGEMENT items were identified across the sample texts, providing a repertoire of stance meaning-making resources for heteroglossic utterances alongside their potential effects on audience construal in this generic form of public discourse. By the same token, such frequency counts reflect careful decisions about what needs to be spelled out in the broader expression of evaluation across blog posts.

3.2. Heteroglossic ENGAGEMENT resources by frequency and function

In line with this, Table 1 below provides a full perspective of the overall frequency counts of heteroglossic resources for ENGAGEMENT employed in the samples.

Subsystem					N°	%
ENGAGEMENT	Heteroglossing	Expansion		Entertain	702	48
			Attribute	Acknowledge	123	8
				Distance	64	4
				Subtotal	**187**	13
		Subtotal			**889**	60
		Contraction	Disclaim	Deny	112	7
				Counter	144	10
				Subtotal	**256**	17
			Proclaim	Concur	146	10
				Endorse	98	7
				Pronounce	85	6
				Subtotal	**329**	23
		Subtotal			**585**	40
		Subtotal			**1,474**	100

Table 1
Overall frequency of heteroglossic ENGAGEMENT resources across blog posts.

As can be seen in this Table, a variety of heteroglossic options are used to engage in dialogically relevant positions for social relations and to highlight the key dimensions of negotiation and persuasion sought for by the blog writers through the interpersonal aspects of discourse. Of course, it is difficult to be precise about the processes involved in choosing one positioning option over another from the frequencies in the Table. However, allocating a dialogically heteroglossic roadmap to the posts tell us about the interests, intentions, identities, ideologies, or values of the blog writers construing and negotiating an interpersonal space for positions of alignment, misalignment, or even neutrality with prior viewpoints and anticipating the readers' responses at different levels of meaning-making in texts unfolding in the larger discourse of Covid-19.

While Table 1 has much to say about this rhetorical plan, it mostly shows that blog writers prefer expansive forms (60%) to contractive forms (40%) of their heteroglossic locutions, although considerable differences are still observable in some other individual forms used for such locutions. This

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is shown overall by expansive *entertain* resources holding the lion's share of all heteroglossic realizations (48%), with *acknowledge* (8%) and *distance* resources (4%) ranking at the bottom of the range, suggesting a choice of how best writers seek to involve other viewpoints by varying the terms of their utterances and meanings that are at stake interpersonally. Within contraction, we also see that the nature of the writers' proposition is slightly more oriented towards *proclaiming* (23%) rather than *disclaiming* (17%), allowing for other labels as well (*deny*, *concur*, etc.) to occur pretty evenly distributed across the samples.

3.3. Heteroglossing: rhetorical options for dialogic expansion

Beginning with heteroglossing cases of dialogic *expansion*, different kinds of *entertain* resources are realized in the current corpus through the bulk of epistemic modal auxiliaries and epistemic modal adjuncts, occurring with first-person epistemic stance lexical verbs (cognitive, inferential, evidential) or indefinite generic subjects, alongside impersonal or passive constructions and rhetorical questions, suggesting why these most commonly used resources are heavily packed into the posts.

In the set of differently lexicalized and grammaticalized *entertain* examples below, we see blog writers overtly grounding their statements in their own subjectivity and a range of possible alternatives to what they think might be the case for an interactive audience:

(1) It **seems plausible**, therefore, that the extent to which serious health conditions are or are not well-treated and therefore are or are not experienced as disabling […].

(2) Experience during pandemics **suggests** that it is an effective measure to limit transmission of the disease.

(3) New variants **will** motivate new vaccines and new vaccination campaigns **may** be needed.

(4) The government **should** actively seek to support employment, **maybe** through a jobs guarantee.

(5) Health **must** remain a higher priority for governments so as to prevent a further squeeze on health systems, which **would likely** worsen access to elective surgical treatment.

(6) *I* **think** mental health service users certainly have a real role to play in co-production, and this is another issue of intersectionality.

(7) *One* **might argue** that a centralised policy response **could** never maximise benefits for everyone, no matter how nuanced the approach.

(8) So why were we not better prepared for COVID-19? A popular **hypothesis** is that we prepared for the wrong pandemic, and an outbreak of influenza was **most** l**ikely**.

These writers are not just talking about different facets of the Covid-19 pandemic, such as those angled through perceived risks of virus transmission or through policy measures to increase employment, and providing the most visible expression of their personal role or identity in the text by the use of a first-person exclusive pronoun (*I*). They are also investing their blogs with a range of prospective rhetorical options used to anticipate audience response and modulate their statements at critical points in the unfolding of discourse, such as by making assessments of likelihood through modal auxiliaries (e.g. *may*, *might*), including *must/should* to indicate the degree of certainty of the proposition, by modal attributes (e.g. *It seems plausible that*), by first-person cognition verbs (e.g. *I think that*), by an indefinite generic subject (*One might argue that*) to minimize responsibility for the writer's comment, or by a rhetorical question to require the writer to guess possible answers to a question (*...? A popular hypothesis is that .... was most likely*). So, these kinds of heteroglossically expansive propositions made from a set of *entertain* resources help the writers not only to handle their discourse in various ways and display their stance towards the relevant information, but most significantly to open up a discursive, dialogistically 'entertained' space for readers to raise their likely objections about the validity of propositions and adopt positions towards the issues under discussion. Yet, the dialogistic role of such propositions is doing more than just allowing blog writers to present their arguments with appropriate qualification and stance. It becomes an important part of how writers 'identify themselves' with such arguments, and how these arguments turn on the writers' ideology or value system that is influenced by personal opinions and identities in the current discourse.

Engaging with other positions also finds its way into the expansive *attribute* cases through *acknowledgments* and *distances*. In this corpus, *acknowledgments* are mostly achieved through the use of a cited source, either as a human/non-human subject with a reporting verb (such as *argue, believe*, *declare, say, think*) in direct and indirect speech, or as part of an adjunct agent phrase (*According to ...*). So, in the examples below, attribution sees the writers as *acknowledging* the propositions advanced by external voices through 'projected' *that*-clauses for indirect discourse (9-11), or through an adjunct agent structure (12), providing this time a retrospective orientation to previously expressed opinions about the impact of coronavirus on health or other related domains:

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(9) **Respondents who are planning to be vaccinated think that** about 57% of the people around them will do the same; **those who aren't think that** only 17% of the people around them will.

(10) **The World Medical Association insists that** everyone has the right to work in a safe environment without the threat of violence.

(11) In terms of non-medical interventions, **this report argues that** there is not enough evidence to justify mask-wearing by the general public, rejects closing borders in the event of a pandemic, […].

