

**Pedantry, preoccupation, and the presentation of self:
An interdisciplinary study of attitudes towards language**

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I, Eszter Tarsoly confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This thesis discusses attitudes towards language from a variety of perspectives. It takes as a starting point a classification of metaphoric and metonymic schemata in the discourses of language cultivation and purism in Hungarian in the 1950s. Next, the perspective zooms out to explore the rise of vernacular-language consciousness in Central and Eastern Europe. From this angle, I seek to elucidate a typology of attitudes underlying the institutionalised traditions of standard languages and language standards. In so doing, I rely on the analytical tool of anchorage: a conceptual blend which accounts for the role that awareness of the historic relatedness of language plays in shaping speakers' attitudes towards vernaculars which are to be reinterpreted as national languages. The perspective then expands further to scan the ways in which language change and the typological features of languages impinge on the evolution of poetic norms. In view of the poetic function of language, I argue that attitudes towards poetic norm are symptomatic of various postures towards language as a whole. Finally, the discussion refocuses on some of the issues raised earlier through three case studies, which reassess attitudes towards normative linguistic culture from the point of view of the individual. Each of these angles brings into focus the fine and fuzzy line which separates language-external and language-internal factors in shaping beliefs about, and attitudes towards, language.

In addition to the analytical approaches mentioned so far, this project couples insights from diachronic sociolinguistics and the theory of conceptual blending. Given the variation in the types of texts under scrutiny in the four chapters, I allowed the data to determine the analytical technique. Thus, approaches from cognitive linguistics, theory of verse, discourse analysis, and basic linguistic theory were brought to bear on the discussion of linguistic material.

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List of Abbreviations and Typographic Conventions

Text-structure style rules are based on Haspelmath (2014) with few diversions.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1PL | first person plural |
| 1SG | first person singular |
| 2OBJ | second person object |
| 2PL | second person plural |
| 2SG | second person singular |
| 3OBJ | third person object |
| 3PL | third person plural |
| 3SG | third person singular |
| ABL | ablative case |
| ABSTR | abstract noun |
| ACC | accusative case |
| ADJ | adjective |
| ADER | suffix deriving an adjective |
| ADV | adverb |
| ALL | allative case |
| C | consonant |
| CC | copula complement |
| COND | conditional mood |
| CS | copula subject |
| DAT | dative case |
| DEF | definite conjugation |
| DEL | delative case |
| DIM | diminutive suffix |
| E | extension, adjunct |
| ELA | elative case |
| ESS | essive case |
| FEM | feminine gender |
| FUT | future tense |
| GEN | genitive case |
| ILL | illative case |
| IMP | imperative mood |
| IND | indicative mood |
| INDEF | indefinite conjugation |
| INE | inessive case |
| INF | infinitive |
| INS | instrumental case |
| MASC | masculine gender |
| N | noun |
| NDER | suffix deriving noun |
| NEG | negative |
| NOM | nominative case |
| NP | noun phrase |
| OF | Old French; |
| OHG | Old High German; |
| PART | participial form |
| PAST | past tense |
| ^{PD} [in superscript] | 'possessed' for the dependent in possessive NPs |

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| PL | plural |
| POSS | personal possessive inflectional suffix |
| POT | potential suffix |
| ^{PR} [in superscript] | possessor/head in possessive NPs |
| PVB | preverb |
| +R | rounded vowel |
| -R | unrounded vowel |
| SG | singular |
| SUB | sublative |
| SUBJ | subjunctive |
| SUP | superessive case |
| TEM | temporal case |
| TERM | terminative case |
| V | vowel |
| V ^{NS} | atonic |
| V ^S | tonic |
| VDER | suffix deriving a verb |

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| capitalization | (1) in titles (as per Haspelmath: 2014); (2) metaphoric and metonymic representations; (3) vowel in derivational or inflectional suffixes which have two or three allomorphs (for examples, see p. 35, p. 70, Footnote 38-39; p. 79 Footnote 46); (4) abbreviated category labels (see above); |
| italics | (1) object-language forms; (2) book, journal, film, chapter titles; (3) emphasis of a particular word which is not a technical term; |
| underlined | highlighting particular aspects or elements of linguistic examples; |
| hyphen (-) | inflectional morpheme boundary; |
| equation mark (=) | derivational morpheme boundary; |
| + | boundary between constituents of a compound; |
| | beginning of a rhyming string; |
| S w | alternation of strong and weak syllables in analysis of verse; |
| u | unstressed or short syllables in analysis of verse; |
| n-dash (-) | (1) clause-like or parenthetical remarks; (2) number ranges; (3) stressed or long syllables in analysis of verse; |
| square brackets | (1) sound (as opposed to letter or phoneme) and pronunciation; (2) English version of texts in a language other than English, when cited as block quotations; (3) origin of emphasis within a quotation; |
| angle brackets | letters, orthography; |
| forward slash | phoneme; |
| single quotation marks | linguistic meaning (glossing); |
| double quotation marks | (1) citations; (2) English version of texts in a language other than English, when cited in line (and not as block quotations); (3) technical term or expression which I do not adopt; |

Other symbols:

| | |
|----------------|--|
| C12 | (twelfth) century; |
| e ^S | (French) stressed [ə]; |
| = | space, lexeme boundary; |
|e | occurrence (of e.g. unstressed <i>e</i>) at the end of the line in verse; |
| *** | cross-referencing of examples in a table; |
| Pron | pronunciation; |
| Orthogr | orthography; |

Introduction

So, you are a linguist. How many languages do you speak?

Most nyelvészek között vagyok, úgyhogy nagyon vigyáznom kell, mit mondok.

'I am among linguists now, so, I better watch what I say.'

The English and Hungarian sentences cited as a motto above are taken from my collection of notes on ways in which people talk about *language* and *linguists*. It is a shared experience of people who describe their profession with the term *linguist* to hear reactions similar to the first sentence, at least in English-speaking settings. The second, Hungarian epigraph originates from the mayor of a small town in North-East Hungary, who used these words to start his opening address on the Hungarian Applied Linguistics Conference held there in 2002. These two examples reflect the way in which speakers of English and Hungarian generally conceive of the linguist's craft. In (especially British) English *linguist* is usually understood as 'polyglot' or as 'a professional whose employment and income relies on his or her use (teaching, translating, examining, etc.) of language'.¹ Among nouns which are formed with the derivational suffix =*ist* in English, the understanding of *linguist* as a 'profession' is similar to that of *chemist* 'pharmacist; a professional whose employment involves dealing with (selling, distributing, mixing, etc.) drugs.' Interestingly, in general knowledge, *linguist* seems to lack the denotation 'scholar, scientist', which is associated with some other nouns derived with the same suffix (e.g. *biologist*, *physicist*, or even *botanist*, *anatomist*). From this example it follows that there is little awareness of *linguistics* as a discipline, and of *linguist* as a professional whose craft may involve certain theoretical and analytical pursuits. The second, Hungarian, example points to a fundamentally

¹ My explanation of the two examples is based on research which I undertook to trace, historically and synchronically, the various uses of English nouns derived in =*ist* (based on data from the Oxford English Dictionary; hereafter: OED) and contrast them with dictionary definitions of the word for 'linguist' in various other European languages. I am unable to present my results concerning the philology of these words here because of limitations of space. The present discussion is merely a sample of those aspects of my findings which are directly relevant to this thesis.

different understanding of *linguist*, or, to be more precise, its Hungarian “equivalent”², *nyelvtész* (*nyelv=ész*: ‘language’=NDER) as ‘pedant, purist’.³ In Hungarian, indeed, there is a tenacious association between the craft of a linguist and value-laden postures (prescription and proscription) towards language, whose aim is to control (enrich or restrict) speakers’ linguistic repertoire (cf. Nádasy & Kálmán 1999: 17-19). The difference between linguists’ (‘scholar’) and other speakers’ understanding of *linguist* (and *nyelvtész*) is part of the reason why I embarked on this research project.⁴

The confusion concerning the various understandings of *linguist* among the general, and even the educated, public is perhaps unsurprising, especially if we consider the fundamental differences between the various theoretical frames, too, according to which linguistics as a discipline is understood. Dixon (2010a: 182) describes linguistic methods as “scientific analysis”, which reflects an approach to the study of language adopted from the natural sciences (cf. also Anttila 1989: 1-21 and 1992: 17 on the “structuralist curse”). Another wide-spread trend is to place linguistics in the social sciences (e.g. Labov 2006 [1966]: 11). Yet others, described by Johnstone (1996:180) as a “loose group of scholars who tend to share ideas and cite each other”, see – or would like to see – linguistics as a humanistic branch of scholarship (for an overview see Johnstone 1996: 180-181). The various disciplinary approaches are distinguished by naming traditions which usually involve a modifier as in *socio(linguistics)*, *psycho(linguistics)*,

² I use *equivalent* throughout this thesis as “a term, word, phrase, clause or part of text which is generally accepted as, and is believed to be, the translation of an element from a different language” (cf. Hermans 2007: 94-98 and later in Chapter 3).

³ The association between the language professional (usually imagined as a teacher or *Schulmeister*) and the pedant goes back, in the West, at least to Quintilian: “I do not wish anyone to think that I have added a fresh problem to a subject into which the obstinacy of pedants has already introduced confusion” (cited in, and translated by, Butler 1922: 87). This association is not a flattering one: pedants/linguists are usually seen as individuals who are bogged down by unimportant, minutiae details of language, and who engage in spreading pseudo-scientific beliefs about language and bugaboos about matters of “good style”.

⁴ A few years ago I was introduced in a company of friends in Budapest as a *nyelvtész*. I was surprised to find myself apologising (to myself) for this label, fearing that my conversation partners would desert me. Luckily, this was not the case. But why did I mind *nyelvtész*? After all, I was trained in general linguistics and philology, had fieldwork experience, knew three languages well, studied many others, and my employment and income depended on my use of language (teaching, translating). My reservations towards the term point to the tenacity of the conceptualisation of LINGUIST as PURIST in Hungarian, an association which, with regards to myself, I reject (whether it is true or not). Chapter 1 will explore how such associations come about concerning language and linguists.

cognitive (linguistics), anthropological (linguistics), and so on. In the disciplinary sense, this thesis is located in, and borrows most of its insights from, an understanding of linguistics as a social-anthropological and humanistic science. My approach is, thus, interdisciplinary, coupling insights from a variety of branches of linguistics – including fields as divergent as cognitive linguistics, historical sociolinguistics, and the theory of verse – and cultural theory. This judiciously eclectic combination of theoretical insights is reflected in the analytical methods I have used, something to which I shall return later.

The fact that such divergent approaches are possible is due to the nature of the subject of investigation, language, which has language-external functions and features (e.g. the social and cultural functions of language, the auditory-perceptive features of sounds, articulation, etc.) and others that are “internal” to it (e.g. the poetic function of language, features described in grammars and by typologists). Language-internal features, in a Hjelmslevian vein, may be described as *form of expression* and *form of content*, and can be diagrammed as follows⁵:

Table 1: The “Hjelmslevian grid”

| | expression | content |
|------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| form | phonemes | morphemes, lexico-grammar |
| substance | speech sounds (phonetics) | thoughts, emotions, myth, etc. |

Linguistic analysis which focuses on language-internal features is primarily concerned with describing and classifying forms of expression and content (see the first, shaded row in Table 1), in other words, with providing a phenomenological description of these units of analysis (Haspelmath 2007:107). The substance of expression is studied in phonetics, and has overlaps with physiology and physics; as such, it is perhaps the closest of all branches to the natural sciences. The primary focus of this thesis is phenomena which belong to the bottom right-hand corner of the grid. This area of investigation is concerned with “the correlation between the form and content of a language and the beliefs, values, and needs present in the culture of its speakers” (Saville-Troike 1989: 32). In other words, I am interested in exploring the fine and fuzzy line which separates language-internal and language-external factors in people’s beliefs

⁵ This assessment is based on Robert Austerlitz’s diagram of Hjelmslev’s sign model; for a clear and brief treatment see, e.g. Lyons (1969: 54-70, 199) and Taverniers (2008).

about, and attitudes towards, language. What is at stake here are fragmented and complex, yet recursive patterns in which linguistic form (cf. form of expression and form of content above), normative trends, and value-based aesthetic orientations interconnect in written and oral communicative situations. As inquiries of this kind fall in the bottom right-hand corner of the Hjelmslevian grid, an interdisciplinary approach is all the more justified.

Before I move on to the first chapter, a preliminary discussion of some of the key terms and methods used in this study is essential. As is perhaps clear from the discussion above, this thesis engages with issues of language attitude from a methodological standpoint that differs from some of the mainstream, survey-based approaches. My understanding of attitudes towards language is simultaneously narrower and broader in scope than recent dominant trends in language attitude research (e.g. Garrett & Coupland & Williams 2003; Fasold 2004: 147-180; Lambert et al. 1960: 44-51). Narrower inasmuch as it focuses mostly on elites' and individuals', rather than social groups', reactions to linguistic and poetic innovation, norm, and socially mediated change in normative trends. Broader inasmuch as the material under discussion is limited neither to the relationship between particular varieties of a language nor to the study of specific linguistic variables. Social and dialectal variation, as well as linguistic variables, are brought to bear on my analysis as and when required by a particular theme explored in this thesis. The use of expository prose, fictional sources, and poetic texts as starting points for language attitude research is unusual although not without precursors (e.g. Colvin 1999; Johnstone 1996: 92-157). I chose to use precisely these sources because I was interested to find out, first and foremost, how idealised language varieties come into being, and how individuals' dialect and aesthetic postures towards language gravitate to, but also push against, the abstractions that idealised language varieties are. Language attitude, in this context, testifies not only to the social solidarity and separating functions of language but also to the individual's sense of self, as expressed in individual "voice" in writing and in ways of speaking. Therefore, instead of using questionnaire-based and matched-guise techniques, which often involve elicitation of data, I undertook an enquiry into language attitudes that we can infer from what has already been said and written. In this respect, my thesis is a methodological

experiment in the joint study of diachronic sociolinguistics and cultural history, and an attempt to investigate ways in which linguistic methods and attitude research can be absorbed into the study of history and culture.

I shall not provide, here, a detailed inventory of the theoretical concepts and analytical tools with which the various chapters operate. These are explained *in situ*, where necessary; repeating them here would expand the scope, and the volume, of this introduction unnecessarily. In my description of language-internal phenomena, I use methods adopted – and adapted – from Basic Linguistic Theory (mostly morphology; cf. Dixon 2010a; 2010b), cognitive linguistics (mostly the study of conceptual metaphor, metonymy, and blends; e.g. Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Kövecses & Radden 1989; Kövecses 2002; see also Chapter 1 for a detailed explanation of metaphor and metonymy, pp. 28-30, and blends, pp. 32-34), and the theory of verse (the analysis of parallelism and repetition within linguistic patterns; e.g. Jakobson 1960, 1985a, 1985b; Abondolo 2001). Bearing in mind that literature may be studied as a form of language use (cf. Fowler 1971), I used in some cases literary texts (mostly in Chapters 3 and 4) and essays about language (mostly in Chapters 1 and 2) as sources of data for illustrating various types of language attitudes. In my discussion of literary texts from the point of view of language attitudes, I have relied on methodological insights from Colvin (e.g. 1999; 2009), Friedrich (1977) and Friedrich & Redfield (1978). In my analysis of the ways in which language use and individuality intersect in spoken and written discourses, Johnstone's (1996) approach was particularly helpful.

In addition to the analytical approaches mentioned so far, in my research I have coupled insights from diachronic sociolinguistics (Kahane 1986: 498; Kahane & Kahane 1988; Ostler 2006: 558), historical linguistics (e.g. Anttila 1989), and language typology (e.g. Haspelmath 1998; 2007). Given the variation in the types of texts⁶ under scrutiny

⁶ By *text* I mean not only expository prose, literary prose and verse, but also dictionary entries, classroom discourses, "texts" of solutions to grammar exercises, learners' translations, recordings of oral presentations, and snippets of conversations. I must clarify at this point that in my use of phrases such as *this word means* or *the text means*, I follow everyday practices of talking about language, attributing agency to non-animate, and as such passive, phenomena (text, words, etc.). Such metonymic transfer of human attributes to non-animate phenomena is fundamental to cognitive processing, and it is a feature of our conceptual system. As Nádasy (2010) puts it in his discussion of linguistic norms, "we all know that sunrise, as an astrological phenomenon does not exist; yet we can conceive of it and talk about it". Nevertheless, it is one of the main thrusts of this

across the four chapters, my methodological approach is eclectic: I allowed the type of data I had in hand in each chapter to determine the analytical technique rather than the other way around. What is common in these approaches is that, methodologically, this study attempts to combine linguistic and philological methods in the study of language-external, cultural and socio-psychological phenomena.

A cornerstone of this approach is the “good example”: the selection of discrete texts which allow the elucidation of patterns in attitudes towards and beliefs about language. In defense of such case-study-based research methods, Anttila (1989) argues that – if we are to understand linguistics as one of the human sciences – “particularization, rather than generalization, becomes primary”. He points out that pattern explanation as developed in American social science matches European philology inasmuch as they both function inductively rather than deductively, and they replace the “hierarchical explanations of natural science with concatenative links in contexts”. As my main question is to find out *how*, and *whether*, language-internal phenomena are brought to bear on normative and aesthetically oriented attitudes towards language and related cultural phenomena, my analysis consists mostly of contrasting, analyzing, and synthesizing patterns across these areas of enquiry. A case-study-based and linguistic-evidence-driven method appeared to be the best suited for the investigation of these questions. Across the four chapters, I provide a mosaic of partial explanations of how language-internal and language-external phenomena pattern with each other to account for particular beliefs about language.

Table 2: A non-linear outline of the thesis

| | language | culture |
|-----------------|---|--|
| general | (1) Precious gardens, wild flowers, fortresses: metaphoric schemata and the imagery of language cultivation and purism | (2) Time, space, and anchorage: standard languages and language standards in Hungary and circum-Pannonia |
| specific | (3) Poets, pedants, and pioneers: the interface of language-internal and -external factors in the development of poetic norms | (4) Subvert or convert: speech, personality, and individuals’ responses to normative linguistic cultures |

thesis that *reality* is not the same as our ways of talking about “it”.

Table 2 shows a non-linear outline of the main themes discussed in the four chapters which follow this introduction. Two of these (Chapters 1 and 3) explore the interplay of language-external and language-internal phenomena in situations in which these two factors show a direct, and transparent, influence on each other. The direction of this influence, however, is reversed across the two chapters: Chapter 1 illustrates the way in which discourses of language cultivation changed under the influence of political realignments in the 1950s in Hungary; Chapter 3 provides case studies on how the evolution of poetic norms, and attitudes towards poetic technique, are underpinned by language-internal changes in late medieval and Renaissance Europe, particularly in varieties of Gallo-Romance, focusing specifically on French traditions of verse. Methodologically, Chapter 1 is based on a general approach inasmuch as it brings conceptual metaphor and blending theory to bear on the analysis of Hungarian texts. Chapter 3 takes an approach which I call *specific* because it attempts to untangle the relationship between language change (e.g. instances of phonological changes in sixteenth-century French) and frameworks of interpretation (contemporary writing on French verse) specific to the particular language-and-culture under investigation.

Chapters 2 and 4 take up language-external phenomena as a starting point, which I labelled as “culture” in Table 2. Chapter 2 looks at a period in the cultural history of the Czech, Hungarian, and Romanian lands, specifically, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century language movements which worked out a literary variety for these Central and Eastern European vernaculars, thus making it possible for them to emerge as fully-fledged national languages during the period of national classicism in the late nineteenth century. In Chapter 4, the language-external theme is akin to social psychology rather than the study of culture. This chapter explores individuals’ responses to normative language varieties in contexts in which either the norm is shifting (as in the case of the Renaissance French poet Jacques Peletier du Mans’s poetic technique) or the individual’s speech fails to conform to the expectations of speakers of the normative variety. This latter will be illustrated with three case studies: two literary passages and language classroom discourses. The first literary passage is taken from a 1956 novel by the Trinidadian writer, Sam Selvon whose *The Lonely Londoners* was the first novel to be written entirely in an emerging Caribbean literary variety of English. The second

passage is by the contemporary Belgian French author, Nicolas Ancion. Finally, language classroom discourses, in which heritage speakers of Hungarian confront the “standard” variety of the language, will be analysed through data taken from my own teaching practice. Chapter 2 provides a general perspective: it looks at large-scale cultural-historical developments in three Central East European literary cultures in their broad, European context. Chapter 4 is specific: it zooms in on the linguistic practices of individuals, and discusses how individuals’ presentation of self might be affected by pressure to switch to a dialect (the “standard”) which they perceive as not “their own”. “Subvert or convert” in the title of this chapter alludes to two possible responses individuals may have to such situations.

My choice of languages and linguistic communities (cf. the definition of *speech community* below) was determined by the following factors. Hungarian is a Uralic language wedged in the middle of an Indo-European (mostly Slavonic and Germanic) spread zone: it is the only non-Indo-European language in Central and Eastern Europe (cf. Footnote 42, p. 76 below). Although typologically it is located on the periphery of Standard Average European (Haspelmath 1998: 277), it is characterised by more clearly defined linguistic borders than its Slavonic neighbours. Romanian is the easternmost Romance language, and it is separated from the Romance continuum of Southern and Western Europe by languages which are not closely related to it. Czech is a Western Slavonic language with the tradition of a literary norm which dates further back than that of Hungarian or Romanian. While examples are taken from other linguistic traditions (Italian, Greek, English, German, Occitan) for the sake of contrastive analysis French is given particular attention especially in Chapter 3, and in one of the case studies (4.1) in Chapter 4. The case studies which focus on French were included to provide a point of contrast for Hungarian and its Central East European neighbours with one of the prestige languages of the West. According to Kahane (1986: 497) it is one of the functions of a prestige language – a koine or lingua franca – to provide a “window on the world” as a mediator of modernism in a particular period (as opposed to “native” vernacular traditions). An example of this function of the prestige language is the Western tradition of Humanism, during which language took on its function as the distinctive feature of societal structure perceived in terms of the vertical spatial

metaphors HIGH and LOW. Hence, the Renaissance is a point of particular interest which marks a stage in the progress of linguistic insight. The language of literary culture in Hungary was Latin during the Renaissance, and therefore the development of a vernacular-language consciousness is slower, reaching its zenith only at the end of the eighteenth century. Thus, by focusing on French in some of the case studies, we gain insight into a greater time-depth, and into a linguistic culture which has had a continuous, and well-attested, literate and literary tradition since the medieval period.

I shall now turn to the discussion of three key concepts which are essential to this study: language attitude, speech community, and linguistic norm. The investigation of language attitude, a well-established part of sociolinguistic research at least since the 1970s, has its roots in behavioural science and social psychological research (Agheyisi & Fishman 1970: 137). Accordingly, there are a number of theoretical approaches to, and definitions of, *attitude*, depending on the analytical framework which a particular definition serves. I have discussed above (pp. 16-17) reasons why my understanding of language attitudes differs from current trends in sociolinguistics. My approach, however, draws on what Fasold (1997: 39) called the *sociolinguistics of language*, whose basic tenet is that “the use of language in general is related to social and cultural values”. Fasold’s approach, in turn, goes back to Hymes’s (1962) *ethnography of speaking*, later reinterpreted as the *ethnography of communication*, which “[...] is concerned with the questions of what a person knows about appropriate patterns of language use in his or her community and how he or she learns about it” (cited in Johnstone & Marcellino 2010: 4). Friedrich (1986: 1) provides a quasi-evolutionary explanation for the way in which linguistic behaviour is intertwined with attitudes:

[...] linguistic relativism and the closely related linguistic chauvinism are forms of awareness that have been evolving among us for a long time. They must have been acute in the Upper Paleolithic, when Cro-Magnons ordered their enmities and mobilised their affinities on the basis, in part, of how families “over there” spoke. Linguistic chauvinism was endemic in early Greek thought, and in Greek philosophy the dispute over “nature versus convention” constitutes an integral part of what might be called proto-relativism (since “convention” is language-culture specific).

This passage pinpoints the fact that while a subliminal sense of sameness or difference is pertinent in situations when various communities come into contact with each other, norm-driven communicative behaviour presupposes a denotational code which

conventionalises the norms which, in turn, are specific to the denotational code and the culture it embodies. If this orientation towards a set of norms is present in a non-nationally conceived society, linguistic norm is structured along the nature v. convention (a.k.a. culture) dichotomy. This dichotomy oscillates in the background of several discussions in this thesis, for instance, in the perception of vernacular languages v. prestige languages of “high” culture (see especially Chapters 2 and 3 for details).

Building on Friedrich’s reasoning cited above, my understanding of norm covers what Saville-Troike (1989: 154-155) calls “rules for interaction”, on the one hand, and “norms of interpretation” on the other. Rules for interaction are prescriptive statements of behaviour which explain how people should act in communicative situations. Rules for interaction may also be formulated as descriptive statements of typical behaviour, and the degree to which this “ideal” is “real” is the kind of question that can be analysed in language attitude research (see, e.g., Chapter 3 on conventions of French versification or Sections 4.2 and 4.3 in Chapter 4). Now, norms of interpretation – the way the intended meaning is understood and interpreted – provide information about the speech community and its culture. Norms constitute a standard shared by members of the speech community; they may also be related to rules of use in the prescriptive or proscriptive sense but not necessarily so. Normative postures – which involve positing *norms* of linguistic behaviour as *normative* – played a crucial part in the koinetization of vernacular languages in Europe (as we shall see in Chapter 3). Indeed, koinai appear as speakers of different varieties of a language begin to accept the possibility of modifying their speech or writing to conform to a particular variety consisting of bundles of language features to which speakers are exposed usually as a result of a shared written or oral literary tradition. In this sense, the appearance of koinai is intertwined with the existence of a body of canonical texts or with particular literary genres (for more detail, see, e.g., Chapter 3, Footnotes 97 and 100, pp. 136-137). Normative linguistic cultures are characterised by positive and negative valuations of, and potentially sanctions on, language use; norms of interpretation, however, according to the framework provided by Saville-Troike, are part and parcel of any communicative event.

Standards according to the above reasoning are language varieties which speakers of a particular community share – or they believe they share. An important

difference between standard languages and koinai is that the former normally involve conscious and planned intervention in language change, undertaken by a particular elite (groups of scholars, writers, grammarians, academies and other institutions, etc.). The targets and methods of intervention are informed by beliefs and norms of interpretation which members of the elite share, and which usually gain their expression in prescriptive and proscriptive postures towards speakers' linguistic behaviour.

A seemingly paradoxical polysemy is inherent in the meaning of *standard*. The OED (*s.v.*, "standard") defines the word as (Def.9.c) 'normal or uniform size' but also as (Def.9.b) 'legal magnitude of a unit' and as (Def.9.a) 'authorised exemplar of a unit of measurement [...]'. Although these definitions show the non-linguistic uses of *standard*, it is worth noting that there are "double standards" in our understanding of *standard*. On the one hand, *standard* can mean existing practice (cf. Def.9.c) but also prescribed practice (Def.9.a. and b; see also Williams (2014: 291-295). A similar, seemingly paradoxical, polysemy characterises more general, non-commercial uses of *standard*: 'an authoritative or recognised exemplar of correctness, perfection, or some definite degree or quality' (Def.10.a), in which the first part of the definition ('authoritative, recognised') reflects the meaning of standard as structured according to the HIGH v. LOW spatial metaphor, while the second part of the definition ('definite') reflects a structuring of the concept of STANDARD as an average or, according to the spatial metaphor, MIDDLE.⁷ Language attitudes which reflect a *preoccupation* (as in the title of this thesis) with matters of language use arise, in part, as a result of the two possibilities in our conceptualisation of NORM and STANDARD according to the vertical (HIGH v. LOW) as well as the horizontal (MIDDLE) spatial metaphors. As we shall see (especially in Chapters 2 and 3) language movements and their paragons, as well as individual writers and poets who experiment with writing in a language variety of low prestige, project a norm or standard, as understood according to the horizontal spatial metaphor, onto the vertical axis. This "projection" brings about a linguistic culture which is normative, and in which linguistic norms are formulated in terms of positive and negative values, prescriptive and proscriptive attitudes towards language.

⁷ It is tempting to speculate about a crypto-metaphor in our structuring of the concept of STANDARD: the first attested meaning of the noun *standard* is (Def.1.a) 'military or naval ensigne', which are objects located usually vertically in physical space.

In contrast to sociolinguistic and nationally-oriented approaches, I propose a definition for speech community which seems to suit the enquiry into various, and varying, patterns of attitude towards language best. *Speech community* or *community of speakers* is often used, in disciplines other than linguistics and in public discourse, with reference to national languages. I occasionally use the term in this way but always specifying the (in this case, political or ethnic) community whose language I mean (e.g. *the Hungarian speech community*). In sociolinguistics, *speech community* is used with reference to the social group which provides the basic unit of ethnographic description. Whether such a group shares the same language variety or only the rules for interaction has been a subject of debate (Hymes 1972; Saville-Troike 1989: 20; Fasold 1997: 40-41). This definition is applicable, and even then with limitations, to my study of classroom discourses in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3), in which, however, it is unnecessary and might be misleading. Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, I adopted an approach which is loosely based on Colvin (2009; 2011), and define *speech community* as a group of speakers who *believe* they share “the same” language.

My understanding of *linguistic culture* builds on Robert Austerlitz’s (1988) model. The foundations of culture in this model are nature and society⁸, onto which economic activity, which is understood as “the husbanding and exploitation of nature” is projected to ensure the “survival and perpetuation of human society in nature” (Austerlitz 1988: 35, cf. also Abondolo 2001: 12). It is, however, myth which endows nature, society, and economy with *value*, which, in turn, permits interpretation, ratiocination, and the formulation of rules (Austerlitz 1988: 36; cf. Friedrich’s *convention* above). In other words, myth holds nature, society, and economy together by a framework of interpretation (“The Explanation”) which is “meaningful” for a particular culture at a particular period. Play – and a particular form of play, art – in turn, allow for experimentation with myth, and challenge the values, norms, and rules sustained by myth. Finally, humour is an extension of play, which not only experiments with or challenges myth, but “directly or figuratively inflicts lesions on Myth. [...] Not only is the stance of humour toward Myth one of arrogance; humour challenges the legitimacy of Myth outright” (Austerlitz 1988:

⁸ Compare this with the earlier discussion on nature v. convention, suggested by Friedrich, and even “nativism” and promotion of vernacular languages v. prestige languages as mediators of modernism put forth by Kahane.

38). Myth, art, and humour, when understood according to the model outlined above, structure speakers' beliefs about language (myth), allow for experimentation with language which both challenges the "old" norms and institutes "new" ones (art, for instance, poetic language), and assist speakers in negotiating their attitude towards "standards" which control their linguistic behaviour and repertoire (humour). We shall see instances of these cultural processes as we proceed from case study to case study in the following four chapters.

1 Precious gardens, wild flowers, and fortresses: metaphoric schemata in the imagery of linguistic purism

Nem az egyszál karddal hadakozó végvári vitézt idézi fel hát elsősorban a mai nyelvőrség. [...] Aki ma nyelvőrségen áll, nem öldöklő szerszámokkal fegyverkezik fel. Nem fegyveres őr, inkább talán olyan toronyőr, aki helyzeténél fogva messzebb lát, s a magaslatról beszámol tapasztalatairól azoknak, akiknek a szemhatára szűkebb. Elmondja, mit lát a tájban, merre vannak szépen rendben tartott gazdaságok vagy vadvirágos, esetleg gázos földek. Térképezi a tájat: merre vannak jó utak, hol téved az utazó nehezen járható helyre, veszedelmes szakadékba. Beszámol a táj életéről, változásairól. De nem kerüli el figyelmét a bomladozó épület s a viruló vetéseket fenyegető kártevő sem. Továbbadja azt a sok szépséget is, ami szeme elé tárul, távcsöve segítségével még a messze csillogó havasokról is tudósíthat tornyából.

Lajos Lőrincze (1915-1993), *Nyelvőrségen* (1968)⁹

This chapter begins with a long epigraph – a citation from Lajos Lőrincze’s forward to his book, *Nyelvőrségen* – because the passage cited above captures the richness of symbolism and polytrophy (Friedrich 1991) which characterises language *about language* in discourses of language cultivation¹⁰ in Hungary in the post-war period. *Nyelvőrségen* was published in 1968 as the second part of a book-series¹¹ intended for the general public with the aim of engaging people in the cultivation of the “mother tongue”. In the early 1950s, a group of Hungarian linguists and intellectuals, among them the composer Zoltán Kodály (1881–1967), announced a movement whose purpose was to render the “mother tongue better, purer and more beautiful” (Kodály 1953: 5)¹².

⁹ For an English version, see Appendix A, Section 1. The passage is cited from Lőrincze’s (1968: 6-7) preface to a volume entitled *Nyelvőrségen* (‘On Language-guard’); *nyelvőrség* (*nyelv+őr=ség* ‘language+guard=NDER; approximately ‘language guardianship’) as a metaphoric and metonymic blend will be explored later in this chapter.

¹⁰ The term *language cultivation* is used throughout this thesis to translate terms such as *nyelvművelés* (‘Sprachkultur’; *nyelv+művelés*: ‘language+‘cultivation’; cf. *föld+művelés*: ‘land+‘cultivation’, ‘agriculture’) and *nyelvápolás* (‘Sprachpflege’; *nyelv+ápolás*: ‘language+‘caring, nursing’); cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.1 in more detail.

¹¹ The first part, which is titled *Édes anyanyelvünk* (‘Our dear mother tongue’) was published in 1961 in Budapest (see Lőrincze 1961).

¹² Zoltán Kodály, the composer and ethnomusicologist, wrote a forward to another programmatic volume of the new language movement, *Nyelv és Élet* (‘Language and Life’), which Lőrincze edited (1953). Kodály had a central role in the new “mother tongue” movement: a former student of the outstanding linguist, Zoltán Gombocz (1877–1935), he was notorious for promoting, as the standard, a Western dialectal pronunciation of Hungarian, in which the non-high front

The “well-being” of the language had been a concern of Hungarian linguistic thought for at least two centuries¹³, but the new movement advocated a fundamental change in the direction of prescriptive linguistics, and consequently a shift in focus in popular beliefs about, and attitudes towards, language. This chapter will explore the question why the new wave of language cultivation, which started with the publication of Lőrincze’s (1953) *Nyelv és Élet* (‘Language and Life’), became a touchstone in the history of Hungarian language cultivation.¹⁴ First, I shall explore ways in which conceptual

unrounded vowel has two variants, [e]:[ɛ], and the opposition is both systemic and phonemic, unlike in the standard, in which the opposition is non-phonemic (see also Appendix E: The phonological inventory of standard Hungarian). This is an instance of purism which Thomas (1990: 80) defines as ethnographic, and was not, strictly speaking, in line with Lőrincze’s usage-oriented, reformist, but elitist ideas about language. Lőrincze claimed (1993: 186) that his friendship and long-standing collaboration with Kodály was due to his own Western dialectal pronunciation with the [e]:[ɛ], distinction (Lőrincze was born in the village of Szentgál near the town of Veszprém).

¹³ The first Hungarian language movement, associated with the literary advances advocated by György Bessenyei (1747–1811) and the larger-than-life figure of Ferenc Kazinczy (1759–1831), started to take off in the second third of the eighteenth century. The motivations underlying the language movement in its Central and East European context will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

¹⁴ Lőrincze was a linguist and dialectologist, who held a number of key positions in the 1950s and 1960s in various institutions of linguistic research, language cultivation, and Hungarian Studies. He was the director of the Hungarian Department at the Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy, the president of the Language Cultivation Committee (*Nyelvoművelő Bizottság*, cf. p. 72 below) of the Academy, and later even a board member of the Alliance of Hungarians Worldwide (*Magyarok Világszövetsége*, cf. Footnote 69 on p. 106 below). First and foremost, however, he was an educator: a champion of popularising knowledge about language, if from a somewhat elitist position (cf. Pusztai 2005: 64), among the general public. He was particularly well-known in Hungary for his five-minute weekly radio programmes on language: a genre that was later adopted on television, too (e.g. programmes by László Grétsy and more recently Géza Balázs). He reformed Hungarian language cultivation by distancing it from strictly purist, prescriptive and proscriptive trends, for which he was seen as a particularly liberal “language cultivator” by some of his contemporaries. Seemingly paradoxically, however, Lőrincze (e.g. 1993: 91) insisted that “in determining the correct or normative form, the majority’s use is the decisive factor, but, [by *majority* we mean] *the majority of only those educated speakers* who use the standard variety and are linguistically sophisticated (or “cultured”; emphasis mine – E.T.)”. His approach was reformist and democratising, relying usually on the intelligibility argument in his recommendations about regionalisms and expressions of foreign origin, yet, as the above-cited passage shows, he also promoted elitist and aesthetically oriented views. It was precisely this elitist attitude which was challenged by linguists advocating a sociolinguistic approach to language cultivation in the early 1990s (cf. Kontra & Saly 1998). This latter trend proposed to base the evaluation of language features on frequency of usage rather than authoritative sources, such as writers’ and poets’ practice and prescriptive grammar. It is yet another paradox among trends of language cultivation that work by advocates of the sociolinguistic trend is less accessible to members of the general public, because of its scientific orientation and metalanguage, than the educational and popularising, if elitist, trend introduced by Lőrincze and his followers.

metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; Kövecses & Radden 1998; Kövecses 2002) and blending theory (Fauconnier & Turner 1998; 2002) contribute to a better understanding of ways of talking about language, specifically: how and why it is possible for speakers to process, and associate with *language*, the complex metaphoric and metonymic imagery illustrated in the text cited as an epigraph. Second, I shall discuss, using insights from anthropological (Douglas 1966; Hassan 1965; Mintz 1991; 1996) and from linguistic-psychological (Pléh 2003, 2008) research, how the myth of purity comes to be applied to language and the ways in which it is interconnected with thinking about language in terms of the HIGH and LOW spatial metaphors. Finally, I shall bring these insights to bear on the social and historical circumstances in Hungary which surrounded the gestation of the text cited in the motto.

1.1. The metaphoric structuring of language about language

According to Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 3) communication is based on the same conceptual system as thinking and acting; that is why language is an important source of evidence for what the conceptual system itself is like. Since the publication of *Metaphors we live by* (1980), research into ways in which language is symptomatic of cognitive processing has developed complex models to map features of this processing. As my aim here is to understand how notions of purity and spatial metaphors such as HIGH and LOW come to be applied to language – and not the advancement of the analytical models developed in cognitive linguistics – I use only those elements from the cognitive models which help answer my question. In the original framework provided by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 36) “Metaphor and metonymy are different *kinds* of processes. Metaphor is principally a way of conceiving of one thing in terms of another, and its primary function is understanding. Metonymy, on the other hand, has primarily a referential function, that is, it allows us to use one entity to *stand for* another.” These definitions allowed the authors to argue that the conceptual system, according to which humans talk, think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature, because elements of structured experience and understanding can be transferred, due to metaphor, from

one experiential field (or “domain”) to another.¹⁵ Metonymy, in turn, has been shown to interact with metaphor (Goossens 1990; Kövecses & Radden 1998) and even to provide the basis for the experiential correlations which motivate primary metaphors (such as the HIGH and LOW spatial metaphors) (Taylor 2003; Radden 2003). “In fact, the grounding of metonymic concepts is in general more obvious than is the case with metaphoric concepts, since [metonymy] usually involves direct physical or causal associations” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:37-39). Hence, metonymy is more immediate process than metaphor, more directly based on spacial experience (physical associations) or temporal associations (causation). It was proposed (Johnson 1987; Evans & Green 2006: 178) that humans’ embodied experience – the way we are physically present in the world and interact with it – gives rise to fundamental image schemas within the conceptual system.¹⁶ These image schemas are abstract patterns in the mind, which emerge from repeated instances of embodied experience; as such, they are usually abstract and non-specific, such as UP, DOWN, ACROSS, SURFACE, or CONTAINER.