(12) These religious manifestations of community – in services, meals, and Big Iftars – encourage encounter, stimulate discussion, and reinforce identities; they are, **according to British philosopher de Botton**, "what help to hold our fractious and fragile societies together".

Put differently, these blog writers *acknowledge* a prior position when they cite some other source but do not explicitly indicate their own stance. In this way, such writers are simply neutral about the external source they bring in to negotiate their arguments about the issues under consideration, thus leaving it open to understand where their voice stands – whether it is aligned or misaligned with respect to those voices.

In (13), by contrast, we see the blog writer overtly *distancing* himself from a reported proposition, not least because of a *counter* (*but*) clause for some contrary position, as examined immediately below, indicating the impossibility of anything other than what is being stated by the writer's voice:

(13) **Politicians have been repeating that** 'no one is safe until everyone is safe', *but* when it comes to global financial aid few concrete actions have matched those lofty words.

Essentially, this writer is being unpersuaded by the text inside quotes because the semantics of the attributed material creates a problematization in areas with heavy burden on politics and finance. So, the writer disapproves of a prior position being advanced on the issue by politicians themselves, and presents his own text (the pandemic turning global financial actions upside down) as misaligned with respect to that position.

In all such *attribution* cases (*acknowledging* and *distancing*), therefore, blog writers are able to cast several possible heteroglossic, expanding positions on their internal voice and 'engage' interactively with those positions.

3.4. Heteroglossing: rhetorical options for dialogic contraction

Through dialogic *contraction*, blog writers challenge the position of others and invoke a range of alternative viewpoints through linguistic resources that *disclaim* specific meanings. In this corpus, two subtypes of *disclaim* meanings are covered: *deny*, misaligning the writer with the explicit or implicit position holder through negation (such as *no, not, nothing, never*), and *counter*, providing the writer's response to a presupposition with a contrary statement through conjunctions and connectives (such as, *although, despite, however*, and *but*), or through certain adjuncts that mark counter-expectation meanings (such as, *even, still*).

Under these labels, therefore, a variety of *disclaim* examples below show just how writers are overtly *denying* arguments through the functionality of negation in (14-17), and in this way they introduce an alternative position into the dialogue and similarly curb the heteroglossic space for writer-reader relationship:

> (14) We are not flying completely blind here. There is **no** prior information that can be brought to bear on this issue.

> (15) It **is not** the biology of viruses that makes RNA an important topic for HPLS.

> (16) Populations **do not** all face the same risk of contracting or dying from COVID.

> (17) Democratic oversight in the form of parliamentary scrutiny and external engagement **never** leads to better quality law and policy when governments adapt to criticism.

Or, in (18-22), we see how writers are *countering* several other arguments and bringing the readers around to their opinions and value positions in the ongoing heteroglossic dialogue:

> (18) **Although** we do not know that these "forced savings" represent an increase in household well-being, they may at least give people the buffer they need to face future crises or job losses and increase wealth.

> (19) In lower-income or middle-income countries, the patterns have been less clear. **However**, the pandemic poverty penalty may have important consequences for the measurement of welfare in these countries.

> (20) The myriad of regulations introduced under these acts (and with very limited scrutiny) has translated into hypertrophied executive dominance **but** not necessarily better governance.

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(21) **While** doctors, epidemiologists and others in biomedical research have valid insights on these issues, we cannot rely on scientists alone to make calls on questions that are affecting us all, profoundly, every day.

(22) There may **even** be further domino effects that we cannot measure yet – reduced spending by the high-income on transportation or retail may, in turn, drive job losses and reduced incomes for low-income workers employed in these industries.

Disclaim strategies like these not only draw the communicative functionality of propositions and meanings together with reader-oriented materials, such as those with law, welfare and epidemiology issues in subject focus , they also square certain *denials* (*It **is not** the biology / Populations **do not** all face*) with the most logical, polar opposite of the positive meanings implied ideologically by the generic writers, as they look through the mist hanging above a variety of Covid-19 issues alongside their alignment strategy with potential readers.

Through dialogic *contraction*, blog writers are also able to *proclaim* specific meanings rather than limiting the range of alternative viewpoints in the heteroglossic space of current discourse. In this corpus*, proclaim* meanings are realized by *concurs* that signal the writer's positive alignment with a proposition through specific lexical items (such as, *naturally*), by *endorse* statements that attribute propositions to external sources and frame these propositions as ''maximally warrantable'' (Martin/White 2005: 126) through specific verb forms (such as, *find* and *show*), and by *pronounce* expressions that indicate a writer's emphasis or interpolation (such as, *the fact is / the reality is*, *I claim / we hold* and clausal intensifiers such as *actually*, *strongly*). In this corpus, however, *concur* can either occur as an *affirm* (such as, *obviously*) or *concede* statement (such as, *admittedly*).

So, in the examples below (23-25), we see blog writers overtly *concurring* with propositions to establish generally agreed information, or shared knowledge in the ongoing communicative context, or otherwise *concurring* with a *concede* argument and thereafter dismissing it via a *countering* argument (26), thus ruling out any dialogistic alternatives:

(23) The role of epidemiologists and infectious disease specialists is **obvious** for a pandemic response, […].

(24) **Certainly**, Governments around the world were slow to react to AIDS. A UK Cabinet Committee was not set up until 1986 […].

(25) Instrumentalising face masks for political ends does not necessarily conflict with public health. **In fact**, political face masks shoot two birds with one stone. It enables political actors to achieve […].

> (26) **Admittedly**, over the course of 19 months, the global community and local authorities did funnel a significant amount of money and personpower into the response, *but* aid in turn became a focus for competition between armed groups and the role of local communities remained unheard.

But writers can also *endorse* propositions through verbal processes to neutrally indicate the means by which correct, reliable information was acquired from external sources, thus representing the ways in which they retrospectively 'engage' with other voices and how they stand in relation to other such value positions in the current discourse:

> (27) The recent research on US households **shows that** those are mostly high-income people (Cravino et al. 2020).

> (28) Ketki Sheth and Greg C Wright (2020), using a sample of university students, **found that** neither risk nor social preferences or pre-existing health conditions are predictive of compliance.

> (29) A recent study whose results were published in the American Chemical Society **revealed that** fitting cloth masks improperly could leave gaps between the face and the masks leading to a filtration inefficiency of more than 60%.

Finally, instances of the *pronounce* type through interpolations or intensifiers allow the blog writers to attest to, or assure the value of their own propositions, as writers now tend to get behind their ideas that have a good chance of being accepted in the dialogistic space of writer-reader relationship:

> (30) On populism, **the reality is that** non-populists are more likely to listen to expert advice and acknowledge scientific facts […].