Primary metaphorical concepts are based on such image schemata, and structure our understanding of physical *realia*, social interactions, and abstract concepts (such as *language* and *communication*). One of the most pervasive conceptual metaphors in our understanding of language is the CONDUIT metaphor, which suggests that IDEAS are OBJECTS, i.e., that ideas are part of objective, concrete reality (rather than corresponding to the Hjelmslevian “substance of content”). Linguistic expressions (words, phrases, clauses, etc.), in turn, are CONTAINERS, which give a form to “express” those ideas. This kind of metaphorical structuring highlights the instrumental aspect of language as a means of communication (a “tool”) and suggests that real, somehow pre-existing, meaning and truth are embedded in words and sentences. The LANGUAGE IS A CONDUIT metaphor focuses on certain aspects of the concept of language but leaves

¹⁵ It is worthy of note that this reasoning is one way of distancing oneself from the tradition which sees human language as arising from a uniquely linguistic module such as Chomsky’s (1965: 25) Language Acquisition Device (LAD).

¹⁶ Evidence from developmental psychology and anthropology seems to support this argument. In the years of early development children learn to orient themselves in space because they follow the motion of moving objects with their eyes, and later reach out, and so on (discussed in Evans & Green 2006).

others out of focus (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 12-13)¹⁷. Specifically, it highlights our understanding of language according to the communicative cluster model (see below) but it fails to account for the vertical structuring of the concept of language, which gives rise to expressions such as *high v. low language variety*, *good v. bad speech*, *high register*, and so on. To explain how such vertical spatial metaphors come to be applied to language, we have to look beyond the conduit metaphor and include conceptual metonymy in this analysis.

Lakoff (1987) explains with so-called idealised cognitive models (ICMs) – which derive abstractions from a range of experiences rather than focusing on specific instances of experience – how concepts are categorised and framed in the human mind. It is one of the central tenets of cognitive semantics (cf. Evans & Green 2006: 243) that meaning is encyclopaedic in nature, that is, “word meaning cannot be understood independently of the vast system of encyclopaedic knowledge to which it is linked [...] and semantic knowledge is grounded in human interaction with others (social experience) and with the world around (physical experience)”.¹⁸ The contextual aspect of making sense of utterances is captured by Lakoff’s idealised cognitive models which correspond to different possibilities of framing various categories (elements of language) semantically. Cluster models are complex conceptual frames in which a number of idealised cognitive models converge, thus giving rise to semantic prototypes. Section 1 in Appendix B outlines cluster models for the category LANGUAGE (based on Lakoff 1987: 74).

The cluster model of language outlined in Appendix B relies on metonymy in selecting the particular conceptualisation of language which is *typical* in a specific community or culture at a particular time. The example of *mother tongue*, one of the keywords of this thesis, will illustrate this point. Since the emergence of this collocation in the languages of Europe (during the Middle Ages; cf. Chapter 3 Section 3.2) *mother*

¹⁷ Compare this with LeCron Foster (2002) who notes in her discussion of early cave wall paintings and engravings that even this earliest art is abstract in the sense that its iconism is *selective* of those features that most clearly symbolize the cultural reality of the artist and his or her public. This seems to echo the claims that human thinking (and language) is fundamentally metaphoric (and metonymic).

¹⁸ Let us note that this theory of meaning – although it relies primarily on works such as Langacker (1987) and Fillmore (1977; for a summary see Evans & Green 2006: 206-262) – supports, and in some respects is heir to, Firth’s context-dependent meaning, in other words to the maxim that we can get to know a word “by the company it keeps” (Firth 1957: 11)

tongue has become what Lakoff calls a “typical example” (a frequent or commonly encountered instance) of LANGUAGE for speakers whose language has an “equivalent” for this concept. *Mother tongue* is also a “salient example” of LANGUAGE in the framework provided by Lakoff, because it is usually the best known actual instance of this category. Now, according to Lakoff (1987: 75-80) typical and salient examples come to represent the category as a whole on a conceptual level because of the metonymic transfer between the specific (the typical or salient example) and the abstract (the broader category; on the preference for CONCRETE OVER ABSTRACT as a cognitive principle for metonymic transfer, see also Kövecses & Radden 1998). The OED (*OED Online, s.v., “mother tongue”, Def.A.1*) defines *mother tongue* as ‘one’s native language; a first language’ and (Def.A.2) as ‘a language which gives rise to others; esp. one regarded as the source of a group or family of other languages’ (cf. also *s.v., “mother language”*). The two different dictionary definitions of this typical example of the category LANGUAGE highlight (5) and (6), the individual and the genealogical/genetic model, from the clusters listed in Section 1 in Appendix B, underlining that these two components are, indeed, an essential part of the conceptualisation of LANGUAGE. Among the cluster models of the category MOTHER, Lakoff (1987: 74) posits the following: BIRTH, GENETIC, NURTURANCE, MARITAL, and GENEALOGICAL models (i.e. these are the sub-categories through which speakers understand the concept MOTHER). Interestingly, most components of this cluster model overlap with that of LANGUAGE: genetic, genealogical, birth (as in “native”), and community (as in “married”) models feature in the cognitive structuring of language as well. Therefore, in an analytical model provided by cognitive metaphor theory, MOTHER and LANGUAGE (‘tongue’) have the following mapping:

Table 3: Conceptual domain mappings for MOTHER TONGUE

| Source domain: MOTHER | | Target domain: LANGUAGE |
|--|--------|--|
| MOTHER | —————→ | LANGUAGE |
| gives birth | —————→ | one is born with a native language |
| provides a gene pool | —————→ | bears traces of the “ancestor” language(s) |
| ancestor | —————→ | ancestor and descendant of other languages |
| married to the father (member of a family) | —————→ | shared by a community |

In the analytical framework based on conceptual metaphor, therefore, LANGUAGE has overlapping conceptual domain mappings with MOTHER. There are further subcategories in the cluster models for both LANGUAGE and MOTHER but these do not seem to map with each other: they are left out of focus in the metaphoric mapping which underlies the collocation *mother tongue*. One of these subcategories, however, is of particular importance: that of NURTURANCE. It is at this stage that blending theory may provide further insights. While conceptual domains are relatively stable cognitive structures, blends capture the “on-line” process of domain construction. More importantly, “integration networks” in blending theory are not simply two-space entities (as we see in the domain mappings in Table 3). Blends are imagined as multiple-space entities, a feature which accounts for the dynamic aspects of meaning construction (cf. Fauconnier & Turner 1998; 2002; Evans & Green 2006). While a blend, similarly to the domain mappings of a conceptual metaphor, contains elements from both inputs (from the source and the target domains, e.g. MOTHER and BIRTH in the source, and LANGUAGE and NATIVE in the target domain) it also contains additional structure which is present only in one of the domains (e.g. in the source domain) but is projected onto the other domain (e.g. the target domain) in the blend. Proverbs, idioms, collocations, and other conventionalised forms of expression, such as *mother tongue*, are treated as formal blends because they rely on formal (lexico-grammatical) elements, such as collocation, for their meaning. Hence, if it is possible to treat *mother tongue* as a blend, it is precisely the projection of additional structure within the blend that makes the association between the category LANGUAGE and the source domain NURTURANCE – originally a feature only in the cluster model of MOTHER – possible. What follows is a discussion of the way in which the simultaneous metaphoric and metonymic structuring of MOTHER TONGUE, and the integration of the individual conceptual clusters of both, becomes possible in the blend.¹⁹

The connection between MOTHER and TONGUE is simultaneously metonymic

¹⁹ Conceptual blending as an analytical approach is similar to Lakoff & Turner’s (1980) point about how metaphoric expressions can be extended to include “unused” parts of a concept (i.e. those parts of the concept which are out of focus in a particular metaphor), thus contributing to the coining of new metaphors. Fauconnier & Lakoff (2013) point out that “research programs developed for metaphor and blending [are] mutually reinforcing, and often deeply intertwined with, rather than at odds with each other”.

and metaphoric (cf. Bartsch 2002 on the metaphor v. metonymy switch in generating polysemy). It is metonymic inasmuch as one's native language, or mother tongue, is understood as originating and learnt from one's mother; so, in this individual perspective, one's native language is conceived as the continuation of one's mother's native language. MOTHER, on the other hand, is in a metonymic (*pars pro toto* 'a part for a whole') relationship with the COMMUNITY of speakers who use the language in question (cf. (3) and (4) in the cluster models of LANGUAGE in Appendix B). According to this "part for a whole" extension of the metonymy, therefore, the individual speaker's practice of using his or her "native" language also connects the individual to the community, whose language use is continued in the individual's linguistic behaviour, both practically and metonymically. As there is a metonymic relationship between MOTHER and LANGUAGE ('tongue'), on the one hand, and MOTHER and COMMUNITY on the other, this blend suggests a connection between LANGUAGE and COMMUNITY, too. This relationship, however, is based not only on causality (or, as it was explained above, continuity) or "a part for a whole" type of connection. A metaphoric relationship is built on the metonymic ones: COMMUNITY can be understood in terms of LANGUAGE, in terms of its "mother tongue", as is shown by many crypto-metaphors (dead metaphors) underlying terms for 'language' and/or 'ethnic group' in European languages.²⁰ The blend MOTHER TONGUE, therefore, captures both the individual and the communal aspect of language use (also reflected in the OED definitions cited above). What follows is a discussion of how the general

²⁰ At the time of the rise of vernacular languages in Europe, in the early medieval period, various groups of people, and later legislators (in France, for instance, in the sixteenth century; cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.2), began to accept the possibility that the way they talked (i.e. the language that provided a degree of cultural cohesion between them) could be thought of as "our language", a medium which was later to be reinterpreted as a "national" or "state" language. This point is underlined by evidence which dates even further back: ethnicities were often classified by their languages (or language families) and the term for a particular way of speaking (i.e. in the "vulgar", "popular" language); Slavonic **jezykъ* '(generic) ethnic group, language' (Nichols 1993: 385); German *deutsch* and Scandinavian *tysk* 'vulgar, non-Latin' < OHG *deot, deota* 'people, folk' (Wells 1987: 31-32). Alternatively, the name of an ethnic group was extended to the language of the group; e.g. Germanic *frankisk* ('a Germanic tribe') > *français* 'French' (see e.g. Ostler 2006: 404). Conversely, dead metaphors for LANGUAGE itself are often grounded in the notion of language as a biological, physiological phenomenon; e.g. English *tongue*, French *langue* 'physical organ of deglutition, language'; Hungarian (N) *nyelv* 'language' < (v) *nyel* 'swallow'; v. German *Zunge* 'tongue' v. *Sprache* 'speech, language'; Greek γλώσσα 'language' already in Homeric texts < γλῶχες 'ear of corn', γλωχίς 'apex, pointy part of an object' (Chantraine, *s.v.*, "γλῶχες").

conceptual blend underlying MOTHER TONGUE can be extended to various “unused” parts of the metaphor in a particular language.

In Hungarian, the conceptual basis of *anyanyelv* (*anya+nyelv*: ‘mother’+‘language’) is similar to the conceptualisation of the speaker’s first language in other languages (e.g. *mother tongue*, *langue maternelle* etc.), but, unlike in English, in Hungarian this is the only term to refer to the speaker’s native language (e.g. there is no “equivalent” for *first language*). In Hungarian, the noun *anya* is the first constituent of the compound *anyaország* ‘motherland, country of origin’ and *anyaföld* ‘soil, earth’ as well. In these two blends, both TERRITORY and LANGUAGE are understood as being the NOURISHING PARENT of inhabitants and speakers. An even clearer connection between the concepts of MOTHER and LANGUAGE is created by the application of the epithet of *anya*, *édes* (‘dear, sweet, one’s own’ and *édesanya* ‘mother dear’ and ‘biological mother’), to language: *édes anyanyelv* (‘one’s own/dear mother tongue’). The latter is normally used only with a first person plural possessive suffix, *édes anyanyelv-ünk*, which can be glossed either as ‘our dear mother tongue’ or as ‘our own/proper mother tongue’, given that *édes* in the compound *édesanya* means not only ‘dear’ but also ‘biological’, the contrasts available being limited to *mostohaanya* and *nevelőanya*, both meaning ‘stepmother’.

The previous discussion illustrates the way in which a conceptual blend, *mother tongue*, which exists in the conceptual system underlying most languages in Europe, may be extended to involve new domains in a particular language. The following is another example of such a language-specific extension of the blend. As a result of the metaphoric relationship between LANGUAGE and COMMUNITY, on the one hand, and, on the other, of the metonymic relationship between COMMUNITY and MOTHER, in the blend there is a potential for extending the metaphor to reverse the association between LANGUAGE and MOTHER. We have seen in Table 3 that MOTHER serves as a source domain for our understanding of LANGUAGE; thus, LANGUAGE can be understood in terms of a NOURISHING PARENT. In the reversed mapping of the metaphor, which is less common in the conceptualisation of the two categories under discussion, MOTHER may also stand for LANGUAGE. It is this occasional, creative extension of the metaphor in the blend which makes the Hungarian word play *nyelvédesanyánk* possible (*nyelv+édes+anyá-nk*: ‘language’+‘dear/one’s own’+‘mother’-1PL.POSS, approximately:

‘dear mother: our language’). This was the title of an anthology containing excerpts about language by Hungarian writers (Grétsy & Hernádi 1980), for whom – as for all men of letters – LANGUAGE is a NOURISHING PARENT according to the blend (cf. the last point, (7), among the cluster models of LANGUAGE in Appendix B, Section 1). Writers, men of letters, and emblematic figures of language cultivation movements, such as Lőrincze or László Grétsy (b. 1932) in Hungary, in turn, are paragon-like ideal types among those who are known to be working with language among the public. Hence, their language-related activities come to be associated with the engagements of linguists in general. According to Lakoff (1987) one of the subtypes of typicality effects due to metonymy is precisely that of “paragons”. This metonymic association contributes to the wide-spread understanding of the craft of linguists as “fastidiousness about language” and “pedantry”.

The title of the volume from which the motto of this chapter was cited is another complex blend, which supports the point that in the conceptual system of Hungarian speakers there is a possibility for LANGUAGE to be seen not only as a NOURISHING PARENT but also as a physical entity, a TERRITORY, that needs “care and guarding”. The compound *nyelvőrség* (*nyelv+őr=ség*: ‘language+’guard’=NDER.ABSTR) was coined by Lőrincze with reference to the title of the leading Hungarian periodical of language cultivation, *Nyelvőr*. Lőrincze added the derivational suffix =sÁg, which forms abstract nouns from nominals. The Hungarian noun *őr* refers to the profession or to the person on guard. The derived form, *őrség*, may denote ‘a group of soldiers on guard’, as in the expression *őrségváltás* ‘changing of the guard’ or to the activity of guarding (*őrt áll: őr-t áll* ‘guard’-ACC ‘stands’, ‘he stands on guard’). Therefore, the expression *nyelvőrség* can be understood either as *nyelvőr=ség* or as *nyelv+őrség*. The former would suggest a meaning ‘the essence, noble calling of the profession *nyelvőr*’, ‘what it means to be a *nyelvőr*’, while the latter is ‘language guardianship, the act of guarding language’. In this complex formal blend LANGUAGE and GUARD are brought together, which suggests that there is something to be guarded in language, which, in turn, is due to the conceptualisation of LANGUAGE as TERRITORY and also LANGUAGE as a MORAL BEING (cf. the individuality cluster model for language in Appendix B, Section 1).

1.2. Extended metaphors and “super-blends” in discourses of “language cultivation”

After having considered some of the blends of MOTHER and LANGUAGE which are particular to Hungarian, I shall now turn to unpacking the elements of the “super blend” which underlies the introductory epigraph. As the examples discussed so far show, members of a speech community prioritise only certain parts of a particular conceptual metaphor, and the aspect they prioritise is fixed by convention. Convention reflects what is important to highlight from the possible conceptual domains of a category for members of a particular speech community. The acceptance (use and ability to comprehend) of a metaphor by a speech community implies holding the entailments of the metaphor as being true. The reason why it is possible for Hungarian speakers to understand this blend, and perceive language according to its complex networks of metaphors and metonymy, is tied to their culture.

According to Lakoff & Johnson’s (1980: 57) theory on the grounding of the conceptual system, “cultural assumptions, values, and attitudes are not a conceptual overlay which we may or may not place upon experience. [...] All experience is cultural [...], we experience our “world” in such a way that our culture is already present in the very experience itself”. Consequently, a shift between aspects of a particular metaphor (i.e. between those entailments of a concept that are highlighted by the metaphor) would reflect a new perception of reality or, more precisely, a shift in cultural alignments in a particular community (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 145). The reshuffling of metaphoric representations of language in the introductory quotation is an example of such a cultural and political realignment. In Appendix A, Section 2 (especially the table under (2)) diagrams the conceptual domains in which metaphors for language, linguist, and linguists’ craft are grounded; for ease of reference a simplified version of this table is provided below (see Table 4).

In his programmatic articles and books which are manifestos of the language movement, Lőrincze (e.g. 1953a: 150-171) puts great emphasis on differentiating the new wave of language cultivation from previous trends. He labels the ideas of the antecedent movement chauvinist, and indeed, trends of language cultivation in the late-nineteenth century and in the interwar period could be classified in Thomas’s (1991:80) system as

aesthetic and xenophobic, that is, targeting mainly foreign language elements in Hungarian. Section 1 in Appendix A shows a sample from a passage (4) in which Lőrincze evokes the metaphoric imagery used by representatives of xenophobic trends of language cultivation, such as Gábor Szarvas (1832–1895), and particularly *Pesti Hírlap Nyelvőre*, the language cultivation supplement of a daily paper entitled *Pesti Hírlap* (1878–1944). Lőrincze cites the passages in order to object to extreme purism and the excessive allegories in which some of his predecessors conjure up the phantom of nation death attributed to language decay. Lőrincze argues that the fundamental world-view and methods of the preceding period of language cultivation were a burdensome heritage, given that “[linguistic] purism is nothing else than the world-view of the counter-revolution and language cultivation for its own sake” (Lőrincze 1953a: 154, citing the daily newspaper *Haladás* ‘Progress’). Purism, for Lőrincze, “originates from racial arrogance and from the belittling of others”, and should therefore be eradicated from the programme of the new language cultivation movement.

This radical change in “world-view” is captured in Lőrincze’s creative – and masterful – redesigning of the source domains for the conceptual framing of language, linguists, and their activities. Table (2) in Appendix A, and the discussion below, elucidates the extension of the conceptual metaphors for LANGUAGE to these new domains. The source and target domains for both the old and new understanding of LANGUAGE, LINGUISTS, and related phenomena are shown in Table 4 below, in less detail than in the Appendix, for ease of reference. The military metaphor ironically depicts the language cultivators of the past as “brave warriors wielding a sword to defend a fortress on the [Hungarian] frontier”. These motifs are central to nationally-oriented discourses in Hungary. Among these motifs, *végvár* (*vég+vár* ‘end, limit, limes, frontier+‘castle, fortress’) is a term which is difficult to gloss in English because of its deep cultural connotation. The system of frontier fortresses was somewhat similar to that of the Marches of Wales, but in Hungary it gained a further significance in the construction of national consciousness as the romantic image of Hungarians protecting European culture and civilisation against the chaos and barbarism of the peoples of the East. The idiom *végvári vitéz* in the Hungarian text refers to the valiant soldier stationed on the Hungarian border, whose legendary heroism defending Hungary and indeed

Christendom against the Ottoman onslaught has become an important image in the construction of Hungarian national consciousness, often revisited today.