> (31) **We claim that** sacred spaces still play an important and unique function, not only as theological centres, or the vertical function of worship, but also as community centres.

> (32) But there is more. The notion of herd immunity produces a series of paradoxes that **actually** undermines the very idea itself. […] In that spirit, **I declare** herd immunity in today's situation a dangerous technocratic fool's errand, without any basis in fact or science.

Just as these *pronounce* formulations serve to provide assurance or confirmation of a particular issue on debate, so too they offer the most explicit writer's voice intruding into the texts through an exclusive *I* pronoun, suggesting again that these writers cannot avoid projecting an impression of themselves and how they stand in relation to their arguments, as already seen

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before. So, while we may see this discourse self as a personal preference determined by the writer's experience, confidence, and so on, what is seen as logical and relevant in this interactive process is the writers' ability to be more explicit about their identity-constructing stance in the target discourse alongside the ideological attitudes and values they hold in response to the coronavirus pandemic addressed from a crosswise perspective (public health and other domains).

4. Further remarks and conclusion

This study has relied on the APPRAISAL framework to describe and interpret research-focused commentary blogs on Covid-19 as rhetorically-oriented sites of text, discourse and genre, demonstrating something of the functionality of evaluative and interpersonal aspects of language that are relevant to the framework of dialogistic positioning construed under the heading of ENGAGEMENT.

In this, corpus-informed instantiations of APPRAISAL language have shown variation in the choice and function of ENGAGEMENT resources, foregrounding how best blog writers lay the groundwork for their own *ethos* as they activate evaluative stances towards their own or other value positions referenced by the texts and pull readers along with the Covid-19 related health issues discussed in the public-facing genre. More specifically, reliance on a diverse array of linguistic resources for dialogistic *expansion* and *contraction* demonstrates that writers can vary the dialogic status of their propositions and create strategies by which their own or other value positions are addressed 'to engage with' communicative claims. So, writers can present themselves as making an allowance for (i.e. expand) or challenging the scope (i.e. contract) of alternative positions advanced in the texts, and in these ways they orient the ENGAGEMENT system to the meaning in context and the rhetorical effect of a dialogue within texts. This array of dialogic resources also clarifies that blogging about Covid-19 effectively depends on the individual writer's control in framing intersubjective positions and meanings for the audience to see as most appropriate and persuasive in writer-reader interaction, and to similarly elucidate a context for writer's interpretation through a variety of evaluative positionings. Consequently, the overall dialogic repertoire of evaluative stance meaning-making resources for 'engagement' provides a picture of the writers' credentials in having a mixed set of varying beliefs, experiences, expectations and value positions constructed for their heteroglossic texts and potentially shared by their readers, and supports the ways generic writers offer a pitch for identity-based

ideological positionings unfolding cumulatively in the texts as they explore the global discourse about Covid-19 pandemic.

Because the particular evaluative and persuasive workings of individual texts emphasize the importance of connecting independent beliefs and value positions to shared experience and knowledge, *appraising* a whole host of Covid-19 issues also becomes significant for the ways blog writers make their rhetorical and interpretive activities impactful in the public-facing genre. Recognising the importance of such activities means reconciling the central role of the genre in joining writers, texts, and readers together in virtual public spheres. This is to say that genre writers are not only addressing a wider readership with whom to share topics using the affordances of the social medium, but also treating their texts as socially situated attempts to communicate with readers what is at stake when they make rhetorical choices from a variety of social (intersubjective) positionings referenced by the texts and made available by evaluative language.

Besides, such activities turn on the impact of blog writing at a time when discourses of Covid-19 attend to a multi-sectoral and multidisciplinary approach to the crisis and serve as springboards for critical perspectives on intersections across public health, economy, sociology, law, and other fields. This is nothing new since we are living in a world of greater interdependence that requires multidisciplinary solutions across discursive and professional practices to better understand the current health crisis, signifying that human health is more than just a medical concept. In line with this, transcending disciplinary walls to make connections across disciplines and understand recurring features of crisis discourse around public health shows just how blog writers are pulling together content from multiple disciplinary views and perspectives of the crisis surfacing with this pandemic (economic, sociological, or legal), thus taking account of the interrelationship across discourses of Covid-19 and public health in the writing of the genre. The upshot of these genre-based discursive activities is that blogging about Covid-19 provides the scope for negotiating interdisciplinary, or more appropriately, interdiscursive professional 'voices' and practices under the pandemic risk and crisis communication effected by the genre writers themselves. After all, the COVID-19 crisis is as much a communication and social crisis as it is a health crisis constructed, consumed, and exchanged within and across discourse practices and (social) media genres, and provides input on how to best communicate and integrate interdisciplinary efforts in global policy making. At this point, one might reasonably wonder which professional and disciplinary view of the Covid-19 pandemic blog writers are mostly standing with, or standing against, when they construe value positions for their dialogistic texts, whether it be from sociologists, lawyers, economists, or others. The simple honest answer here is that this would

require a future content-driven analysis of Covid-19 blogs – one which focuses on systematic reading of texts to code meaningful pieces of content, more generally. However, it suffices to say that whenever blog writers evaluate discourses of Covid-19 crisis in the chosen corpus, their utterances are always differently 'stanced' towards prior representations/views of this crisis from multiple disciplines, signifying that they are mixed to gain insights from diverse stakeholder 'voices' and to attract their specific relevance for health communication through the evaluative and discursive activities of the genre.

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INSTABILITÀ DEL CORPO
Tradurre la donna araba negli alfabeti dell'occidente

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Abstract – This essay ties together different notions of translation exploiting the theoretical and practical nexus of translation and migration. Drawing on previous researches on dislocation and relocation, and studying the cultural forms of translation through a line of thinking that connects a very diverse network of scholars, I am proposing an approach to the translation of images, applying it to two documentary films (*I Am the Revolution*, by Benedetta Argentieri, and *Queens of Syria*, by Yasmine Fedda), both focused on the figure of the Arab woman through the gaze of Western artists/activists. My purpose consists in trying to identify two strategies of cultural translation as an attempt to articulate a possible grammar of contact in the black Mediterranean of mass migrations.

Keywords: cultural translation, documentary film, activism, Black Mediterranean, Arab woman.

1. Gli alfabeti della traduzione visuale

> Photographs are unstable. Volatile. Meanings leaks out of them. They are textures. Fertile. Multilayered. Open and available to uses the photographer may not have intended. They can be recoded (Sentilles 2017, pp. 47).

Nell'insolito volume *Draw Your Weapons* (2017), Sarah Sentilles espone in questi termini una caratteristica della rappresentazione visuale – e di quella fotografica in particolare – che sfugge alla consapevolezza del pubblico e, spesso, anche della critica. Percepita come "naturalmente" mimetica, essa è intesa come depositaria di un rapporto lineare e diretto col reale, mentre di fatto essa è un testo, dunque una *rappresentazione* filtrata attraverso un codice e realizzata per il tramite di uno sguardo (Berger 2008, pp. 15–18). Come ogni forma di testualità, essa risponde a un sistema di segni, che transcodifica il reale e che viene rimodulato nel passaggio da una cultura all'altra. Decodifica e risignificazione sono rese più complesse dal fatto che la rappresentazione visuale viaggia, specie oggi, a una velocità imprevedibile e produce esiti interpretativi non calcolabili. Per essa si pone, quindi, il problema di un processo di traduzione poco codificato e per ciò stesso sdrucciolevole, che necessità di strumenti ibridi per essere studiato. Baer, ad

esempio, propone di affiancare i *Translation Studies* ai *Cultural Studies*, i *Postcolonial Studies* e i *Migration Studies* (Baer 2020, pp. 139–63). Sentilles si muove in una direzione simile, con una maggiore enfasi sulle ricerca storica e antropologica (Sentilles 2017, pp. 271–74). Entrambi sono utili in questa mia analisi, che si applica alla rappresentazione occidentale della donna araba e che necessita di due considerazioni preliminari.

La prima è il "presupposto mimetico" di cui si diceva, ovvero la tacita convinzione che la fotografia sia un sistema di rappresentazione più immediato e auto-evidente delle parole; questo assunto evita di considerare il fatto che anche il testo visivo è imbrigliato in una cultura che lo legge alla luce del suo apparato conoscitivo e delle dinamiche implicite del pubblico che riceve il messaggio. Ad esempio, nel progetto fotografico che Mario Badagliacca ha dedicato alle migrazioni sul confine balcanico e intitolato *The Game*, è inclusa l'immagine di un rifugiato in piedi, con il capo coperto da un telo grigio scuro e che guarda nell'obiettivo mentre tende in avanti una mano che tiene stretto un cellulare[1]. La citazione di un famosissimo quadro di Antonello da Messina, l'Annunciata di Palermo (1475, esposto a Palermo, nel Palazzo Altabellis), è un riferimento probabilmente evidente per una porzione del pubblico (europeo e/o italiano, o comunque competente di arte rinascimentale italiana) e produce un impatto sulla lettura dell'immagine, mentre è improbabile che questo percorso di decodifica sia accessibile per chi non ha, per ragioni geografiche e/o culturali, la medesima familiarità col dipinto (Bertacco & Vallorani 2021, pp. 98). Il significato della rappresentazione – indipendentemente dalle intenzioni del fotografo (Bertacco & Vallorani 2021, pp. 95) – cambierà sensibilmente, nonostante la grammatica dei segni sia sempre la medesima.

La seconda considerazione preliminare è l'"interpretazione eterodiretta", un processo di cui Sentilles stessa fornisce un caso esemplare. All'inizio del XIX secolo, i francesi arrivano in un territorio che non conoscono, accompagnati da fotografi che dovrebbero fornire una documentazione obbiettiva (perché questo si pensa che faccia la fotografia) di abitanti e paesaggi. Si attendono di trovare harem popolati di donne discinte e dissolute e invece, in Algeria, si imbattono soltanto in figure femminili velate e in corpi accuratamente celati. Spiazzati dalla delusione delle loro aspettative di occidentali, invece di prendere atto dell'errore, i colonizzatori fanno realizzare foto in studio, con modelle retribuite e sfondi da harem, e poi le presentano all'Europa come un documento (Sentilles 2017, pp. 47–48). La

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[1] Il progetto è disponibile qui: https://www.mariobadagliacca.com/the_game_preface-r9918. La foto di riferimento è la numero 16, del Chapter 3, "The Jungle" (https://www.mariobadagliacca.com/chapter_four_the_jungle-r9915#inslide ; ultimo accesso: 17/03/20229).

narrazione riporta un reale deformato, ma le cartoline coloniali così concepite circolano moltissimo e sono vendute come la riproduzione neutra di uno stato di fatto. Peccato che il fatto non esista. Esiste piuttosto un processo di "traduzione" delle donne algerine in uno stereotipo inventato, ma che il consenso collettivo (europeo) trasforma in storia. È evidente che in questo caso la mistificazione è consapevole e ben fondata sul presupposto mimetico della fotografia e poi del cinema, come strumenti che rappresentano fedelmente il reale (Aufderheide 2007, pp. 2–3). Essa è anche strumentale: diffonde cioè anche il malinteso di una conoscenza occidentale dell'oriente, che in verità non ha realmente conosciuto, ma reinventato secondo i canoni e le aspettative dell'occidente medesimo (Said 2003). La trasposizione inattendibile è un falso con conseguenze rilevanti: esso rappresenta la traduzione di un originale che non c'è. Ancora verso la fine degli anni '80 del '900, il critico e poeta algerino Malek Alloula torna su questa vicenda, identificando nelle fotografie degli harem uno strumento molto efficace di "pseudo-knowledge of the colony", capace di produrre e mantenere "stereotypes in the same manner of great seabirds producing guano. It is the fertilizer of the colonial vision" (Alloula 1986, p. 4).

La riflessione critica sulla "traduzione" delle rappresentazioni visuali parte da questi due presupposti – uno tacito e l'altro consapevole – per cercare di introdurne un terzo, che parrebbe presente nei testi oggetto di analisi, entrambi collocati su un confine – quello tra oriente e occidente – e sviluppati intorno a un soggetto subalterno. Il concetto centrale in essi sta nella proposta di immagini di donna araba consolidati e sostenuti da una vasta iconografia tradizionale, che tuttavia vengono risemantizzati attraverso il documentario come luogo di una auto-rappresentazione problematizzata (in *I Am the Revolution*, di Benedetta Argentieri, 2018) e la messa in scena teatrale terapia del trauma (documentata in *Queens of Syria*, di Yasmin Fadda, 2014).