Table 4: Conceptual domains and the imagery of language and linguists

| Conceptual domain | Linguist/speakers | Tools | Conceptualisation of language | Method of language guardianship |
|--|---|----------------------------|---|--|
| Military metaphors | brave warrior, soldier | sword, lethal weapons | territory to be defended, fortress on the Hungarian frontier | fight, struggle, defend, wield (a sword), [be] armed |
| Spatial metaphors (vertical and horizontal arrangements) | watchman in a tower; speakers' horizons are narrower | telescope, higher position | landscape, road, field, mountain, abyss, at a distance, further, narrower; | report, give account of, tell of, inform, convey |
| Horticultural metaphors | gardener | laboratory | estates, farmland, field, wild flowers, weed, pests, crops | [nothing escapes] their attention; weed, cultivate, maintain |
| Journey / Geography metaphors | cartographer; speakers = travelers | telescope | landscape; good/bad roads, dilapidated buildings, dangerous abysses, rock formations, snow-capped mountains | to map out the land, tell tales |
| Aesthetic and moral values | | | beauties, cultivated, good, flourishing, glittering, good, v. abandoned, wild, rampant, overgrown, difficult, dangerous, dilapidated, bad | nicely [maintained], |

As can be seen in Table 4, Lőrincze replaces the military metaphor with a set of newly coined images, of which that of the *toronyőr* is the most crucial. The two constituents of this compound are *torony* 'tower' and *őr*, 'guard/guardian'. The closest paraphrase could be 'watchmen', the connotation of which, on the other hand, is fundamentally different in English from that of the Hungarian word, which would imply different entailments for the metaphor from those intended in the Hungarian text. In the English version, I replaced the compound with the idiom *[be] on watch in a tower*, which perhaps better represents the romantic image of the lonely guardian sending reports from his tower on

the state of affairs regarding language. However, it is not only the self-image of the purist that shifts from warrior into watchman. Such a change in one aspect of the metaphor, that which is applied to the role of linguist, results in a shift regarding the concept of language itself. Consequently, language is no longer seen in terms of “national territory delimited by borders”, but rather in terms of a picturesque “landscape”, “well-maintained farmland”, richly covered by “flourishing crops”, criss-crossed by “good roads” or offering the prospect of “snow-capped mountains glittering in the distance”; but also “threatened by parasites”, riven by “dangerous abysses”, and having “dilapidated buildings” – just to mention a few from the more beguiling images Lőrincze applies to language and language elements. Among those, *havas* has a more powerful connotation than its neutral English gloss ‘snow-capped mountains’. In Hungarian the noun *havas* is normally used in the plural, and more importantly, it can only refer to the mountains of Transylvania, given that on the territory of 1960s Hungary there were no mountains which could be “snow-capped”.²¹ The positive associations evoked by the reference to *havasok*, ‘snow-capped mountains in the distance’, i.e. in Transylvania, unveils the extent to which Lőrincze’s thought process is anchored in, and plays with, Hungarian national nostalgia for the territory which once belonged to Hungary, and which, until the present day, is associated with the historic golden age of the nation. According to the new metaphoric conceptualisation of language, the tools at the language cultivators’ disposal also undergo change, from “a single sword” and “lethal weapons” to a “telescope”. The metaphor of the map-maker suggests that the language guards of the new trend are rather passive observers of the “travellers’ journey”, that is, the speakers’ use of language, or linguistic change, yet, it is part of their duty to report their observations and inform the members of the speech community about the possible dangers emerging in their linguistic conduct.

Lőrincze unpacks briefly the complex imagery and the new source domains against which he maps LANGUAGE as a target domain and related phenomena (see the second passage (2) cited in Section 1 in Appendix A). The excerpt under discussion concludes with the third passage (3) cited in Section 1 in Appendix A. The fact that

²¹ *Havas* derives from *hó* ‘snow’ with the addition of the derivational suffix =s, here referring to ‘being covered with’, i.e., ‘covered with snow’.

Hungarian speakers at Lőrincze's time were able to make sense of this text without further ado, as the author suggests with a certain pride or pretence, implies that for members of this speech community the entailments of the metaphors in this complex blend are also self-evident, that is, unquestioned. The "watchmen" in the "tower", which, according to passage (3) should also include a "laboratory", are the anointed "priests" in the cult of the "mother tongue". They not only map and monitor (with their "telescope") in space and time the outer boundaries and surfaces of language, understood here as a LANDSCAPE, they also dissect and analyse the minutiae of language-internal features ("rock formations" and "plantation") in their "laboratory". The conceptualisation of LANGUAGE as an entity having inner lines of division and outer boundaries points to a set of metaphoric imagery which is grounded in, and structured according to, humans' experience of physical space. Some of the horizontal and vertical spatial metaphors exploited in Lőrincze's text are shown under (1) in Section 2 of Appendix A.

Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 18) argue that territoriality is one of the most basic human concepts, given that humans project their own in-out and up-down orientation – which gives rise to the metaphor HUMANS ARE CONTAINERS – onto other physical objects that are bounded by surfaces. This explains why language can be conceptualised as a visual field which is defined by boundaries, and which, in turn, may define the boundaries of a territory (we have seen earlier that this involves a metonymic projection of COMMUNITY – speakers of a language – onto horizontal space)²². To take but one example from the text, LANGUAGE is a LANDSCAPE, a bounded horizontal surface, which is controlled from a TOWER (vertical space). The "guard" – by which we understand "language cultivator", although this is never spelled out – is assigned a higher position ("on high", "in a tower") and by virtue of this position "can see *farther* than [...] those whose vision is of a *shorter range*". In terms of these spatial metaphors,

²² Philological evidence is available, as we have seen in Footnote 20 in this chapter, that historically there have been instances of metonymic transfer between names of ethnic groups and names of languages (or the term for *language* itself) in both directions. Later, when vernaculars are reinterpreted as administrative languages of states (cf. Chapter 3 on the status of French during the Renaissance), another metonymy becomes available, according to which LANGUAGE corresponds to communities which are defined as NATIONS (even if not all members of such constructed communities are native speakers of the language of the state).

“guarding”, and “telling good and difficult roads apart”, “reporting on pests”, “informing others” is the duty of those whose position is HIGHER. From the network of spatial metaphors, a rather paternalistic image begins to emerge. Lőrincze exploits further entailments of metaphors for LANGUAGE which are arranged along the vertical axis: the “snow-capped mountains” invoke positive values with regard to language elements, while “abysses” are associated with danger and language decay. This corresponds to the general spatial structuring of GOOD as UP or HIGH and BAD as DOWN or LOW. The complex organisation of vertical and horizontal spatial metaphors features as a central element in the system of values which people project onto language and which underlies purists’ decisions. In speech communities with a strong tendency towards a normative linguistic culture, both the position of “linguists” who are seen as being able to judge what is “good” and what is “bad” *for* and *in* language, and the position of the “standard” variety of the language are understood as being “superior” or “higher” than the position of other members of the community, or that of other language varieties. Consequently, those members of the community who are “raised” on a “higher level” are able to judge what is “elevated” in language, in other words, what is part of a “higher register” – which is normally associated with the “standard”, or “literary” variety of language – and what is part of “lower registers” or “substandard” varieties of a language. The complex blend in which Lőrincze brings to bear a broad range of human activities to structure the way we can talk and think about language works only because there *is* a guardian “in a higher position” who can “observe and map the landscape”. The vertical structuring of society (language cultivators v. language users) corresponds to that of language (sub- and hyper-ordinate varieties). The text playfully claims unquestioned authority for advocates of language cultivation by asserting their position as “higher” in society. The authority’s moral position as “higher” reflects the position of language cultivators as paragons of scholarship and language-related activities, as mentioned earlier.

Although Lőrincze rewrote the source domains of metaphors for language in the passage cited as an epigraph, thus overwriting patterns of purism which characterised previous generations, the conceptual frame of LANGUAGE seems to have changed but little. It remains understood as a structured entity, with inner divisions and outer

boundaries, whose elements may be classified into groups described by positive or negative values.²³ This value-oriented posture, in turn, determines language cultivators' intervention into language, which may be prescriptive (for "good" language features) or proscriptive (for "bad" ones).

The fifth passage (5) cited in Section 1 of Appendix A pinpoints the extent to which Lőrincze's discourse and the principles he laid down in the 1950s and 1960s influenced ways of talking about – and conceptualising – language even four decades later. The 1996 edition of *Nyelvművelő kézikönyv* ('Handbook of language cultivation') in explaining *nyelvi norma* ('norms of usage'; *s.v.*) takes the "language of the nation" as a starting point for its definition. The "national language", in turn, has social, regional and other varieties but these are "subordinate" to the "main" variety. These "subordinate" varieties may have their own norms but they must be compared – or seen in relation to – the "hyperordinate", "superior" variety (this tenet appears to impinge on research into sociolinguistic variables to this day; cf. Footnote 23 and Section 4.3). The proposition that "the norms governing the national language" are a manifestation of the "united, homogeneous character of our [Hungarian] nation" is reminiscent of Lőrincze's insistence on the same point, namely, that a united and homogeneous language promotes national solidarity (cf. Section 1.4 below). Paradoxically, this language variety – which is advocated as belonging to the nation, i.e. everyone included in that "nation" – is described as the variety used by the most "educated" and "cultivated" members of the community but which influences other speakers' linguistic behaviour. Hence, the HIGH (here: "national") language variety is the dialect associated with a particular social group, likely to correspond to urban middle classes; the rest of the speakers must try to adapt their use to approximate this variety. The passage concludes with a clause reminding the privileged class of their responsibility: "[to spread and refine the national language] is the duty of those who have had access to the most profound literary and language education (i.e. *műveltség* 'cultivatedness') because they, the "owners" of language, are capable of curing themselves". It is thus obvious that the language variety

²³ Section 4.3 in Chapter 4 offers a case study which suggests that Hungarian remains to be imagined as a language with a single, quasi-homogenous, solid standard core, the "standard", which permeates not only normative classroom discourses but even research into linguistic variables.

that both Lőrincze and the authors of the 1996 *Nyelvművelő kézikönyv* intend to prescribe is their own. The position of erudite men of letters in society, and their “high” standing, are sealed by their “ownership” of (the “national”) language.

The health metaphor (*öngyógyítás* ‘the act of curing oneself’) with which the 1996 passage on *norms of usage* concludes is also worthy of attention. Although organic metaphors also featured in Lőrincze’s text under discussion, health and illness were not brought to bear on the metaphoric structuring of language, apart from perhaps the mention of a “laboratory” in the third passage cited in Section 1 of Appendix A. We have seen that monitoring the language-landscape involves refined tools: a “telescope”, “cartographic tools”, and a “laboratory”. The mention of “laboratory” clearly maps LANGUAGE according to the source domains of HEALTH and CHEMICAL PURITY. Among the horticultural metaphors the triad “well-maintained farmlands” v. “fields overgrown by wild flowers” v. “rampant weeds” corresponds to “reliable roads” v. “territory of difficult navigation” v. “dangerous abysses” in the geographic or journey metaphors. These two triads reflect three types of moral judgements that the “watchman” might form about elements of language. According to these, CONTROL (as on the “nicely maintained, cultivated lands”) is GOOD, LACK OF CONTROL (as in “dilapidated buildings” and rampant weeds”) is BAD (“dangerous”). Between the two extremes there are intermediate categories, of which “wild flowers” is particularly interesting. This image corresponds to “territory of difficult navigation” in the geographic triad of metaphors and hints at the fact that not all which is uncontrolled is bad: there might be permissible, even “good”, language features in spontaneous (or perhaps in poetic) use.²⁴ “Wild flowers”, therefore, represent a different kind of purity compared to the one attained in laboratories, namely, unadulterated, natural purity, free from human intervention. The first constituent of the compound *vad+virág* ‘wild+‘flower’, when used as a noun, translates as ‘game, untamed animal living in the wilderness’, and as an adjective, it is also ‘reckless, lacking control, uncivilised, primitive’ (cf. the compounds *vad+házasság* ‘wild+‘marriage’, ‘concubinage’ and *vad+ember* ‘wild+‘man’, either ‘reckless person’ or ‘uncivilised, primitive [person]’). We

²⁴ It is tempting to associate members of the horticultural set of metaphors with titles from Hungarian poetry, of which the title of Ferenc Kazinczy’s (see in Chapter 2 in more detail) volume, *Tövisék és virágok* (“Thorns and flowers”) is an example.

shall return to this point later. Interestingly, but perhaps unsurprisingly, in the horticultural blend, a potential entailment of the PEST metaphor is concealed, namely, that pests and parasites not only threaten the “flourishing crops” but they are also necessary for the functioning of biological vegetation, they are in fact responsible for maintaining a kind of “natural purity”. Lőrincze’s stylistic bravura is discussed below. Here, we note only that he masterfully conceals a potential extension of the metaphor which would ill serve his communicative goals. The horticultural and journey/geography triad of metaphors also introduce a new layer (or quality) to the positive and negative value-orientations captured in the vertical spatial metaphors. Between the two poles, there is a middle ground; a fact which represents the seemingly tolerant commitments of the new language movement whose discourse focused on fostering social solidarity.

As a final point in this analysis, Lőrincze’s style deserves some attention, not least because his individual voice on radio and his popular writings marked him out as a colourful and much-loved raconteur on matters of language (Tolcsvay 2005: 70). His technique of presenting arguments is erudite, if somewhat playful, in this text, and follows the structure of the dialectic triad, thesis–antithesis–synthesis, throughout. We have seen two examples of such triads in the construction of metaphoric imagery; further examples are provided in Section 2 in Appendix 3, under part (3) which shows instances of syntactic and semantic parallelism and repetition in the Hungarian text with approximate English glosses arranged in a pattern which replicates, visually, clause patterns in the Hungarian sentences. The outline presented under (3) also shows the regularity in the pattern of alternation at clause or phrase level between the positive, intermediate, and negative values associated with the metaphoric scheme underlying the noun phrases. This tightly-knit prose pattern leaves the reader or listener little space or time to consider alternative views or bring up counter-arguments; the passages give the impression that all has been thought through and taken care of (as in all good rhetoric). Furthermore, Lőrincze’s style is highly personal and his voice subjective, if patronising at times, especially in his popular articles, radio programmes, and newspaper columns intended for the “general public”. Section 3 in Appendix B shows an impressionistic collection of metaphoric representations of language and linguistic phenomena which

are frequent in his popular writings and speeches. Creative use of metaphor is less typical of those of his articles which were intended for professionals engaged in “language cultivation”, and, as opposed to the non-linguist Kodály (cf. his forward to Lőrincze 1953a), for instance, he always avoids imagery which is grounded in racially- and nationalistically-inspired discourses. Instead, Lőrincze always seems to be mindful of coining his metaphors to suit the democratising trend which he assigned to the new language cultivation movement, and whose main inspiration was the advocacy of social solidarity. In order to provide a contrast between his creative metaphor-laden popular style and scholarly writings, I used his article on the key concepts of language cultivation (Lőrincze 1953a: 151-171) as a sample text for morphological analysis. Based on a simple hand-count, in this sample of approximately seven thousand words, nearly half of the verb forms are in the first person singular or plural (1SG: 177 verbs; 1PL 199 verbs), and there are seventy-six nouns, pronouns, and nominoids with first person inflectional suffixes. The noun *nyelv* ‘language’ occurs approximately ninety times in the text, out of which on sixteen occasions it features as the stem of the adjective *nyelvi* ‘of the language, belonging to language’. There are twenty-one occurrences of the noun *nyelv* in the first person plural (*nyelvünk: nyelv-ünk* ‘language’-1PL.POSS) and no more than fifty without an inflectional suffix (*nyelv*). Two alternatives to *nyelvünk* (‘our language’) are *nemzeti nyelv* (‘national language’) or *köznyelv* (both ‘language of common usage’ and ‘standard’) but the value-neutral *magyar nyelv* (‘Hungarian language’) or *magyar* (‘Hungarian’) are entirely absent from the text. This small sample is sufficient to illustrate that Lőrincze’s use of language, even in expository prose and scholarly publications, is personal and intimate, which is, incidentally, a characteristic feature of discourses of language cultivation in general.

To summarise, the political changes of the late 1940s are reflected in the programmatic texts of the new language cultivation movement. The representatives of the new movement intended to base their arguments on objective grounds instead of national sentiment, and the pattern of linguistic purism thereby became more relaxed: what Thomas (1991: 78-83) describes as reformist with elitist components (cf. p. 56). However, the elimination of nationally oriented aesthetic arguments resulted in the adoption into linguistic purism of a new myth, that of objectivism, with its foundations

in rational argument, tolerance towards language change and the understanding of the ‘inherent laws of language’. This approach emphasised the involvement of the wider public in language cultivation as well as the reliance on the findings of all disciplines involved in the study of language. In its turn, discourses of this “objectivist” approach permeated most branches of Hungarian linguistics, and in general Hungarian linguistic thought. It should therefore come as no surprise that Fábíán (1984) saw all kinds of scholarly dealings with language as “cultivation” and “care for the mother tongue” (on Fábíán’s description of these terms, see Chapter 2, Section 2.1).

1.3. Metaphors at large: structure, purity, danger and other language myths

A diagram of cluster models, primary spatial metaphors and conceptual metaphors for LANGUAGE is shown in table format in Section 2 of Appendix B. This table, as all schematic representations, is an oversimplification of the complex integration networks of which conceptual blends are built, but it highlights the way cluster models may give rise to certain conceptual metaphoric representations and how, in turn, these conceptual metaphors are structured according to primary spatial orientation metaphors. In the right-hand column this table also shows how these specific conceptual representations are grafted onto large-scale mechanisms in terms of which humans explain, and make sense of, reality, a process which I called myth in the Introduction. In this section of the first chapter I shall explore, based on insights from anthropology and social psychology, how the metaphoric structuring of experience feeds into these large-scale “explanations”.

Hasan (1985: 16) argues that “when all members of a community believe a thing to be so, then that thing is “the truth”, “the reality” for that community”. Once the notion of objective reality is taken away, what remains is the affirmation that reality is relative and this is not a satisfactory basis for humans to find the certainty along which they can structure their behaviour and ideas. Hasan further argues that “the physical universe in which people live may be independent of its inhabitants, but the picture of it, which communities operate with, is as much an artefact as a work of fiction”. This proposition seems to agree with what was represented as the “substance of content” in

the Hjelmslevian grid in the Introduction, and which is the main focus of this thesis. To return to Hasan's train of thought, to maintain the effect, "fiction demands a suspension of disbelief". Her hypothesis is that to say that language is the shaper of reality is to say that language is instrumental in sustaining suspension of disbelief. "If children grow up believing the beliefs of their speech community, this is not because such beliefs are transcendently available to all of us as rational beings – it is because these beliefs are enshrined in the language of their community. [...] To learn a language is to learn to suspend disbelief with regard to these beliefs" (Hasan 1985: 25-26).

I cite Hasan for two reasons. First, her understanding of the connection between language and reality coincides with that of Lakoff & Johnson (1980), who challenge the LANGUAGE is an INSTRUMENT metaphor, according to which a culturally structured objective reality exists regardless of language, with the corollary that it should be humans' main aim to try to modify the "instrument" in such way that it fits this reality best. According to objectivist approaches, such as Lőrincze's, this "refinement of the instrument" would lead to the ultimate understanding of truth, which is hidden in objects and substances of the outer world. The last part of this chapter (1.4) revisits briefly the way in which Hungarian linguistic purism was inspired by the myth of objectivism in the period in question. Second, Hasan argues that the grammatical rules of a language have no intrinsic logical, aesthetic or ethical values. Consequently, there is no special forum for the creation and evolution of a language system. It has been created and has evolved over the period of human evolution. This reasoning is in sharp contrast with the convictions of pedants and those involved in language cultivation movements, namely, that there is a group of people who know what is best for a language. Hasan (1985: 34) calls language a "fearsome resource" precisely because of the role it plays in maintaining the position of such an elite in society. In a predominantly Western context, the socio-economic institutions of the middle classes ensure that their own way of speaking affirms the values which are associated with success in the community. Therefore, the language use of such an elite is perceived as correct, and eventually becomes the norm, the basis of a "standard" variety.