Da un punto di vista metodologico, oltre a muovermi nell'alveo degli studi culturali soprattutto anglofoni, farò riferimento alle teorie della traduzione come processo che, nelle teorizzazioni di Loredana Polezzi (2012) e Moira Inghilleri (2017), non può prescindere dai molti modi in cui lingua e cultura si contaminano e intrecciano, soprattutto ora, in un orizzonte di migrazioni diffuse e di universi simbolici globalizzati[2]. È illuminante in questo senso la riflessione che B. Baer propone nel suo "From Cultural Translation to Untraslatability" a proposito della nozione stessa di "cultural translation" e delle ambiguità che essa contiene, rilevando che la circolazione dei testi culturali attraverso confini linguistici, geografici e simbolici

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[2] Si adotta qui, cioè, la medesima impostazione seguita da me e S. Bertacco in *The Relocation of Culture* (2020).

determina la necessità di considerare la fenomenologia del discorso più della sua ontologia (Damrosch 2009, p. 6). Nel suo ragionamento, Baer affianca "cultural translation" e "untranslatability", e rileva come entrambi i concetti contengano una considerazione imperfetta di quello che potrebbe essere definito "the fact of translation", ovvero la precisa integrazione del fatto traduttivo in un contesto cronologico, geografico e culturale che viene eluso e aggirato nella definizione corrente di "cultural translation" e impoverito nella pura identificazione di un sistema di "untraslatables" considerati astrattamente (Baer 2020, p. 140 ss). "The fact of translation" diventa centrale in determinati contesti[3], fra i quali includerei la rappresentazione della donna araba e mediorientale in alcuni testi visuali, cinematografici e performativi di concezione occidentale: "discorsi" nei quali la traduzione linguistica si intreccia con altri tipi di traduzione, meno stabili e rassicuranti, e più fluidi, come le fotografie di cui dice Sentilles. Le decodifiche egemoniche, spesso automatiche, di questi testi risentono di un fatale arrestarsi sulla soglia di ciò che non si comprende, ed è un passo che spesso prelude a una normalizzazione del corpo della donna araba come vittima da liberare. È possibile creare invece, a partire da quella soglia, una traduzione contro-egemonica, nella quale la scelta e la combinazione dei codici rimoduli il potere che viaggia necessariamente fianco a fianco con la produzione di qualunque testo (Foucault 1982, pp. 417–32)? Possiamo pensare un linguaggio – inteso nel senso ampio del termine – che offra maggiori opportunità di favorire la comprensione reciproca? A giudicare da alcune esperienze artistiche recenti, parrebbe possibile essere ottimisti. Le più recenti rappresentazioni della donna islamica (ammesso che si possa proporla come una entità monologicamente identificabile) attraverso lo sguardo di artisti/attivisti occidentali mostrano una tensione attiva verso la decostruzione di un discorso coloniale preconfezionato e mortificante (Bhabha 1994, p. 101) , ma anche la consapevolezza della persistenza e irriducibilità di uno squilibrio di potere che il "le pratiche discorsive" sono in grado di restituire (Hall e Open University 1997, p. 111).

2. Il documentario e i codici intermedi

Nel TedTalk tenuto in ottobre, 2018[4], Benedetta Argentieri esordisce chiedendo al pubblico di immaginare una donna siriana, o irachena, o

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[3] Nel saggio cui mi riferisco, Brian Baer dichiara in modo esplicito di riferisci al contesto delle migrazioni di massa (Baer 2020, p. 141 ss).

[4] Video e trascrizione sono disponibili qui: https://www.ted.com/talks/benedetta_argentieri_women_at_war/transcript (ultimo accesso: 17/03/2020)

mediorientale, e identifica tre stereotipi correnti: la donna velata, rifugiata e vittima; la danzatrice del ventre, truccata e seduttiva; la donna combattente, sempre soprattutto bella piuttosto che coraggiosa. La grammatica traduttiva che viene individuata in questo modo è comunque, al tempo stesso, fuorviante e rassicurante. Essa fornisce tre parametri conoscibili e assimilabili dalla cultura occidentale, ma tutti e tre ottenuti forzandone la decodifica attraverso il filtro di una precisa aspettativa, costruita sul modello più tradizionale di pensiero coloniale. Il *vulnus* sta nell'adozione di una "traduzione" predeterminata che, come rileva Alloula, risponde alle necessità di uno sguardo colonizzatore tenacemente agganciato al corpo delle donne (Alloula 1986, 5). Di questo sguardo, Argentieri cerca di liberarsi, o quanto meno di acquisirne consapevolezza. La realizzazione cinematografica di un documento filmico, esito di una lunga consuetudine con le realtà femminili di alcuni stati del Medioriente sembra emergere non solo da un preciso impegno di attivista, ma anche dalla volontà di riscrivere la grammatica fin qui usata nella rappresentazione del corpo "altro" per pervenire a un resoconto più onesto e attendibile sulle forme e sulle modalità della battaglia delle donne in Siria, Afghanistan e Iraq.

I Am the Revolution esce nel 2018. L'autrice e regista è una giornalista italiana, che si è formata in Italia e negli USA e ha passato lunghi periodi in Medioriente. Questa genealogia mista è importante, poiché ibrida il corredo linguistico e culturale di chi rappresenta, facendone un soggetto interstiziale, dotato di uno sguardo intermedio di difficile catalogazione. In parte, è avvenuto qualcosa di analogo con Nilüfer Demir, l'autrice della foto famosissima di Aylan Kurdi, il bambino migrante annegato nei pressi di Bodrum. Turca di origini, occidentale come formazione e nomade per mestiere, la fotografa ha realizzato un documento subito trasformato in simbolo tragico delle migrazioni di massa proprio perché connesso a iconografie ibridate e capace di evocare accanto alla morte pietosa di un bambino migrante il sacrificio dell'agnello nella tradizione religiosa occidentale.[5] Come nel caso di Badagliacca, non ha importanza che la fotografa sia consapevole dei riferimenti impliciti nel testo: codifica e decodifica sono entrambi processi di semantizzazione, e non vi sono ragioni per cui le intenzioni consapevoli dell'autore di un testo debbano essere le uniche componenti nel modellamento del suo significato (Hall 1993, pp. 90–103). Il ruolo attivo del ricevente nei processi di significazione è un problema centrale nella produzione di testi sul tema che Argentieri sceglie di affrontare e che per certo richiede una documentazione attenta e l'uso di codici "alleggeriti" del fardello di un pensiero coloniale sedimentato nel tempo e

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[5] Ho già affrontato la questione in *The Relocation of Culture*, in maggiore dettaglio ((Bertacco & Vallorani 2021, pp. 101–2).