Translating this idea to the region and period which provide the backdrop to the texts that have been discussed so far, it should come as no surprise that the institutions

of the language cultivation movement in the 1950s in Hungary ensured the position of the intelligentsia²⁵ in maintaining social boundaries through values associated with the standard variety of Hungarian. The fact that the two main evaluative dimensions in normative language attitudes are social (and linguistic) exclusion and inclusion shows that the reformist and elitist language movement emerged as a crisis of the intelligentsia at the peak of the communist era. In other words, the emphasis on the role of the intellectual elite in creating social solidarity was transmitted to the national level through responsibility for what was seen as the unifying force of the nation, the “unique” and “superior” national variety of the language. Consequently, intellectuals saw their place in, and potential for integration into, society as justified so long as their use of language – and enthusiastic promotion of the cause of the “mother tongue”, a regulated standard variety – were seen as an invaluable contribution to fostering solidarity. The promotion of the “standard” variety, therefore, played a part in ensuring the position of this elite in society. The concept of a “superior”, “unique”, and “united” standard variety, in turn, accounts for the perception of the promoter’s position as being “higher”, “in a tower”, and “above” ordinary members of the speech community; hence the “language cultivator” comes to be seen as a paragon for “excelling in language” and, by metonymic extension, a typical representative of all professions involving language.

To return to the “theories of truth” which are one of the main focal points of this chapter, Hasan’s reasoning discussed above seems to support Lakoff & Johnson (1980), namely, that the emergence of the myth of objectivism is due to humans’ fear of everyday metaphor, and their need to comprehend experience through a clear and united concept which gives order to their lives. They also argue that truth is based on understanding, thus it is always relative to a conceptual system which is metaphorical in nature and which is grounded in, and constantly tested by, the experience of the individual and of other members of the individual’s culture in their daily interactions

²⁵ The movement involved not only linguists but also writers, composers, and actors, such as Blanka Péchy, and other representatives from the field of humanities. These professionals, who are engaged in arts and humanities, may be described with the term *entellektüel* or *intellektuel* (‘intellectual’) in Hungarian, besides being members of *értelmiség* (‘intelligentsia’). In contrast to this, other members of the intelligentsia, professionals such as doctors, engineers, scientists, were labelled as *értelmiségi* (‘intellectual/professional, having an intellectual occupation, non-working class person’).

with other people and with their physical and cultural environment. Therefore, humans cannot exist without myth and metaphor, which endow reality and their own actions with “meaning”, but which are, in turn, mediated through the priorities and choices their language-and-culture offers.

As a consequence of the “neurotic quest for some kind of knowable reality” (Hasan 1985: 15) or certain absolute values according to which people can live their life and organise their ideas, humans use metaphors and myths of various kinds to make sense of their experience. Objectivism is such a myth, as are nationalism and religion, to mention three of the most powerful ones. As the table in Section 2 of Appendix B shows, among the metaphors for language two of these myths may be present: nationalism in the form of the metaphors which are grounded in our understanding of language as a feature of communities, endowed by genealogical and genetic traits, and objectivism in the form of the metaphors through which we see language as a conduit and instrument, and which is to be used to explore the putatively objective facts of reality. Religion, in turn, is present in the form of the metaphor which creates an association between the role of a purist (“language cultivators”, pedants, and other enthusiasts of language) and that of a spiritual leader in society. The latter metaphor is discussed by Thomas (1991: 19-34) alongside other self-images of the purist. The view which attributes such a role to individuals or to a certain group of individuals springs from the conceptualisation of language as being a more or less suitable device, or “instrument” for the achievement of certain goals or serving certain purposes. To describe things “as they are in reality” is just one of those possible purposes.

The concepts of HIGH and LOW when applied to language are the entailments of a set of orientational metaphors, which also account for the perception that there are “higher” and “lower” forms of language. As mentioned earlier, in speech communities with a strong tendency towards a normative linguistic culture, both the position of those who are able to judge what is “good” and what is “bad” for language, and the position of a standard or literary variety (as is shown in the table) are understood as being “superior”. These orientational spatial metaphors are projected onto other fields of human experience, and thus both speakers and language varieties can be described with conceptual oppositional pairs which correspond to the two poles of the spatial

metaphors HIGH and LOW. The list of oppositional pairs is endless, given that metaphors of language and language use can be taken from various areas of human experience, including nature, culture, health and well-being, morale, and aesthetics. But one of the oppositional pairs is of particular interest in the understanding of preoccupations with language, namely the pair “pure” and “impure”, which originates from the conceptual field of hygiene, but which is widely applied in religious thinking and practice as well. Table 5 shows some further examples of similar oppositional pairs which are applied to language in the discourse of linguistic purism.

Table 5: Oppositional source domains for metaphors for LANGUAGE

| | | |
|----|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | HIGH | LOW |
| 2 | GOOD | BAD |
| 3 | BEAUTIFUL (<i>formosus</i>) | UGLY (<i>deformed</i>) |
| 4 | PURE | IMPURE |
| 5 | HEALTHY | ILL |
| 6 | CLEAN | ADULTERATED |
| 7 | WHOLE / COMPLETE | ERODED |
| 8 | ORGANISED / CONTROLLED | DISORGANISED / UNCONTROLLED |
| 9 | SECURE | INSECURE |
| 10 | STRUCTURED | UNSTRUCTURED |
| 11 | CULTIVATED learnèd | UNCULTIVATED spontaneous |
| 12 | CORRECT | INCORRECT/NOT CORRECT |

Each of these oppositional pairs implies a different field of human interest, and the field from which a given metaphor is taken accounts for the metaphor with which the purist refers to his craft, as is also shown by Thomas’s (1991) account of the imagery of purism.

For an understanding of the origin of value-laden postures towards language some of the oppositional pairs in Table 5 need further explanation. The first pair is the primary spatial metaphor, the second and the third are taken from the field of ethics and aesthetics, respectively. The fifth pair of metaphors is grounded in the concept of human well-being and therefore medicine, whilst the fourth pair applies to a number of fields of human knowledge, but they are particularly important because of the role they play in

defining taboo in religious practices (Thomas 1991: 331-333; Douglas 1966). Further images are taken from the field of geology and horticulture (nature). The conceptual metaphors for language itself, which are shown in the table in Section 2 of Appendix B, are endowed with value based on similar oppositional pairs. The list of opposites in Table 5 above shows that language can be thought of as existing in space (and in terms of the CONTAINER and CONDUIT metaphors delimited by outer boundaries as well as characterised by inner lines). The metaphors of well-being highlight the aspect of language according to which it is seen as a LIVING BEING. It is also conceptualised as an ETHICAL BEING, that is to say, it has human characteristics, but also as a WORK OF ART (it has aesthetic qualities). The oppositional pairs taken from geology and gardening show that language can be understood also as ORGANIC GROWTH, and as such, as a part of nature. The pairs 10 and 11, on the other hand, locate language as a part of culture: having or lacking structure (similarly to elements of the built environment, for instance), or being cultivated/learnèd or “untamed” (“cultivation” itself is an organic/horticultural metaphor but when it is applied to language, it has to do with erudite postures; hence I list it here as a quality belonging to culture). The pairs listed under (8) and (9) are grounded in concepts of psychological state. They both refer to the position / situation of the individual in society; (8) to the way the individual is perceived by other members of his or her community, and therefore this pair of values is extended to language by metonymy; (9) to the way individuals perceive their position among other members of society. The latter is the only one of these oppositional pairs not directly applied to language, but, through processes of meaning construction and blending, it may come to be applied to language (as we shall see especially in Chapter 3 in the discussion of attitudes towards “unstructured” and “uncultivated” vernaculars v. the “learnèd” and “structured”, as well as “controlled” prestige languages).

The dichotomy involved in the oppositional pairs (8), (9), and (12) requires elucidation because of the change of perspective across these pairs: (8) and (12) reflect ways in which an individual’s (linguistic) behaviour may be perceived or the way in which an individual perceives others. (9), however, has to do with the self-perception of the individual. Pléh (2003: 256-278) provides a socio-psychological insight into the effects of linguistic purism and control on language use on the level of the individual and

society. In his study of hypercorrection he explains the differences between the Labovian interpretation of linguistic norm and the way in which it operates in Hungarian society. In the former case, it means the imitation of the language use of higher social classes, because this serves as a precondition of upward social mobility, as also shown by Hasan (1985: 10). In Hungarian society, linguistic correctness has a further social aspect, given that it is not based on the individual's desire to imitate manners of speaking which they associate with members of higher social classes, but it *requires* adaptation, on the part of all speakers, to the model set by "language cultivators", pedants, and teachers, whose language and social behaviour constitute a moral example for the rest of society, and who often invoke *littérateurs* of even higher authority (writers, poets) in their practices of setting the "norm". Certain occurrences of spontaneous speech are therefore considered as instances of incorrect behaviour, linguistic laxity and sloppiness, which are taken into account as signs of laziness, lack of education, a moral deficiency. This is a secondary control on language use, imposed from the outside rather than reflecting individuals' personal aspirations. These imposed prescriptive postures imply a higher degree of self-monitoring in the production of utterances. In Pléh's view, hypercorrection as well as pedants' superstitions concerning correct and incorrect usage are due to the operation of such self-monitoring, in which awareness of the linguistic norm functions as an internal, mental, grammatical, lexical, and phonological censor. The accurate knowledge of this norm is attributed to the most educated members of the community. These personalities represent a positive ideal in the collective consciousness in normative societies. Pléh therefore suggests the introduction of the psychoanalytical concept of superego to the study of language, and explicates the functioning of linguistic norm with the control imposed by such a "linguistic superego".

The application of the metaphor "superego" to language and linguistic behaviour means that awareness of "rules of proper usage", as well as the claim that a "unified standard variety" exists "out there", imply a conscious or unconscious tendency in society towards a belief in the legitimacy of higher authority. What is more, such societies can be characterised with a positive attitude towards this authority. If there is, generally speaking, a largely tacit agreement concerning the unquestioned authority of certain persons in a society – in other words, if authority functions as a source of security

for members of a society – this collective posture is manifest in attitudes towards any field of human experience involving authority (and authoritative components such as institutions), including, *inter alia*, language. The workings of the “linguistic superego” result in a heightened awareness of language, although usually not the scientific kind of awareness, among speakers. Furthermore, the existence of a collective “linguistic superego” – which is taken here for a theoretical-analytical construct – presupposes the existence of a collective linguistic subconscious. The “security v. insecurity” oppositional pair in Table 5 is rooted in the collective subconscious and it accounts for the insistence on seeing language as internally divided along the lines of positive and negative values. One side of the opposition imposes a threat (negative values) in the collective subconscious; therefore, the other side is seen as desirable for the community. As we shall see in Chapters 2 and 3, insecurity about (and preoccupation with) language may be grounded in the myth of nationalism. One of the potential responses is to “protect” language not only through institutional practices but also through “standardising” and demonstrating its regularity and complexity (solidity!) of structure.²⁶

The reasoning outlined above is supported by anthropological theories of purity and pollution beliefs. According to Douglas (1966), pollutants play an important role in maintaining social structures. The oppositional pairs of “pure v. impure”, “health v. illness”, “complete v. eroded” are not about hygiene or language, but about moral symbols based on people’s concepts of impurity. People classify their social life into two opposite categories by defining and separating the polluted parts from unpolluted ones: this is to show what is acceptable and unacceptable. This symbolic system provides moral order in societies. “In chasing dirt, in papering, decorating, tidying we are not governed by anxiety to escape disease, but are positively re-ordering our environment, making it conform to an idea” (Douglas 1966: 2). Creating order is an attempt to relate form to function, and therefore rituals of purity and impurity make unity in experience. Douglas observed that some pollution and purity beliefs are used as analogies for expressing a general view of the social order. The ideal order of society can be

²⁶ Work by early grammarians of vernacular languages as well as by poets who first composed in a certain way in a vernacular points in this direction; the conceptual metaphor that seems to underlie such discourses suggests that transparency of STRUCTURE as well as CLARITY is language’s DEFENSE; for details see Chapter 3.

maintained by means of completing a purification circle in rituals. This involves the rejection of the unaccepted part of the binary opposition, as well as the separation of the parts believed to be polluted through the demarcation of the borders between pure and impure, acceptable and unacceptable. It also includes the protection of the pure parts from the intrusion of impure elements and finally, the purification of the impure elements (through calquing, for instance). All these practices play a part in the activity of purists in the purification process of language as well.

To recapitulate the three theories of myth and reality that have been discussed so far, people's search for security in Hasan's thought parallels the search for truth in Lakoff's and the search for purity in Douglas's concept. They all stand for the attempt to force experience into logical categories on the basis of the experiential image provided by that of the body. This projection of a structured image on an unstructured one leads to the structured perception of the latter as well, and in the process of projection the characterising features of the original image are transmitted to the other phenomena. This is why it is possible to talk about language in terms of moral, aesthetic, religious or physical categories and this is what accounts for the projection of fears of religious / physical pollution onto language. Similarly, as the known dangers of society might be a vehicle for the understanding of the selection of bodily themes according to which the social experience is structured, they can also be a means of understanding what it is that a given movement of linguistic purism finds dangerous for language.

Mintz's (1991) enquiries into what we mean at different points of history when we speak of things as "pure" seem to be in concert with Douglas's theory of purity and pollution. Mintz's "speculations on the meaning of marzipan" (again, from the field of anthropology) provide a particularly relevant insight into changing concepts of purity, and suggest that shifts in our understanding of what we mean by "pure" are due to the fact that purity is a quality which can be attained – and thought of – in two fundamentally different ways. On the one hand, "pure" can be a "natural, unaltered, unprocessed, simple and unspoilt product of nature's agents", but on the other hand, it can also be "scientifically aseptic, biologically cleansed, hygienic, free of germs and microbes", and as such, "safe" (Mintz 1991: 103). Both understandings of purity may be equally comforting, Mintz argues, but, as is obvious from the oppositional pairs which

are a part and parcel of the concept of purity, they require radically different attitudes on the part of humans: intervention or the lack thereof. The usefulness of Mintz's list of opposite pairs to this study is threefold. Let us recall that PURITY is seen as GOOD in the dichotomised system of source domains for metaphors of LANGUAGE, which were listed in Table 5 above. Now, Mintz's reasoning pinpoints that purity is a quality whose values are based on two different understandings of the concept, which are not only each other's opposites but which also mutually exclude each other. Almost every instance of Mintz's list of mutually exclusive approaches to purity is directly applicable to the way in which "good" as a quality can be conceived in contrasting ways with regards to language. We shall see in Chapter 2 (Section 2.1) for instance that two groups of Hungarian language reformists, the "innovators" (*neológus*) and "traditionalists" (*ortológus*) saw the benefits of their activities to language in precisely opposite ways. Language reformers' (and other language interventionists') actions are determined by the *value* of purity (the "natural" or the "chemical" kind) with which they operate. Lőrincze's metaphoric image of acceptable language elements as "flourishing (and therefore *cultivated*) crops" v. "wild flowers", discussed in Section 1.2 of this chapter, was an example of this. But the dichotomy of the values of purity has a broader implication to ways in which we talk about language, too. We have seen in the Introduction through the example of "standard" – and I shall argue further in the chapters which follow – that the kind of dichotomy which characterises our understandings of *purity* typifies many keywords of everyday and scholarly discourses about language; examples include the following terms: *norm* as 'usual, habitual' v. 'a normative ideal'; *identification* of "good" and "bad" language elements and language varieties by self-sameness and difference from other entities; *original* as 'first one of a kind' or 'that which is imitated'. Ultimately, the understanding of a "standard" language variety or a "prestige language", whose structure is regulated and controlled, as GOOD, as opposed to a vernacular variety or spontaneous speech, which are "unregulated" or "regulated only by nature" (and therefore "dangerous"), as BAD, or precisely the other way around, goes back to this dichotomy, too. In the broadest sense, it is the inherently paradoxical features of these terms about language and culture which make the reinterpretation of

existing myths possible and open up opportunities for a linguistic community to redefine its culturally mediated reality.

1.4. Summary and outlook: the myths of objectivism, nationalism, and realignments in the 1950s language movement

Both metaphoric and metonymic structuring as well as mythological explanation are processes which characterise the Hjelmslevian substance of content and account for the rise and evolution of content-substance phenomena. In the framework outlined above, I shall briefly revisit the period – intellectual, historical, and political circumstances – which provided the background to Lajos Lőrincze’s text and work. By reinventing the metaphors (i.e. grounding them in source domains which were previously unused) the new language movement brought about a new way of thinking about language; specifically, it realigned the interpretation of language and linguistic phenomena with the myth of socially oriented objectivism rather than aesthetically or xenophobically oriented nationalism. In Hungarian, both myths project the same image of language, that of a unified, united, quasi-homogeneous “standard” variety, but the way in which this variety is attained and maintained is different, as the two large-scale frameworks of interpretation (the myths of objectivity and nationalism) operate with different notions of purity, and assign values to language elements and methods of intervention accordingly.

In his periodisation of Hungarian linguistic purism, Fábán (1984) evaluates the first decade of the post-war language cultivation movement as reformist and compares its importance to that of the language reform movement, hallmarked with the name of Ferenc Kazinczy (1759–1831), in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. The beginning of the twentieth-century “revolutionary” period is demarcated by the publication of *Nyelvművelésünk főbb kérdései* (‘Key questions of [our] language cultivation’; Lőrincze 1953b), a programmatic, multi-author volume of the new wave of “language cultivation”, and by Lőrincze’s (1953a) own volume, *Nyelv és Élet* (‘Language and life’) published in the same year. The end of this intensive, revolutionary period is marked by a conference entitled *Anyanyelvi műveltségünk* (‘Hungarian vernacular-

language culture/The culture of our mother tongue'), held in Pécs, in southern Hungary, in 1959. The aim of this conference was to assess and evaluate the results and efficiency of the language cultivation movement during the preceding decade and to allocate new tasks for the advocates of the movement. The following period, which started with the conference and which was still the dominating trend in 1984, was characterised by a more relaxed pattern of purist orientations.

Lőrincze and other paragons of the new language movement put particular emphasis on three principles. According to these, the aims of the "mother-tongue movement" (*anyanyelvi mozgalom*) are (cf. Lőrincze 1953a; 1953b; Fábíán 1984: 99-139):

- (1) to differentiate the "new" language cultivation movement from the "old" one;
- (2) "to demarcate the limits of correctness somewhere closer to linguistic reality" (Fábíán 1984: 104), and therefore fight against purist dogmatism and xenophobic purism, to eliminate "falsehood and misleading prohibition signs" (*hamis tilalomfa*) and to examine language according to the rules of dialectic philosophy, which means to take into consideration language change;
- (3) to involve the general public, "all social layers of our people" (Fábíán 1984: 124) in the cultivation and "guarding" of the mother tongue by educating them to "linguistic fastidiousness".

The last, sixth excerpt cited in Section 1 of Appendix A is by Lőrincze, and it illustrates how these goals were imagined in the specific sense, in their practical implementation on language intervention (or the lack thereof). Three points deserve particular attention from this passage. First, the passage observes that there is a difference between "real speech" and "speech which is officially deemed correct". Second, elimination of this difference is possible through an in-depth understanding of innovation in language and the reasons underlying language change. Elimination of this difference, in turn, would bring hesitation and uncertainty (on the part of speakers?) to an end. Third, not words but sentences have the power to show clarity of thought. These

seemingly anti-purist arguments are based on tolerance towards language elements which have already been accepted in the speech community.

To take the last, third observation as a starting point to the discussion that follows, the belief that reality, as content, is wrapped in language, as a form or container, is the cornerstone of the myth of objectivism, as described by Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 159-223). In addition to this, Thomas (1991: 49-52) states that objectivity arguments play a key role in the rationally based discourse of purism. Lőrincze, as well as other linguist representatives of the language cultivation movement in the early 1950s, advocated almost obsessively that value-judgements about language use can be, and must be, based on “objective” criteria. That is to say, the results of linguistic research conducted in the field of language change will explicate the true, inherent logic of changes, and will permit drawing a line between “acceptable” and “unacceptable” language elements closer to “linguistic reality” (*nyelvi valóság*), as both László Deme and Lőrincze (1953a) put it. Similarly, Lőrincze is critical of their predecessors for being “subjective” in their judgement of “correctness” and acceptance or rejection of language elements. He insists that decisions about language issues (*a nyelv ügyei*) should not be based on personal feelings and arbitrary arguments. In other words, the advocates of the new language movement reject only nationally and aesthetically oriented considerations from their predecessors’ principles, and not the need for conscious human control over language use. Aesthetic (and elitist) arguments are seen in this reasoning as the motivating factors of non-rationally based purism at the end of the nineteenth, and during the first part of the twentieth century. In this light, the new language movement’s principles represented a shift in the particular *values* against which the quality (or “purity”) of “good” language is judged. At the same time, there seems to be agreement between the two trends about the need for secondary control over language use, and the corresponding limitation (or expansion) of lexical choices and linguistic repertoire.