spesso in modo inconsapevole. Perciò Argentieri arriva al suo film attraverso percorsi molteplici, che comprendono un addestramento alla comunicazione giornalistica e alle tecniche del documentario come reportage,[6] e la conoscenza diretta delle situazioni che sono oggetto di rappresentazione.[7] Questo lavoro produce una costellazione di testi tutti organicamente costruiti sul desiderio di modificare lo sguardo occidentale sulle donne arabe senza violarne l'iconografia reale. Il velo, i capelli nascosti o le divise mimetiche e le lunghe trecce sulla schiena non sono posti alternativamente come segni di resa o accessori di una bellezza guerriera. Essi, al contrario, "risignificano" una battaglia antica attraverso strategie riadattate ai contesti di oggi. Nel suo percorso ancora in progress attraverso le culture delle donne in Medioriente, Argentieri raccoglie molti materiali diversi e li mette a disposizione, combinando linguaggi consueti in modi poco familiari. Nel suo sito (https://www.benedetta-argentieri.com/), sono affiancati resoconti giornalistici e reportage fotografici che costituiscono un corollario illuminante al ragionamento ben informato che si sviluppa, per Argentieri, attraverso diverse modalità di narrazione. Reportage, interviste, discorsi pubblici, film, post veloci e riflessioni articolate completano rappresentazioni visuali nelle quali il pubblico riconosce elementi di familiarità – i segni usuali, cioè, identificati come caratterizzanti della donna araba – ma ne individua anche una diversa "traduzione", tesa a rimuovere alcune frettolose equivalenze.

Questo lavoro di riformulazione del codice, in una narrazione di immagini e di parole che agevoli la comprensione in luogo di appiattirla su un significato preconfezionato, trova un momento particolarmente felice nel film *I Am the Revolution*, che è appunto la storia di tre donne, combattenti in modo diverso, tutte integrate nei loro contesti arabi di appartenenza. L'irachena Yanar Mohamed, l'afghana Selay Ghaffar e la siriana Rojda Felat si presentano come profili differenti ma affini; le loro battaglie hanno una qualità inedita rispetto al paradigma di donna mediorientale deliberatamente diffuso dall'occidente e ancora in buona parte accettato. L'alfabeto dei loro corpi (ovvero il modo in cui si presentano come pure quello in cui si vestono) è una lingua nuova rispetto al codice che abbiamo fin qui usato e produce un'immagine femminile contestualizzata in situazioni specifiche e molto lontana dalla vittimizzazione riduttiva proposta da buona parte dell'occidente.

Per Argentieri e soprattutto in questo film, appaiono importanti alcuni dati centrali nel processo di rappresentazione. Il primo è la costruzione di un

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[6] Dettagli su questo sono disponibili qui: https://www.benedetta-argentieri.com/category/films/ (ultimo accesso: 17/03/2022).

[7] Dettagli su precedenti reportages giornalistici nella stessa area sono disponibili qui: https://www.benedetta-argentieri.com/portfolio/ (ultimo accesso: 17/03/2022).

contesto il più possibile mostrato invece che raccontato. Tutte e tre le storie sono *situate* nel senso più completo del termine. Yanar Mohamed viene mostrata nelle sue relazioni di attivista che affianca alle campagne politiche l'assistenza pratica e costante a donne in ambienti domestici difficili, spesso abusate, e vittime inconsapevoli delle loro stesse tradizioni. Selay Ghaffar – in quella che forse è una delle sezioni più riuscite del film – viaggia nelle zone rurali dell'Afghanistan per incontrare le donne dei villaggi e cercare di impostare un nuovo modello di pensiero, che non esclude la relazione con gli uomini, ma la riformula sulla base di una maggiore equità. La medesima condivisione, articolata secondo i principi del confederalismo democratico, definisce la prassi quotidiana di Rojda Felat, combattente nell'esercito democratico siriano, ma anche membro attivo della comunità di uguali che si sta cercando di costruire in Rojava.

Dal punto di vista degli alfabeti visuali, Argentieri consegna allo spettatore una chiave poetica per il film, inserita a due minuti dall'inizio, ed estremamente efficace: la sequenza in primo piano di un viso femminile, giovane e determinato, e un velo che le mani della ragazza drappeggiano intorno al viso, per scelta e non per costrizione, e con i movimenti sicuri di chi ripete un rituale di abbigliamento praticato a lungo. La voce fuori campo (che è di Rojda Felat, ma questo è irrilevante) dice in arabo: "Sono le persone che scelgono i loro leader (…) Se mi volessero come leader, sarei una di loro". La frase è recitata in inglese (dunque esplicitamente rivolta all'intervistatrice e indirettamente al pubblico non arabo) e sottotitolata in italiano. Di fatto, essa si configura come un incoraggiamento a riscrivere l'alfabeto, e considerare che il velo si sceglie come si sceglie l'appartenenza.[8]

Riassumendo, quindi, l'aspetto interessante del documentario di Argentieri risiede nella presentazione di una grammatica di corpi femminili e vestiti non troppo diversa da quella stereotipica identificata nel suo TedTalk, risemantizzandone però i segni in modo da capovolgerne, e soprattutto arricchirne, i significati. Nella costruzione del profilo di queste tre combattenti e nei gesti della loro resistenza quotidiana prende forma il contesto effettivo di un sistema politico, sociale e culturale poco sovrapponibile non solo alle consuetudini dell'occidente, ma anche al quadro familiare e coloniale che coltiviamo del mondo arabo di oggi (Boehmer 2005, pp. 67–69). Nella decodifica, *I Am the Revolution* richiede la revisione di una "visual literacy" in uso e che risponde alle grammatiche occidentali consolidate (Sentilles 2017, 187–89). È uno sforzo necessario, ad esempio, nella sequenza del talk televisivo tra Selay Ghaffar e Abdul Jabbar Sholgari, membro di Hizb-e-Islami, spiazzato dal fatto di affrontare una donna non occidentale né occidentalizzata che però mostra determinazione, chiarezza di

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[8] Minutaggio: 0:02:53-0:03:30

idea, lucidità e nessuna intenzione di cedere.[9] In tutto il film, l'incongruenza percepita nel vedere donne che si uniformano del tutto o quasi al linguaggio del corpo richiesto dalla tradizione e che tuttavia di questa tradizione rifiutano pubblicamente gli aspetti più mortificanti richiede una ricodifica, ovvero la formulazione di un sistema traduttivo in grado di rendere giustizia a un documento al di fuori delle aspettative occidentali e, in generale, maschili. Quasi in chiusura della sequenza citata, Abdul Jabbar Sholgari urla alla sua interlocutrice: "Sei una donna. Comportati come tale".

L'intera sequenza, come diverse parti del film dedicate a interazioni dirette tra le protagoniste e i loro contesti di appartenenza, è in arabo, sottotitolata in italiano (nella versione disponibile su RaiPlay). Il ruolo della componente strettamente linguistica nel testo è anch'esso non trascurabile. Contestualizzando la narrazione in tre paesi diversi di lingua araba, Argentieri deve affrontare il problema di scegliere in quale lingua interagire con le sue protagoniste. Si opta per l'inglese, che non è la lingua madre né per le donne intervistate né per la giornalista. Questo linguaggio condiviso, tuttavia, consente di evitare l'uso di un/una interprete nel rapporto primario tra testimoni e autrice. L'inglese costringe entrambe le parti coinvolte nel dialogo a tradurre un pensiero complesso in un codice non del tutto familiare, imponendo un rimodellamento dei contenuti che, seppure parziale, è inevitabile: esso produce le "aporias of translation" di cui pascriverla Vicente Rafael nel suo *Motherless Tongue* (Rafael 2016, p. 18). Sono invece lasciate in arabo le interazioni dirette tra donne e uomini dei singoli paesi. Nella versione caricata su RaiPlay, non vi è doppiaggio, ma solo sottotitolaggio[10]. Viene mantenuta una distanza linguistica – interrotta solo dai sottotitoli che si muove parallela alla non familiarità dei luoghi e la sostiene, non per nascondere i significati, ma per calibrarli nel giusto modo, tentando di evitare (e in parte riuscendoci) ogni forzatura del significato nella direzione di una omologazione sulla base delle aspettative del pubblico.

E la questione di come e se tradurre la lingua in un testo visivo è centrale nell'esperimento teatrale e cinematografico di *Queens of Syria*.

3. Corpi nascosti tra teatro e cinema

Nel "Mediterraneo nero" di cui dice Alessandra di Maio (Di Maio 2012, pp. 143-163), mescolanze e meticciati si incrociano con lo sforzo di mantenere specificità culturali spesso meno prossime di quanto non appaia a prima vista.

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[9] Minutaggio: 0:03:41-0:04:31

[10] Il film è disponibile qui: https://www.raiplay.it/programmi/iamtherevolution (ultimo accesso: 17/03/2022).

In questa prospettiva, nelle parole di Moira Inghilleri, "Re-voicing a refugee or asylum seeker's motivation to flee famine, war or persecution, for example, often requires more than linguistic and cultural skills, as deliberation regarding whether universal hospitality should be denied or granted are habitually fused with social, political and discursive instruments of power" (Inghilleri 2017, p. 31). L'operazione appare collocata all'origine stessa del progetto realizzato da Refuge Productions e si sdoppia in almeno due voci: quella di un testo classico nella tradizione narrativa del Mediterraneo e quella di un gruppo di rifugiate di oggi, poco oltre il confine siriano.

Il progetto di *Queens of Syria* ha una caratteristica rizomatica. L'idea originaria, che portava il nome di *Syria: The Trojan Women*, nasce dall'intenzione di lavorare a una messa in scena della tragedia Euripide, proposta a una cinquantina di donne siriane, di varie età ed estrazione sociale e senza alcuna esperienza teatrale, ospitate in un campo per rifugiati in Giordania. L'iniziativa doveva avere soprattutto una funzione terapeutica e poggiava su una generale analogia di destino tra le profughe e le troiane radunate intorno a Ecuba e descritte nel dramma classico. Del gruppo iniziale restano alla fine solo 13 donne, che, dirette da Zoe Lafferty, porteranno in effetti in tour la rappresentazione teatrale nel 2016. Il progetto, tuttavia produce anche un altro testo estremamente significativo: un documentario, diretto da Yasmin Fedda, che riferisce, con poetici dettagli, i passi di lavorazione e adattamento alla scena fino alla sera della prima, a Raqqa. Il film esce nel 2014 e rappresenta uno straordinario percorso attraverso le culture del mediterraneo, di ieri e di oggi. La grammatica testuale che vi si costruisce ha caratteristiche di unicità per l'interazione che determina tra lingue, codici, e culture profondamente diverse.

La questione del linguaggio in senso stretto è già uno spunto carico di implicazioni. Per poter essere compreso, il testo di Euripide viene tradotto dal greco all'arabo e distribuito in forma scritta alle donne inizialmente coinvolte nel lavoro, non tutte alfabetizzate (dunque il lavoro consiste anche nel passaggio dalla forma scritta a quella orale). La recitazione avviene in arabo siriano, una lingua che viene mantenuta sia nella rappresentazione teatrale che nel documentario. In entrambi i casi, l'arabo è tradotto da sottotitoli o soprattitoli in inglese: dunque l'oralità viene mantenuta intatta, mentre l'accessibilità dei significati, per il pubblico occidentale, è realizzata attraverso la lingua scritta. Accanto, prima e dopo questo processo esplicito di traduzione linguistica, compare una costellazione di altri fenomeni traduttivi – la fenomenologia del testo di cui parla Mignolo – che confluiscono nella semantizzazione di una esperienza (quella delle donne

Lingue e Linguaggi

profughe di guerra) e di un profilo sociale e culturale (quello femminile e islamico).[11]

    È chiaro che l'intera operazione poggia su una, pur generale anche se non generica, analogia tra le donne troiane rese schiave dopo la caduta della loro città e le rifugiate nel centro di accoglienza giordano. Di questa analogia, le siriane coinvolte nell'esperienza sono consapevoli. Nel documentario come nel trailer, Fatima, una delle rifugiate, esplicita con chiarezza questa analogia:

> "Hecuba is so close to me…she lost everything she owned. She lost her children and her family… It's like us. She was a queen in her house. Her house was her kingdom, she ran it as she pleased. Hecuba says 'I used to run this place but now I am nothing.' That's us now." [12]

Un'altra donna, col viso coperto, spiega in modo articolato la sua esperienza sotto il regime di Assad, e poi conclude: "The character of Cassandra is similar to me. This is because I want to avenge what happened to me."[13]

    Entrambi i parallelismi sono verbalizzati in termini non ambigui e in strutture espressive semplici e dirette. Le donne parlano in arabo, che è sottotitolato in inglese. La prima è in cucina, impegnata a occuparsi di mansioni quotidiane mentre racconta una sorte tragica. La seconda è inquadrata in primo piano e guarda direttamente in camera mentre racconta senza battere ciglio uno scenario di oppressione. Tutte e due traducono la loro condizione attraverso il riferimento a profili della letteratura greca antica, che per molti motivi risultano analoghi.

    Alle parole, si affianca un codice visivo molto specifico, che è quello considerato consueto delle donne arabe. La grammatica dei vestiti – il velo, i capelli coperti, il viso sintetizzato a un semplice ovale privo di ornamenti – richiama un immaginario occidentale di privazione di libertà, oppressione, incapacità di pensiero autonomo. Questi significati evocati discendono dallo stereotipo occidentale e creano un contrasto stridente ad almeno due livelli.