The second observation to be made on the passage by Lőrincze is that he claims to show increased tolerance toward language elements which have been accepted by the entire speech community, and which are therefore understood as the “treasures” or “common possessions” of the whole nation. That is to say, wide-spread familiarity with a word among speakers may protect the word from linguistic censure, to which it might

have been subject on etymological grounds according to the principles dominating in previous trends of “language cultivation”. According to Thomas (1991: 41), “the familiar/unfamiliar” distinction may “increase cohesion or solidarity by increasing members’ perceptions of their group’s distinctiveness”. Thus, arguments concerning the familiarity of language elements have to do with the solidarity and prestige function of the “national” language. The intelligibility (or familiarity) argument is a technique of rationalising non-rationally based purism. It is usually applied to word-formation or to the borrowing of loanwords from other (related or unrelated) languages. Again, Lőrincze promotes tolerance towards foreign loanwords. At the same time, in his popular articles and essays on language varieties²⁷, he follows purist practices when he argues that dialectal usage or language elements whose use is restricted to a particular group in the speech community should be excluded from the standard variety, on the grounds that they would promote linguistic and therefore social disunity. This is the position Lőrincze takes in one of his articles published in *Nyelvőr* and also in the volume *Nyelv és élet*. This article is an answer to an enquiry made by journalists of a local newspaper in the *Kunság* region of Hungary. For stylistic considerations, the journalists were wondering whether it was correct to use the word *gaz* ‘weed’ in its dialectal meaning ‘wheat’ in the local newspaper, instead of the standard *búza* ‘wheat’. Lőrincze’s answer is straightforward and prohibitive: he specifies that words which are not comprehensible for all members of “Hungarian-speaking society” should not appear in the press. Moreover, the use of this particular dialectal word might, he claims, hinder agricultural production, given that it means ‘weed’ in the “standard language” instead of ‘wheat’. In Thomas’s (1991: 52) interpretation the proclaimed need for intelligibility is really a mask for pedants’ individual aesthetic judgements, and the underlying elitist motivation is a desire to attain national solidarity by removing (language) barriers to social unity.

In this light, the call for a “clear”, “united”, “unified”, and “homogeneous” standard language variety promotes not only the solidarity but also the prestige function

²⁷ See for example the articles published in the chapter *Nemzeti nyelvünk egységéért* (‘For the unity of our national language’; Lőrincze 1953a: 117-127) in which Lőrincze comments not only on the “correctness” of dialectal words but also on the question of dialectal texts when they appear in folksongs presented by choirs from Budapest.

of language. The presence of certain elements, which belong to a “substandard” variety, is only appropriate in certain stylistic registers and regional varieties; their introduction to the standard variety is prohibited.²⁸ This argument unveils the kind of redefinition which occurred with regards to norms of linguistic behaviour during the early 1950s in Hungary. In Thomas’s (1991: 53-55) typology, the solidarity function of language is a characteristic of populist or democratising forms of purism, whereas the mentality which finds the presence of “substandard” or dialectal elements threatening for language, and therefore argues for their exclusion on the grounds that they would promote linguistic disunity, plays a role also in elitist purism. The prestige function of a language, as Thomas argues, is paralleled by national pride, the perception that what is “ours” is superior, and the belief that language purity confers superiority.

In conclusion, Lórincze and his circle opposed extreme and non-rationally oriented purism and they represented a milder and compromising form of purist beliefs, that of rationally based democratising but elitist purism. According to Thomas (1991: 35-59), rational arguments cannot be regarded as a primary rational basis for purism. The primary rationale for purist attitudes is provided by sociolinguistic criteria which were discussed above: the solidarity and the prestige function of language. Linguistic purism is governed primarily by non-rational motivations, personal – and “subjective” – aesthetic inclinations, which are justified by a series of rational explanations. The effect of non-rationally based purism, then, is intolerance and closure to certain language elements and this mentality is embedded in nationally oriented aesthetic values. Hence, purism is very much concerned with “limiting and determining lexical choices by praising some words and dispraising others” (Thomas 1991: 40). Purist activity and conscious governance of spontaneous use of language thus lead not only to a reduction of the lexical (and also syntactical) resources of language, but also, and more importantly, to a limitation in speakers’ choices and linguistic repertoire. Therefore, secondary (institutionalised) control on language usage, and the restriction of speakers’

²⁸ We have seen earlier that the view which understands linguistic variation in relative terms (as compared to the idealised – and imagined – “standard” variety) dominated discourses of language cultivation even in the late 1990 (cf. the definition of *nyelvi norma* ‘norms of usage’ in Grétsy & Kemény 1996, discussed earlier) and permeates ways of thinking about language (Hungarian) to this day.

freedom of choice from a larger number of linguistic elements, is a way of imposing social control on members of a society or on citizens of a particular state.

To summarise: this chapter has explored conceptual metaphor, metonymy, and blending as analytical tools by applying them to discourses of language cultivation and purism, in particular to programmatic texts written at the outset of a new, reformist language movement in the 1950s in Hungary. The discussion elucidated orientational and conceptual metaphors which underpin ways of talking about language in the discourses analysed. These metaphors are grounded in various fields of human experience, and, in a general sense, they contribute to the construction of large-scale myths concerning language. The myths that endow language use with value, in turn, gain their expression in semantic opposites according to which quality (or “purity”) of language is defined. This dichotomy makes shifts in language attitudes possible and accounts for the particular ways in which a linguistic culture defines itself. The analytical framework suggested in this chapter will be brought to bear on the discussion of shifts in attitudes to language in the three chapters that follow.

2 Space, time, and anchorage: standard languages and language standards in Hungary and the Circum-Pannonian region

Minden Nemzet a maga nyelvén lett tudós, de idegenen sohasem. [...] Anglus, Frantzia regen tud már Sidoúl, Görögül, Deákul a maga tudósaival; de még is mig önnön nyelvét tudósá, nagyá' nem tette, fel nem mehetet. Magyar országba is régen tudnak már a Papok, s' némely tanúlok Sidoul, Görögül, de azért hol vannak a tudományok?

György Bessenyei (1747–1811), *Magyarság*²⁹ (1778)

The purpose of this chapter is to look at the evolution of ideas about language, in particular, how “superiority” and “correctness”³⁰ came to be associated with certain language varieties (known as “standards”) in European linguistic thought, and how such ideas were later imported to Central and Eastern Europe. The anxiety surrounding an idealized, multi-purpose language variety is contrasted with the equally anxious,

²⁹ The oft-quoted lines from Bessenyei’s 1778 article entitled *Magyarság* (‘Hungarianness, the Hungarian people’; cf. Footnote 46 on p. 79) are cited from (<http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/gepesk/corpus/xviii/besgy041.htm>) in the original orthography. English version: “All nations attained wisdom and knowledge in their own language, never in a foreign tongue. [...] The English and the French have studied Hebrew (lit. ‘the Jewish language’), Greek, and Latin for a long time now, with scholars of their own; yet neither the English nor the French have risen to success before rendering their own language erudite and great. In Hungary, too, men of the cloth and certain students have been well-versed in Hebrew and Greek since time unknown; and yet where is the scholarship which would be worthy of note?” Bessenyei’s stance will be discussed in Section 2.2 of this chapter (pp. 90-92) with regards to his proposal for a “pure Hungraian Academy”.

³⁰ “Correctness” is a *value* which is a constant preoccupation of pedants, and even stylists, of language. Yet, there are no language-internal factors which would allow its delineation. “Correctness”, therefore, is culture- and context-dependent, and it is a notion which has to do with what is seen as *appropriate* in communicative situations, rather than with the *properties* and *peculiarities* of a language (for the terms *property*, *peculiarity*, and *appropriateness*, see Chapter 3, end of Section 3.5). The crypto-metaphor (and metonymy) underlying *superiority* points to the discussion in Chapter 1, namely, that GOOD is HIGH, and therefore, instances of language use which are seen as “correct” or “good” constitute, conceptually, a “superior” variety. *What* is selected and labelled as “correct” in language use at a particular time is an intriguing question. To mention but one example, in contemporary “standard” English – and in the languages of Europe in general – discourses of “political correctness”, and the expressions this discourse deems “good”, and therefore desirable, and “bad”, and therefore undesirable, are concerned with pursuing the “common good” by controlling the use of language. For a sceptical, and somewhat ironic, view on this matter see Deutscher (2011: 148). In this chapter, I am interested in exploring large-scale cultural historical developments to find out how ideas of “correctness” come to matter, and how they are, in turn, institutionalised in Central and Eastern Europe in a period of growing linguistic consciousness. The elements of language which satisfy the criterion of “correctness” remain largely beyond my scope here.

although less obvious, quest for linguistic anchorage. Evidence from Hungarian, Romance (mostly Romanian), and Slavonic (mostly Czech) languages will be discussed, with special regard to the historically evolving status of languages and language varieties.³¹ An enquiry of this kind falls within the disciplinary framework described, for instance, by Nicholas Ostler (2006; see Introduction) as “diachronic sociolinguistics”.

In order to delineate the position of Hungarian linguistic thought among attitudes towards, and beliefs about, language in circum-Pannonia, the present discussion takes into account both language-external and language-internal factors which play a part in the privileging of particular purist ideas about language. Thus, a secondary aim is to demonstrate the usefulness of the understanding of attitudes towards language in the study of Central-East European culture. What is at stake here is a set of socio-cultural and historical phenomena which find their expression in discussions about, and intervention in, language change, usually for political ends, as well as in an understanding of what language *ought to* stand for in the life of a community. Discourses of linguistic purism are often dismissed by professional linguists as language-external phenomena, which are therefore of little interest for the systematic study of language. This chapter, however, is an attempt to pinpoint the explanatory power of linguistic purism in the study of culture, through an inter- and intra-cultural interpretation of attitudes towards language: intra-cultural inasmuch as it describes purism as a characteristic of broadly defined speech-communities³², and inter-cultural as an investigation of the cross-linguistic transmission of ideas about language.

³¹ The selection of these languages and linguistic communities was explained in the Introduction, and it is a point to which we shall return later in this chapter.

³² As we have seen in the Introduction, the definition of *speech communities* is hotly debated in linguistic circles to this day, depending on the analytical approach that various schools adopt. Strictly speaking, members of a speech community are understood as speakers who regularly interact with each other, using a similar language variety, in various spheres of everyday life (cf. the sociolinguistic approach discussed in the Introduction). Here I use the term *speech community* in a broader sense, referring simply to a group of speakers who share the same native language(s). The boundaries of a speech community are in this sense, of course, unclear, and can be imagined as overlapping circles or stripes rather than territories separated by a clear line. In Central and Eastern Europe this is especially true of speakers of Slavonic languages, and of speakers of varieties of Romanian, to a certain extent. Since Hungarian is surrounded by languages unrelated to it, geographical linguistic borders between Hungarian and other languages are far less obscure than, for instance, linguistic boundaries between Czech and Polish. There are, of course, overlaps here, too, but bilingualism in a Hungarian–Slovak or Hungarian–Serbian speaking area is more clearly defined than in a Czech–Slovak, Serbian–Croatian, or even

The first part of this chapter is an attempt to identify a set of key terms which regularly emerge in scholarly texts about conscious intervention in language change, and whose definition is unclear and thus problematic when one tries to explore linguistic purism. A predicament of discussing attitudes towards language is that such attitudes are mediated through a particular language, that is, the native language of the speaker whose beliefs about language are influenced by the very attitudes they attempt to problematise. This dilemma is recurrent not only in popular ways of talking about language but also in scholarly writing about attitudes towards language.

A possible way to examine the emergence of purist attitudes towards language is to explore language-external factors: social and historical conditions which brought about the rise of language movements targeting the establishment of a certain language variety which could then serve as a model for speakers of that language. The second part of this chapter looks at these language-external factors in three discrete speech communities, namely the Czech, Hungarian, and Romanian communities during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This period is a key stage in the progress of linguistic insight in the communities in question, and it also saw the institutionalization of the conventions and norms which were brought about by this increasing language-consciousness.

Despite the fact that the analysis focuses on a delimited territory in a relatively well-defined period, the explanatory power of socio-historical conditions with regard to attitudes towards language remains unsatisfactory. The three speech communities display not only similarities but also fundamental differences in their patterns of language attitudes and purist orientation. Therefore, the third part of this chapter proposes a new approach to the discussion of attitudes towards language, combining language-external factors with language-internal ones by exploring the notion of anchorage: linguistic and cultural affinity, and a sense of security or insecurity that arises in a community due to the awareness (or lack thereof) of such affinity. The in-depth analysis of language-internal features, that is, how anchorage is explored in the making of the idealised variety of a language, remains beyond the scope of this chapter. My

Czech–Polish one. This is why the broader, and at times misleading, definition of “speech community” is acceptable for the purposes of this chapter.

conclusions nevertheless contribute to our understanding of how a sense of cultural and linguistic isolation brings about the emergence of purist attitudes towards language in speech communities.

2.1 Approaches to linguistic purism and “language cultivation”

A glance at the table of contents in handbooks of sociolinguistics is enough to convince us that neither “purism” nor other value-laden, “pedantic” postures, such as prescriptivism, appear among the usual subdomains of the study of social aspects of language use. While the study of linguistic purism lacks disciplinary recognition, the study of attitudes towards language pervades most branches of sociolinguistics. Examples include: the study of language shift and the ethnolinguistic vitality of communities, language planning, and the politics of language, on the one hand, and various intersections of ideologies with language use, such as language and gender, language and class, language and power, speech versus script, on the other. Accordingly, when exploring linguistic purism it is essential to scrutinise a set of *termini tecnici* which figure in both lay and scholarly discourses about language, but which need further clarification in order to gain both inter-cultural and intra-cultural adequacy (cf. Footnote 10 on p. 26).

The terms *linguistic purism*, *language cultivation*, and *language reform* require elucidation before a contrastive analysis of attitudes towards language in nineteenth-century Central and Eastern Europe is possible. First, I shall look at approaches to the umbrella terms *linguistic purism* and *prescriptivism*. Second, I shall identify various practical applications of purist ideas in language movements, differentiating “language cultivation” from “language reform movements”. This will allow the delineation of several kinds of purisms, which, in turn, will pinpoint the mismatches between four ways of defining linguistic purism and related phenomena. Finally, the difficulties in finding a cross-culturally and cross-linguistically relevant definition of linguistic purism will provide the rationale for the contrastive analysis of language-external factors in three discrete speech-communities, to which I shall turn in the second part of this chapter.

According to Thomas (1991: 190), linguistic purism is a universal characteristic of the standardisation of languages. It is concerned with the necessity of conscious and planned intervention in the natural processes of language change, thus prescribing norms of linguistic conduct. In ideological terms, “purism seeks to imprint a particular set of attitudes and a particular code of linguistic behaviour on a contemporary speech community”. In practical terms, purism is “an attitude to language which labels certain elements as “pure”, therefore desirable, and others as “impure”, therefore undesirable” (Thomas 1991: 19). The selection and distinguishing of “pure” and “impure” elements is governed by value judgments and ideas about language which are embedded in the given language-and-culture and are a part and parcel of people’s everyday use of language; for this very reason they cannot be easily perceived by users of language. On the other hand, purity cannot be subject to direct empirical verification and for the professional linguist the basic distinction between a “pure” and “impure” element is, to say the least, questionable. The dichotomy of attitudes towards purism as well as the absence of studies which analyse purism as a general linguistic phenomenon are due to a number of factors which spring from the paradox that the examination of linguistic purism is, in fact, the analysis of cultural values which inform linguistic purism, whilst purism itself is such a cultural value.

In her book on popular attitudes towards language, Cameron (1995: 3) argues that “making value judgments on a language is an integrated part of using it”, that is to say, people do not merely speak their language, they also speak *about* it. Using a language is a social and public act, and it is concerned with non-linguistic norms, which inform people’s beliefs about language. Therefore value judgments and ideas about language are governed by deeper social conflicts, and attitudes towards language or language varieties become the symbolic expression of this conflict.

As we saw in Chapter 1, linguistic value judgments gain official expression in the form of conventions and rules of “proper” usage, which are often represented in dictionaries, grammar books and manuals on linguistic “correctness”, as well as in the activities of some linguists, various elites and academies, such as the reformist language cultivation movement associated with Lőrincze’s name in Hungary. These trends adopt a certain paradigm of linguistic thought, that of prescriptivism, which is concerned with

the conscious governance of unconscious modes of language use. Such interventionist approaches lack the theoretical refinement and technical apparatus, although not necessarily the sophistication, of linguistic methods whose principles are non-prescriptive, “free” of value-laden postures, and whose goal is the “objective”³³ analysis of linguistic phenomena.

As is to be expected, in normative linguistic cultures, where the linguistic literature abounds in prescriptive publications, any dealing with language may be understood as “language cultivation” (French *cultivation de la langue maternelle*, German *Sprachkultur*, Romanian *cultura limbei*, Czech *jazyková kultura*, Hungarian *nyelvművelés*) or as the “treatment of language” (Fr. *soigner la langue*, Ger. *Sprachpflege*, Hung. *nyelvápolás*). *Nyelvművelés* is a peculiar brand of linguistic purism. As Sárkány (1938) points out in his study on cultural contact between Bohemia and Hungary, “the Czech scholarly society [before its reorganisation in 1828] was initially German, both in its language and in spirit. [...] Language cultivation is the invention of the Hungarian Academy in the Danube basin” (cited in Eóry 2002: 145). However, the idea is by no means a Hungarian patent. Hungarians imported it from French, Italian, and mainly German lands in the early period of the Enlightenment. In essence, language cultivation claims to have no purist agenda, and to be concerned merely with the “safeguarding” rather than the “cleansing” of language. Nevertheless, in the practice of “cultivating” it is inevitable to assign certain values to language elements, at times very sophisticated and subtle labels of usage and style, which express, on the one hand, and reinforce, on the other, the existing stereotypes and judgments about a particular mode of language use. In spite of the fact that *refinement* would be perhaps a better English gloss for the cover terms referring to activities concerning the “betterment” or “improvement” of language use, I

³³ The myth of OBJECTIVITY was discussed in Chapter 1. The Introduction touched on the various, and radically different, disciplinary frames of the study of language, the definition of *linguistics* as a ‘social’ v. ‘natural’ science being the most emblematic – and problematic – example of these controversies. Certain schools celebrate *deduction* as an analytical approach (e.g. generative grammar), others – such as sociolinguistic and anthropological approaches to the study of language – use linguistic data as a starting point for language description (an *inductive* approach), yet others explain language change through *abduction* and analogy (cf. Anttila 1992). I apply the term *objective* to these divergent approaches with caution, and only in order to point out that all these trends have “standardised” working methods and analytical tools, as opposed to *language cultivation* (another meta-discourse about language) which lacks methodological commitments (which does not necessarily imply a lack of rigour).

use the term “language cultivation” throughout because it conveys the powerful horticultural metaphor that irradiates the meaning of the terms in other languages.