    Il primo livello, che concerne le attrici coinvolte nella performance, risiede nell'indubbio coraggio e nell'autodeterminazione esibita da queste donne nel rendersi protagoniste di un esperimento teatrale difficile e doloroso, in un contesto non necessariamente amico e spesso sfidando anche divieti familiari. Del gruppo iniziale, molte si sottraggono al proseguimento dell'esperienza per timore che essa comporti dei rischi per loro stesse o per i loro parenti rimasti. Parecchie impongono, o tentano di imporre, il loro

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[11] Un'analisi illuminate del testo, dal punto di vista linguistico, compare in un saggio di Alessandra Rizzo centrato primariamente sulla rappresentazione teatrale, ma tangenzialmente anche sul film (Rizzo 2018, pp. 150-179).
[12] 0:10:32-0:11:14
[13] 0:44:58-0:45:18

desiderio di partecipare a mariti che resistono e ostacolano la loro decisione di esibirsi su una scena teatrale. Tutte dichiarano di non avere alcuna esperienza di recitazione e di essere molto preoccupate di come riusciranno a realizzare la performance.

Il secondo livello, che invece riguarda il pubblico occidentale, rimanda agli strumenti di decodifica necessari a comprendere efficacemente l'operazione messa in atto. Nell'originale euripideo come pure nel serbatoio di leggende classiche, Ecuba è una donna forte, volitiva, indipendente e capace di farsi pilastro nella disgrazia. Questo modello femminile appare iconograficamente e psicologicamente agli antipodi rispetto allo stereotipo della donna islamica. Dobbiamo rivedere la grammatica occidentale di decodifica per acquisire, filtrare, interpretare un profilo femminile che tradisce le nostre aspettative e ricolloca e risemantizza la femminilità nel mondo arabo. Appare evidente come il paradigma tradizionale di oriente incarnato dall'identità della donna risulti in questo caso inapplicabile sia a livello di *encoding* – ovvero nel momento della codifica del messaggio, e in concreto nelle fasi di preparazione e di messa in scena del dramma – che a livello di *decoding* – quando il "discorso" teatrale o filmico viene consegnato al pubblico, di necessità occidentale, che dovrà trarne un significato (Hall 1993, pp. 90–103).

Entrambi i livelli individuati hanno ramificazioni che sono anche risemantizzazioni, e comportano una analisi strettamente linguistica capace di mettere a fuoco il processo di "transcreation" che ha luogo nelle varie fasi di impostazione, lavorazione e realizzazione di questa specifica messa in scena (Rizzo 2018, pp. 156–60). L'operazione è complessa, e altrettanto problematico ne è l'impatto, sia critico che di pubblico.

Inoltre, la codifica è codifica del testo teatrale come pure del documentario. Il testo teatrale risulta da una contaminazione tra la tragedia di Euripide e la concreta esperienza delle donne rifugiate. Il film contiene un girato che viene poi tagliato, montato e lavorato anche in relazione al desiderio di alcune delle donne di non mostrare il loro volto (che viene quindi sfumato nella versione pubblica del testo) o di modificare il loro nome. Infine, entrambi i testi richiedono anche un polilinguismo strumentale, essendo parlati in arabo ma tradotti in inglese per divenire accessibili al pubblico occidentale. Neanche questa operazione è inoffensiva: sappiamo che "language is a signifying practice" ((Hall e Open University 1997, p. 5), dunque il passaggio – o il movimento pendolare, in questo caso – da una lingua a un'altra produce un impatto sul modellamento dei significati, e, in modo consequenziale, sulla loro decodifica.

Quest'ultima è anch'essa un percorso a più piste. La familiarità del testo (*Le troiane* nella versione originale di Euripide) e la comprensibilità della lingua di sottotitoli (nel film) e soprattitoli (nella rappresentazione

teatrale) funzionano da "traduttori parziali" di una condizione che è, di fatto estranea per il pubblico europeo e che si esprime nella grammatica di corpi femminili coperti e solo parzialmente visibili e di storie che appartengono al contesto di una guerra e di una cultura che non conosciamo realmente.

Dunque torniamo alle donne algerine di cui si diceva in partenza, ma vi torniamo con una consapevolezza diversa, e per certi versi rovesciata, che mette radicalmente in discussione le differenze e le analogie in un contesto condiviso – i luoghi intorno al Mar Mediterraneo rivelando un atteggiamento traduttivo – culturalmente e linguisticamente parlando – orientato verso il tentativo di capire quale rappresentazione *diversa* sia possibile. La costellazione di stati e isole che circondano questo bacino chiuso sono definite da una consuetudine migratoria che risale all'antica Grecia (Malkin 1998, pp. 4–30), ma nel tempo esse hanno cambiato natura (Bertacco & Vallorani 2021, p. 15). Nell'analisi delle procedure rappresentative di oggi, occorre essere consapevoli non solo degli elementi di familiarità tra le aree caratterizzate da questa collocazione geografica, ma anche delle profonde differenze, spesso rimosse nella considerazione comune e sostenute da costanti ibridazioni (Horden e Purcell 2000, pp. 342–400). Bene le racconta, in un suo significativo articolo del 2016, Michele Albahari quando rileva il carattere semplificatorio di ogni "fratellanza mediterranea" edificata su una presunta storia comune. Essa esiste solo in parte ed è comunque ricapitolata e riscritta dalle situazioni recenti:

> There is no common identity bringing together concerned people. There is, instead, a lived experimentation with the reconfiguration of Mediterranean membership, responsibility, and ownership. This does not negate the multiplicity of the stakes, affiliations, and vantage points of the various actors claiming the sea. On the contrary, the proximity of difference carries with it the potentiality of belonging to a community in which plurality and difference are the norm (Albahari 2016, p. 289).

Quindi il problema, insiste Albahari, "is not about people belonging to the Mediterranean, but rather about the Mediterranean belonging to its citizens, or more precisely becoming a shared responsibility" (Albahari 2016, p. 289).

Alla luce di questa considerazione, si chiude il cerchio concettuale delineato in questo saggio: le rappresentazioni di cui si è proposta l'analisi costituiscono nei fatti una assunzione di responsabilità da parte dell'occidente europeo e delineano la volontà precisa di lasciare spazio all'espressione di una identità che, se presenta alcune contiguità con la nostra, se ne distacca anche, traducendo le storie che conosciamo in un alfabeto "altro", fatalmente contaminato e straordinariamente interessante.

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