Fábián (1984), in his work assessing the history of Hungarian language cultivation, defines the term *language cultivation* as “the conscious governance of unconscious language development” (Fábián 1984: 10). Sándor (2006: 958-995) attempts to problematise language cultivation as a general linguistic phenomenon. It is instructive to contrast Fábián’s and Sándor’s understanding of *nyelvművelés* in their interpretation of the work of early grammarians of Hungarian. According to Sándor, the first “official Hungarian language cultivator” (*nyelvművelő*) was Gábor Szarvas (1832–1895), a secondary school teacher who was appointed to the editorial post of the language cultivation periodical, *Magyar Nyelvőr*³⁴, in 1872. On the other hand, Fábián dates the origins of “conscious cultivation of language” to the second quarter of the sixteenth century, in particular to János Sylvester (b. c1504). Such divergent standpoints are possible because the two authors’ understanding of the notion of “language cultivation” is fundamentally different. For Fábián, the fact that Sylvester wrote a Hungarian–Latin grammar, *Grammatica Hungarolatina* (1539)³⁵, means that the author “cared for and felt fear for the mother tongue”, that is, for Hungarian. According to this view, early enquiries into the structure, history or lexicon of European vernaculars are for the “betterment” of a particular language, and may be understood in terms of the CULTIVATION metaphor. This interpretation of *nyelvművelés* draws a clear line between the “conscious dedication to the cause of (the vernacular) language”, which is *nyelvművelés*, and the “conscious governance and control of language use” (purism).

Fábián’s standpoint is acceptable inasmuch as the preoccupation with the demonstration of the “worthiness” of language was detectable in the work of early grammarians between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries in Hungary, and the first grammars of European languages did normally show normative intentions on the part of the author. Sylvester’s grammar, for instance, was dedicated to his son and intended for the teaching of Latin and, as István Szathmári (1968: 90-92) suggests, Hungarian at the same time. It was written as a preliminary study (*προπαίδευμα*) for his translation of the

³⁴ The first periodical dedicated to language in Hungary; cf. Chapter 1.

³⁵ János Sylvester’s *Grammatica hungarolatina in usum puerorum* appeared in 1539 in Sárvár (cf. Heltai 2006).

New Testament and it forms part of a tradition that dates, in the West, at least from Donatus³⁶. The writing of grammars had traditionally been motivated by the wish to teach proper usage, based on explanations and examples taken from work by great orators, poets and authors, rather than serving merely descriptive purposes. Therefore, early grammars of vernacular languages display prescriptive intentions too; indeed, Sylvester defines grammar as follows: “Grammatica est ars loquendi et scribendi, autoritate optimorum poetarum et oratorum constans” (Szathmári 1968: 92). That is to say, grammar is the technique (in the sense of *techne*) of speech and writing, and it has a practical purpose in teaching this technique. What is more, Sylvester’s linguistic theory displays an awareness of a certain norm, which is set by the language use of the greatest orators and poets. However, the fact that Sylvester’s work is embedded in such a tradition of European grammar writing should by no means lead us to the conclusion that his work should be understood as conscious, or even conscientious, “cultivation” of Hungarian.

Tendencies consciously targeting the “betterment”, “continuous treatment”, or “cultivation” of the “mother tongue” appear only in connection with the spread of the Enlightenment, which saw the rise of the first efforts to launch organised language movements in the linguistic communities of Central and Eastern Europe. As Dezső Dümmerth (1987a: 281-300) convincingly argues, the “awakening of language consciousness” was paralleled by the national awakening of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in the ethnic (and linguistic) communities of the Carpathian basin. Among Hungarian intellectuals this “care for language” was intensified by concerns about the obscure origins of Hungarian and by a feeling of isolation among the surrounding Slavonic-speaking peoples (Sherwood 1996), as well as by the fear of the linguistic oppression of Hungarian by German, the language of the political elite, and perhaps Latin, the official language of the country. Writers, poets, translators, linguists and men of letters, who were engaged in the language reform movement in the late

³⁶ Aelius Donatus (4th century AD) wrote two grammars of Latin, titled *Ars minor* and *Ars major*, the former intended for the elementary teaching of Latin. Similar textbooks were popular during the Middle Ages and were written as a dialogue between the teacher and the pupil. Sylvester’s *Grammatica Hungarolatina*, despite its dedication to his son, belongs to the other tradition of grammar teaching, the one represented by *Ars major*, which was intended for the teacher rather than the pupil.

eighteenth and early nineteenth century, were driven by this fear as well as by a concern for the suitability of Hungarian to embody a “high” literary culture.³⁷ For the first time in the history of Hungarian, they established an organised movement advocating conscious and planned intervention in the processes of language change.

The terms *language reform* and *language movement* are used in this chapter as synonymous with Hungarian *nyelvújítás* ‘language renewal, language rejuvenation’ and Czech *jazyková obrození* ‘language revival’. Nonetheless, various authors disagree about the most prominent features of language reform movements, as is shown in the following table:

Table 6: A synoptic outline of the main features of language movements

| definition of language renewal/movement | Thomas | Auty | Tolnai | Fábián |
|---|--------|------|--------|--------------------------|
| ongoing process in the history of languages | no | | yes | |
| well-defined period in the making of “national” languages | yes | | | only in the narrow sense |
| it requires a dominant figure | yes | | | at times |
| classified as a type of purism | yes | no | | |

In accordance with his understanding of “language cultivation”, Fábián (1984: 10) advocates the view that language change and innovation (*nyelvfejlődés, megújulás*³⁸) are ongoing processes in any given period in the history of every language, but the conscious development of, or intervention in, language (*nyelvfejlesztés*³⁹) first appears as a result of “social change and development”. He argues that the latter – *nyelvfejlesztés* – is a compound noun whose second constituent is derived from a causative verb, which underscores the importance of the conscious component in his understanding of language renewal. For Fábián (1984: 28), *nyelvújítás* ‘language renewal’ in a narrower

³⁷ We shall see further instances of the conceptual structuring of LANGUAGE along the HIGH is SAFETY and LOW is UNCERTAINTY spatial metaphors at the beginning of Chapter 3.

³⁸ The second constituent of the compound noun *nyelv+fejlődés*: ‘language+’development, progress’ derives from the verb *fejlődik* ‘develop, evolve’, which requires a non-agentive subject. The noun *meg-új=ul=ás* (PVB-‘new’=VDER=NDER) derives from the adjective *új* ‘new’ and the verb *újul* ‘rejuvenate, revive’, which is formed with the non-transitive verb-derivational =UL suffix.

³⁹ The second constituent of the compound noun *nyelv+fejlesztés* is ‘improvement, development’ and the verb it derives from, *fejleszt*, is transitive and causative, which requires an agent. Compare this with *nyelvújítás* (*nyelv+újítás*: ‘language+’rejuvenation’), whose second constituent goes back to the same adjective (*új*) and verb (*újul*) as *újulás* but the verb *újít* ‘renew, innovate’ is derived with the transitivity =IT (rather than the intransitive =UL) suffix.

sense is a particular period when conscious intervention in language change dominates over the natural processes of change to a greater extent than in other periods.⁴⁰

Both Thomas and Fábíán stress the fact that language renewals are a result of conscious intervention in language change. A crucial difference in their approach is, however, that for Fábíán language renewals and language movements (*nyelvújítás, nyelvfejlesztés*) are not purist in nature; they are merely specific instances of mankind's genuine interest in matters of language (understood by him as the "mother tongue"), and as such they are just as "natural" processes as language change (*megújulás, nyelvfejlődés*), and just as worthy of the professional linguist's time. It is worthy of note that the morphological make-up of the derived abstract Hungarian nouns, with which Fábíán labels the two kinds of processes (listed above; cf. also Footnotes 38 and 39), allows him to see language change, on the one hand, and intervention in change, on the other, as two sides of the same coin. "Unconscious change" is denoted by abstract nouns derived from intransitive, non-agentive verbs and "conscious intervention" by abstract nouns derived from verbs requiring an agentive subject. Auty (1973: 339) argues that the making of "national" languages and the establishment of a literary norm are instances of a positive, stimulating, and expansive type of purism. Thomas's (1991: 75-84) elaborate system of types of purisms was used as a taxonomic device in Chapter 1. According to this taxonomy, any intervention in language change is defined as purism. Among the various sub-types identified by Thomas, xenophobic purism, which is the only kind widely referred to as "purism", is only the most extreme one; it coexists with "milder" trends such as archaizing, ethnographic, elitist, reformist, and playful purism.

Auty and Tolnai point out that language reform movements are impossible without the involvement of a leading personality, who impersonates the agency that Fábíán's terms (*nyelvújítás, nyelvfejlesztés*) presuppose. The main difference between the "language reformer" and the "language cultivator" is that the former aims at *creating* a new language variety, one which is suitable to guarantee the "worthiness" of a community, while the latter maintains, improves, and cares for the "well-being" of, the putative standard variety. For Thomas (1991: 100), the existence of a leading personality

⁴⁰ Precedents to Fábíán's definition can be found in Tolnai's (1929: 2-8), assessment of the theory and history of "language renewal", which was the first theoretical elaboration of the subject in Hungarian to my knowledge.

is necessary only in the case of the type of purism which he calls “reformist”, whose aim is to transform a language variety into a prestigious, polyvalent medium for an emerging nation. In the course of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the peoples of the Danube valley (among them speakers of varieties of Czech, Romanian and Hungarian) began to accept the possibility that the vernaculars they spoke could be thought of as “our language”, a medium in which all possible public and private activity could be performed. The emergence of a leading figure in this process is part of the reason why the Czech, Hungarian, and Romanian movements, which I discuss later in this chapter, can all be considered reformist at the turn of the late eighteenth early nineteenth century, and are therefore comparable to each other. We have seen in Chapter 1 that such prestige figures of “language cultivation” have become metonymic prototypes (paragons) for the linguist’s craft in general in Hungary.

As the above reasoning shows, it is impossible to specify with absolute clarity based on the works that I have explored what a language reform movement entails and especially what differentiates it from “language cultivation”. There are bundles of features which, if present simultaneously in a speech community, constitute a prototypical language reform movement. Language cultivation can be thought of as a necessary follow-up activity to language “renewal”. Accordingly, its goals are to preserve the language in that “ideal” state which was achieved through the making of the hypothetically homogeneous “literary” or “national” variety in the reformist period, which, in turn, came to be seen as “superior” to other varieties. In the course of “renewing” or “rejuvenating” a language, the idea of a scholarly society was proposed in most speech communities (Bohemia, France, Hungary, Italy, and Romania, to mention only a few). In Hungary and France the role of the academy is salient in “providing guidance” in matters of the “mother tongue” to this day. Despite the fact that such societies were common in the Enlightenment in German lands, too, currently there is no similar organisation whose position would be as privileged, if not hegemonic, as that of the *Accademia della Crusca* in Italy, the *Académie Française* in France, or the *Nyelvművelő Bizottság* (‘language cultivation committee’; recently renamed as *Nyelvművelő és Nyelvi Tanácsadó Kutatóközpont* ‘language cultivation and language advisory research centre’) of the Hungarian Academy. In Hungary, the notion of language reform and “cultivation”

has been fundamentally intertwined with the existence of a learned society whose primary task is the elaboration and maintenance of an “ideal” variety of Hungarian.

It is impossible to understand the phenomenon of linguistic purism by exploring the changing pattern of purist tendencies in a single speech community only. A comparative, and not only historic, approach is needed because purist postures – albeit universal factors among attitudes towards language – have different causes, characteristics, and influences in various speech communities, depending on socio-cultural, historical, and other language-external phenomena. One such factor is the relative status of a language variety in a community. Slovak and Croatian, for instance, display entirely different patterns of linguistic purism from Czech and Serbian, respectively, partly because of the relatively “low” status that was assigned to these language varieties in the linguistic area they share with their more prestigious neighbours. The prestige of a language is based on a number of factors, among which the number of its speakers appears to be crucial, but perhaps more important is the way in which speakers of a language are perceived by other members of the community (usually speakers of the majority language) and by themselves. (Chapter 4 looks at such perceptions in detail.)

When sketching the background of the language movements of Central and Eastern Europe, one must not ignore that the rise of purism here was intertwined with, and rooted in, the emergence of purist phenomena in the West. In a contrastive analysis of the Czech, Hungarian, and Romanian language reform movements, I shall attempt to highlight how these borrowed trends of linguistic thought gained their expression in the three linguistic communities under discussion. The primary aim of the contrastive analysis in Sections 2.2 and 2.3 in this chapter is to show the differences and similarities in the patterns of attitudes towards language in the three Central-East European communities, which will allow us to problematise linguistic purism itself. A subsidiary aim or rather a by-product of this contrastive analysis is a more finely-grained approach to the understanding of Hungarian linguistic purism. An in-depth analysis of Czech and Romanian linguistic purisms remains beyond the scope of this chapter.

When looking at linguistic purism in a contrastive framework, the first question to be addressed is whether it is possible to find a cross-culturally and cross-linguistically

relevant approach to the subject. The most universal characterisation of purism so far is by Thomas (1991), according to whom purism is a general linguistic phenomenon, which is concerned with planned and conscious intervention in the natural processes of language change. As opposed to this, for Tolnai, Fábíán, and to a certain extent Auty, purism is the process which is preoccupied with the identification and removal and/or replacement of language elements which are deemed “incorrect”. It is obvious that this definition is subject to modification depending on the time-frame and speech community in question, precisely because the notion of “incorrectness” with regards to language cannot be subjected to empirical verification, and thus varies in time and across speech communities. The kinds of purisms which Fábíán’s and Tolnai’s definition reflects are those associated with the strongest types in Thomas’s system, that is, mainly xenophobic, but also archaising and ethnographic purisms.

The reason purism is often associated with this restricted definition is that processes of the making of “modern literary languages” are normally exempt from being labelled as “purist”. Indeed, the Bohemian language revival, the Hungarian language renewal and the language movement in Muntenia all aimed at the “enrichment” rather than the “cleansing” of language. The aim of language intervention in such cases is the creation of a literary variety which is polyvalent, and to which writers and other intellectuals are willing to adapt their use of language. The outcome of such movements, however, is generally the establishment of a “norm” that is governed by the rules of the “codified” variety of the language. This “codified” or “normative” variety, in turn, comes to be associated with language in general, or more accurately, with “the language” of a nation and – by metonymic extension – territory. Language intervention of this kind can be classified as reformist, aesthetic and often elitist, inasmuch as it results in a new language variety, and it is motivated by a desire for an exemplary (“educated”) way of speaking and writing. It is therefore no surprise that this type of language reform was the endeavour of thinkers and writers of the Enlightenment, who believed that only an “elevated” language variety is suitable for the expression of “elevated” thought and a “learned” attitude.

The authors whose understanding of purism is limited to the xenophobic type normally ignore the fact that the cultural-historical phenomena underlying the process of

the making of a “national language” are merely a milder version of those governing the “cleansing” and “purification” of language. These “postures”, which I call “value-laden”, share the view that there *is* an ideal form of language, and this ideal may be attained – and maintained – through human intervention in language, and through a degree of self-consciousness in every instance of linguistic behavior. As the example of Hungarian shows, extreme purism is normally preceded by the establishment of a “codified variety”, because the notions of “incorrect” or “wrong” can be defined only in relation to the “ideal” form of language, hypothetically accepted by all native speakers as a model. There is a lack of appreciation of linguistic diversity in the approach which regards only extreme purism, such as the xenophobic kind, as purism. Such approaches seem to dismiss that languages exist in varieties, and the “standard” or “literary” is only one and not the “absolute” variety of language.

Similarly, there is a bias in the terminology referring to various kinds of conscious intervention in the processes of language change. The process targeting the “enrichment” of language is widely referred to as *neology* (Hungarian *neológia*, French *néologie*, Romanian *neologie*), and it is regarded as a necessary stage in the development of language varieties which are capable of embodying trends of modernity in a language-and-culture at a particular time. The terms “language revival” (Czech *jazyková obrození*) and “language renewal” (Hungarian *nyelvújítás*) are more revealing with regard to the national aspirations of such movements. The process which involves the “purification” of language, often archaising and ethnographic in nature, is referred to as “purism” in certain languages (Fr. *purisme*, Hung. *purizmus*) but it is noteworthy that the term *purizmus* is rarely used in Hungarian. The reason for this is rooted in the history of language-interventionist attitudes to Hungarian, which sought to reconcile reformist purism with the more extreme type, thus coining the expression *ortológia*⁴¹ instead of “purism”, and regarding it as merely one of the trends among the activities of those responsible for the “enrichment” of language, that is, for the making of the Hungarian literary variety.

⁴¹ *Ortológia* is a compound of Greek ὀρθο+λόγος ‘straight’+‘talk’. The coining of the compound in Hungarian has not so far been traced to any particular author; however, its most remarkable occurrence is attributed to Ferenc Kazinczy’s essay *Ortológus és neológus nálunk és más nemzeteknél* [Orthologists and neologists in our land and in other nations; my translation] (1819). I used the version in Szalai (1980), which gives the texts in modernised spelling.

This brief survey of terminology referring to purist phenomena illustrates the difficulty of delineating the features of purism even within a narrow, Central-East European context. A cross-cultural analysis of attitudes towards language is further hindered by the fact that each language (and linguistic literature produced in any one language) has its own set of terms referring to interventionist attitudes to language. These terms hardly ever overlap cross-linguistically because the range of meaning of each term depends on the particular way in which language-interventionism is thought of, and executed, in a particular community, which, in turn, is an outcome of beliefs about language characterising the speech community in question. Nevertheless, it is worth undertaking the task of contrastive analysis since this is the only way to establish a set of criteria suitable for the cross-linguistic understanding of purist phenomena.

2.2 Language movements in Europe and Central and Eastern Europe

The type of purism a speech community adopts in a given period has to do at least as much with language-internal as with language-external factors. Language-internal factors include the typological features and historical relatedness of languages, while language-external factors are concerned with historical and cultural circumstances. Located between language-internal and language-external factors is the notion of anchorage, which includes the perception and awareness of language-internal characteristics (such as linguistic affinity to other languages) in a speech community.

It is instructive to contrast Hungarian linguistic purism with Czech and Romanian because these languages belong to different branches of Indo-European (Slavonic and Romance), thus they are both historically and typologically different from Hungarian, which is a Uralic language, with the Ob-Ugrian languages being its closest relatives.⁴² Czech, Hungarian, and Romanian are spoken in the same geographic area,

⁴² Ostyak (Khanty) and Vogul (Mansi) are spoken in Western Siberia by some 15,000 people. Although structural similarities and systematic correspondences in the sound system between Ostyak and Vogul on the one hand and Hungarian on the other leave no doubt about the genealogical relatedness of these languages, distance in time and space, as well as the differing influences that speakers of Ob-Ugrian languages and Hungarian have been exposed to, have resulted in culturally different communities. These points will be relevant to my discussion of anchorage.

and their speakers have been in contact with each other over a millennium. Consequently the three linguistic communities display differences as well as similarities in the pattern of linguistic purism, depending on whether language-external, regional features or language-internal, typological features are at the heart of the contrastive analysis.

In order to see more clearly the factors which influence interventionist attitudes towards language in speech communities, I have designed two tables to represent criteria that can be explored cross-linguistically. The tables offer a grouping of sets of criteria belonging to language-external factors, on the one hand, and, on the other, to the features of anchorage in each of the three linguistic communities. Each row in these tables assigns a positive or a negative mark to the criterion indicated in the first column, depending on whether the criterion can be found among the factors that have influenced attitudes toward language in Czech, Hungarian and Romanian. The sum of positive and negative marks in each column gives a cross-culturally revealing characterisation of language interventionism and attitudes towards standard language in any of the three communities examined.

Table 7: Language-external factors in the rise of language movements

| Language-external factors | CZ | HU | RO |
|--|----|-----|-----|
| 1. Reception of West European Enlightenment / Romanticism | + | + | + |
| 2. Prominent personality, paragon of language movement | + | + | + |
| 3. Existence of a literary norm prior to language renewal | + | - | - |
| 4. Continuity of a literary norm prior to language renewal | - | N/A | N/A |
| 5. Purist tendencies prevail after language renewal | - | + | -/+ |
| 6. Intensity of purism and vehemence of debates, fierce fights | - | + | - |
| 7. Counter balance for purist tendencies after language renewal | + | - | -? |
| 8. Tradition of language being a marker of privileges | - | + | + |
| 9. Institutionalisation of the language movement: periodicals, literary circles, grammars, schools of linguistics/literature, academy, scholarly societies | + | + | + |

A discussion of social-historical circumstances leading to the rise of the Czech, Hungarian and Romanian language movements is vital to the understanding of the differences and similarities between these movements. In each case there is a turning point which is associated with a change in socio-cultural conditions, which then brought

about important changes in attitudes towards language in the three speech communities: the Battle of the White Mountain (1620) in Czech, the peace treaty of Szatmár (Satu Mare, Romania) (1711) in Hungarian, and the expulsion of Phanariote Greek rulers (1821) in Romanian history. As a result of the White Mountain the majority of the Czech nobility and intelligentsia went into exile, and a tradition of anti-Habsburg political attitudes was established among the Czech nobility. The official response to these hostile attitudes culminated in 1749 when the Czech state apparatus was integrated into the Austrian government and the centralisation of Czech territory, which was annexed to the Empire, was legally completed. As a consequence, Czech literary production gradually declined from the mid-seventeenth century. The most famous Czech émigré of the time, Jan Amos Komenský (Comenius) worked in Sárospatak (Hungary) for instance, and ideas of the Enlightenment reached Czech writers and thinkers mostly via German with Vienna as an intermediary (cf. Pražák 1991: 33-67).

The peace treaty between the Habsburg court and the Hungarian nobility in 1711 led to opposite results in Hungarian history. The nobility maintained its status and privileges, as well as the rather peculiar Hungarian constitution with its untouchable, feudal legislation system (on the role of constitutional traditions, see Lojkó 2012: 15).⁴³ The Hungarian nobility achieved this position partly through anti-Habsburg upheavals in the course of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and partly through offering a helping hand to the young Maria Theresa in the War of Succession at the beginning of her reign. The ties between Swiss, Netherlander, and Hungarian Protestants also contributed to fostering a direct relationship between Hungary and the West, which, in turn, facilitated the reception of ideas. The Hungarian aristocracy acted as Maecenas in the importation of the Enlightenment, the Ráday and Teleki families on the Protestant, the Esterházy, the Festetics, and the Széchenyi families on the Catholic side (Pražák 1991: 47-68). The fact that a part of the Hungarian-speaking territory, Transylvania, maintained a degree of independence from both the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empire also played a part in the relatively freer spread of contemporary thought among the

⁴³ According to László (2012: 183-198) Hungarian (the language) and Hungary's ancient constitution were the two key components in framing the myth that Hungarians formed a distinct national community. On the relevance of language to this "Explanation" see also the aphorism "A nation may be said to exist in its language" (cf. Sherwood: 1996 and Footnote 56 below).

Hungarian-speaking intelligentsia.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the reception of the Enlightenment occurred largely with Vienna's and the Habsburg court's mediation in Hungary, too, and via German.⁴⁵

The social basis of the reception of ideas points to yet another difference between the Czech and the Hungarian Enlightenment. The heavy industrialisation of the annexed Czech provinces resulted in fundamental structural changes in Czech society. As a result of industrialisation and the abolition in 1781 of serfdom, which had little effect in Hungary, Czech peasants migrated to the highly germanized urban centres, giving rise to a new, Czech-speaking urban bourgeoisie. This intelligentsia of plebeian origin was the core of the promulgation of the ideas of the Enlightenment and of the Czech national revival, especially in the second generation, in the early nineteenth century, which was characterised by Joseph Jungmann's (1773–1847) and Josef Dobrovský's (1753–1829) "language revitalizing" activities. This shows a fundamentally different pattern from the Hungarian Enlightenment, whose social basis was the lesser nobility, and which was therefore characterised by ideas of national classicism and patriotism to a much greater extent than its Czech counterpart (Eőry 2002: 145). Hungarian towns remained germanised and the Hungarian-speaking intelligentsia gathered around figures of the lesser nobility in the countryside. Thus, the idea of the "nation" in Hungary was closely associated with the nobility.⁴⁶ It is thus no coincidence (though it is symptomatic!) that one of the two most prominent figures of the Czech language movement, Jungmann, was of Bohemian-German and Czech background (and of serf origin), whereas his

⁴⁴ Transylvania had been an autonomous principality until it came under Ottoman suzerainty from 1571, becoming part of the Habsburg Empire in 1711.

⁴⁵ The influence of German in learned society in Hungary prevailed for at least another century in Hungary (for a good example see Nádasdy 2012).

⁴⁶ Despite this association of the lesser nobility with the "Hungarian nation" and matters of "Hungarianness" (*magyarság* 'Hungarianness' cf. *Deushtum*; on the Hungarian term, see Sherwood 2002; Czigány 1974; and Section 3.6 of Chapter 3), the long-standing cultural influence of not only German but also Latin on Hungarian is best illustrated by the fact that the Hungarian calques for 'nobleman' (*nemes*; N), and 'noble' (also *nemes*; ADJ) are based on the Latin *gēns* (N), *gentilis* (ADJ), and derive from the root *nem* 'genus, gender'; *nemesség* 'nobility' is derived with an additional nominal suffix forming abstract or collective nouns, =sÁg, (*TESz*, s.v., "nemes"). It is worthy of note, however, that the Hungarian for 'nation', *nemzet*, derives from the same root: *nemz* 'beget': *nem=z*: 'genus'=VDER; *nemzet* 'nation, descendant': *nemz=et*: 'beget'=NDER (nomen resultati) (*TESz*, s.v., "nemz").

Hungarian counterpart, Ferenc Kazinczy, belonged to the lesser nobility (Pražák 1991: 60-61).

Historical conditions surrounding the Romanian language movement show a somewhat similar pattern. Here I provide an overview of these conditions based on Close (1974). The crucial date in the case of Romanian is 1821, when the hegemony of Greek-based culture, government, and education came to an end following Tudor Vladimirescu's ultimately unsuccessful revolution against Turkish dominion. As a consequence of the revolt, however, the Ottoman court granted the principal Romanian demands, notably, that the Greek princes be replaced by Romanians in the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, which at the time were vassal states of the Ottoman Empire. Although the second decade of the nineteenth century marks the starting point of a radically new cultural era in Romanian history, the latinisation of the language and culture of the provinces is not without antecedents. Wallachia and Moldavia were increasingly drawn into the Turkish sphere of influence from the fourteenth century onwards. In the eighteenth century the Phanariotes governing the territory were nominated by the Turkish sultan, and were descendants of Greek families living in Constantinople. The influence of Classical and Modern Greek culture was particularly strong in Wallachia, which was geographically closer to Greece than Moldavia, and young boyars were educated in Greek colleges or by Greek private tutors. The decline of Greek influence began, however, in the 1780s, when Latin, French, and Italian, but not Romanian, were included in the school syllabus (1776). It is interesting that the first input of West European thought reached the Romanian principalities by way of the East: through the Greek princes' fascination with Western thought and the French Revolution.

Close (1974: 21) points out that despite the Greek influence, direct links between France, Italy, and the Romanians existed before 1821 as well. First, there was an awareness of the Italian renaissance among a few educated boyars, with the Italian influence reaching its peak during the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688–1714). Second, Italian was important to the Greek princes, too, because Italian was the language of diplomacy in South-Eastern Europe at that time (Ostler 2006: 407). Both Greek princes and Romanian boyars employed tutors and secretaries from Italy and the activity of Catholic missionaries further strengthened this influence in the eighteenth century.

However, at no time did Italy exert such intensive cultural influence on Wallachia as did Greece in the eighteenth and France in the nineteenth century. Unlike in Hungary and Bohemia, it was not until the late eighteenth century that the real influx of West European civilisation started in the principalities. Nevertheless, the reception of the Enlightenment among Romanian speakers has similarities with both Czech and Hungarian. Access to key works and authors of the Enlightenment was limited almost entirely to the ruling elites who became leading members of the intelligentsia. The most prominent personality of the language movement, Ion Eliade Rădulescu (1802–1872), is an example of this.

As the third part of this chapter on anchorage shows, the relationship of Romanian-speaking areas to France is somewhat different from that of Czech- and Hungarian-speaking ones. In the nineteenth century, French literary and cultural models were sought and exploited in a celebration of Romanian's share in the Latin linguistic heritage of French. But direct connections between France and Muntenia (in Wallachia), and also Iași (Moldavia), can be detected from the late eighteenth century onwards. Besides the cultural fascination there was a political motivation behind such interest in France. Through a French-language education, the boyars hoped to emulate the Greek princes who served as interpreters between the Western powers and the court in Constantinople. In short, the formation of a cultural environment which gives rise to the first conscious efforts to "cultivate the Romanian language" ran parallel with the early connections of Romanian-speaking territories with West European thought. In this sense, the language movement of Muntenia is part of a broader socio-historical process which ties the mostly Orthodox principalities within the Turkish Empire to the cultural flow of Western Europe.

Moving on to the second criterion among the language-external factors influencing attitudes towards language in the three speech communities under consideration, both Auty and Tolnai, as well as other authors, believe that the existence of a recognised, prestigious personality, whose authority is respected by other leading intellectuals, is necessary for the reformist type of purism, that is, for the kind of intervention in language change which results in the creation of a new language variety. A thorough discussion of work by all those involved in the Czech, Hungarian and

Romanian language movement is not practicable here. Suffice it to mention only the key actors of the three early language movements: Josef Jungmann in Bohemia, Ferenc Kazinczy in Hungary, and Ion Eliade Rădulescu in Muntenia.

The start of each of the three language reform movements can be connected to a particular date and event: in Hungary it is 1806, when Kazinczy moved to Széphalom; in Bohemia 1815, when Jungmann moved to Prague; and in Muntenia 1828, when Rădulescu published his grammar and launched the first Muntenian newspaper, *Curierul Românesc* (1829–1859). From 1830 Rădulescu devoted all his time to writing and publishing, as well as to encouraging other authors, his disciples, to write in Romanian. Jungmann's and especially Kazinczy's activities were similar to Rădulescu's after they had settled at the place from where they were to direct the Czech and Hungarian language reforms: Jungmann in the fast-paced environment of the booming Bohemian capital – Kazinczy in the proximity of his native village estates in North-East Hungary. All three authors maintained correspondence with older and younger literary personalities, they exchanged ideas on the desirable features of the stock of vocabulary that was needed as well as on the potential sources of this new vocabulary, but they also wrote original works and translated, in order to demonstrate the usefulness of new vocabulary items or the usage of the previously unexplored syntactic potential of their respective native languages. They also advised other authors on these matters. To this end, Kazinczy had to rely on different means of communication from his Bohemian and Muntenian counterparts: given that he lived in an isolated corner of Hungary he exchanged letters with writers, poets and other activists of the language movement all over the Hungarian-speaking territory, from Transdanubia to Transylvania. Like Rădulescu, Kazinczy also published his own journal, *Orpheus* (1789–1792), after he gave up his editorial position at *Magyar Museum* (1788–1792)⁴⁷ because of his theoretical and political conflict with János Batsányi (1763–1845), another prominent figure of the language reform⁴⁸.

⁴⁷ *Magyar Museum* was launched by Kazinczy, János Batsányi, and Dávid Baróti Szabó (1739–1819) and its first issue appeared in November 1787.

⁴⁸ The difference between Kazinczy's and Batsányi's programme and personality mirrors those between Kazinczy and Jungmann. Batsányi was a self-made man of peasant origins, and thus more radical and left-oriented in his political views than the aristocratic and elitist Kazinczy. Had Batsányi appeared in the literary arena a few decades later, he could have aspired to the literary

The Bohemian language reform presents a somewhat different pattern from the other two with regard to the stock of vocabulary that was to be created. As the third row of the Table 7 shows, Czech had a tradition of a literary language from as early as the thirteenth century. Consequently, while the early Hungarian and Romanian movements were almost exclusively concerned with the artistic potential of language, Jungmann and his collaborators worked on renewing and revitalising the language of the sciences. A group of scholars created new words for their disciplines in Czech, and their neologisms were included in Jungmann's monumental *Česko-německý slovník* (1835–1839). A lexicographic work on such scale was published in Hungarian only in the 1860s when the compilation of *A magyar nyelv szótára* (CzF) by Gergely Czuczor and János Fogarasi was completed. As a monolingual dictionary of Hungarian, the CzF is the first of its kind, although it is not without bilingual precedents. Despite their seemingly different pattern, the Hungarian and Czech language reform are similar in the sense that the existence of a literary variety took precedence over the attention paid to the language of sciences.⁴⁹

The figurehead of the Muntenian language movement, Eliade Rădulescu, was a grammarian, poet, translator, teacher, literary editor, and publisher at the same time. Unlike Kazinczy, who can by no means be seen as a grammarian but rather as a translator, editor and publisher, Eliade Rădulescu wrote essays on language and a

leadership as the embodiment of the ideal type of the Romantic political-literary "hero". However, unlike József Kármán (1769–1795), both Batsányi and Kazinczy believed that the publication of translations was the most effective means of enhancing literary output in Hungarian as well as to improve Hungarian language. By contrast, Kármán favoured original works and wrote the first Hungarian epistolary novel, *Fanni hagyományai* ('Fanni's bestowal'; 1974). The significance of translations, "originality", and poetic composition in an emerging vernacular will be discussed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.5) with regards to French.

⁴⁹ An example of this is work by Pál Bugát, who was a professor of medicine at the University of Budapest in the mid-nineteenth century. He was the first to lecture in medicine in Hungarian rather than Latin, thus initiating a movement for the creation of a *nomenclature* for the language of sciences in Hungarian. He published a dictionary of technical terms in 1843, *Természettudományi szóhalmaz*. After the Revolution and War of Independence (1848–49) he wrote the most controversial work of the language reform movement, *Szócsíntan*, which, unsurprisingly, remains unpublished to this day. In the title he compounded three Hungarian words: *szó* 'word'+*csin*(=*ál=ás*) 'making'+*tan* 'study, discipline'. The work is a discussion of his rather extreme theory of word formation. Similarly eccentric works of neology played a part in the rise of the conservative language movement led by Gábor Szarvas, who criticised "ill-formed" words and aimed at their elimination from Hungarian in the last third of the nineteenth century.

grammar, *Grammatica românească* (1828)⁵⁰, as well as original works in Romanian. As editors they were both notorious for the stylistic amendments they made to texts submitted to them. This was often a deliberate provocation of literary and linguistic debates, from which language was to benefit, especially in Hungary. Unlike in Romania, there is a mismatch between the personality of the grammarian and literary leader in Hungary and in Bohemia too. The scholarly activity can be associated with the name of Josef Dobrovský and Miklós Révai (1750–1807), writers of comprehensive Czech and Hungarian grammars and founders of Slavic and Hungarian studies. Révai also headed the first department of Hungarian at the University of Budapest in the late eighteenth century. As opposed to Eliade Rădulescu, the language reformists in Bohemian and Hungarian lands, Jungmann and Kazinczy, were far from being linguists in the modern or institutionalised sense. Nonetheless, the three paragons had a comparable, and fundamental, influence in shaping Czech, Hungarian and Romanian, as well as their respective linguistic cultures.

As the third and fourth row of the Table 7 shows, neither Hungarian nor Romanian had a tradition of a written literary norm prior to the start of the language movements. This is true especially of Romanian: the first known written text originates from as late as 1521: Neacșu's letter from Câmpulung, a warning to Transylvanians about the threat of Turkish invasion. From the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a number of religious texts, generally translated from Slavonic or Greek, remain as well as the first Romanian verse, a metrical psalm. In contrast, by the mid-sixteenth century the first grammar of Hungarian had been completed (Sylvester 1539) and its author was working on the translation of the entire New Testament. The first attempt to translate the Bible into Romanian originates from approximately the same period when the first entire Protestant Bible translation was completed by Gáspár Károlyi (c.1529–1591) in Hungarian (1589–1590). The *Palia de la Orăștie* is a translation of the first books of the Old Testament by Bishop Mihail Tordaș from Latin in 1582. It is interesting to note that the translation was double-checked for accuracy using Hungarian translations of the Bible. Although the entire Károlyi translation could not have been at the disposal of the

⁵⁰ The first Romanian grammar was written by Ienăchiță Văcărescu (1740–1797), who was also a poet and philologist, in 1787.

Romanian translator, there had been previous attempts to translate parts of the Bible into Hungarian which were available, such as the translation of the New Testament by János Sylvester, or the partial translations by Gáspár Heltai, Benedek Komjáti, and Gábor Pesti, among others.⁵¹

However, in the case of neither Hungarian nor Romanian is it possible to find a tradition of a written norm, a literary language; in this respect they both differ from Czech, which had had such a tradition dating back to the thirteenth century. There was epic poetry, legends and knightly epics, written in Czech from the early fourteenth century, which also saw the development of administrative and instructive texts in Czech. The first Czech–Latin dictionaries likewise originate from the fourteenth century. Hence, when Josef Dobrovský re-codified Czech in his grammar, there was a vast pre-1620 literature available for him to be used as a basis of the newly established norm. Hungarian and Romanian language reformers looked to renew particularly the lexical stock of their language, and only few of them recognised the importance of syntax (in the case of Romanian, only Eliade Rădulescu dealt with questions of syntax at any length). For the Czech Jungmann a grammatical norm, laid down in Dobrovský's grammar (1809), was available. Czech therefore differs from Hungarian and Romanian because the Czech language reformers were able to rely on an earlier literary variety of the language, which was unavailable for their Hungarian and Romanian counterparts. However, not even in the case of Czech is it possible to identify a continuity in the tradition of such a codified literary variety, given that literary production was somewhat interrupted by the national and political disaster of the battle of White Mountain. That is why they relied on an earlier, and by the time of the language reform somewhat obsolete, variety of the language in the process of “revitalization” or codification. Dobrovský used the sixteenth century *veleslavín* literary norm as a basis for the newly

⁵¹ Baker (2006: 12-14) reports early contacts between the Principality of Moldavia and Hungarian-speaking Hussites. Tamás Pécsi of Kamenica and Bálint Újlaki of Beočin, former students in Prague at the time when Jan Hus was prominent there, and translators of the first Hungarian Bible (of which only fragments remain in three different codices), similarly to many other Hussites, fled Catholic inquisition and settled in Moldavia in the first half of the fifteenth century. The availability of Hungarian models for Romanian translations of the Bible is thus unsurprising. This example also points to the multilingualism of these regions and Central and Eastern Europe, which prevailed until the Great War. Of this multilingualism today only varying degrees of bilingualism remain, usually (but not necessarily) along border regions.

codified grammar of Czech because this originated from a period seen as sufficiently prestigious, that is, preceding the alleged “decay” of Czech literary production. Thus, it is no mere coincidence that the Czech language movement is referred to as *jazyková obrození* “language revival”, that is, the resuscitation of an older language, rather than “reform”.

The availability (or lack) of a body of canonical texts, as the examples above show, is crucial for language reform movements, because these seek to identify, or to create, a new variety which then becomes suitable to be the “codified” language variety, the rules and norms of which are laid down in dictionaries and grammars, while the writing of grammars and dictionaries is a means of codification itself. Various theoreticians in reform movements often disagree about the variety or dialect which they see as the most suitable basis for such a “codified” variety. Nor do they agree on the type of neologisms to be preferred, or the languages and language varieties to be used as models. In the case of Romanian, in particular, Eliade Rădulescu discussed the question of the basis of a literary language, whether it should be based on existing written models, which showed a great variation of linguistic and stylistic types, or on a supra-dialectal idiom compounded from the spoken dialects of Romanian (Close 1974: 62-63). Eliade Rădulescu in the end decided that the most suitable vehicle for the making of a literary dialect of Romanian would be the italianisation of the language. Influenced by earlier Transylvanian and Italian linguists, he believed that Romanians had come originally from Italy, and the only reason why there were differences between the two languages at the time was that Italian had previously been standardised on the basis of the Tuscan dialect as a result of the language reformist activities of the Accademia della Crusca in the sixteenth century. However, particularly in the second part of his career, Eliade Rădulescu’s ideas on the creation of an italianised literary variety led to his isolation among his colleagues who disagreed with his plan for the wholesale italianisation of Romanian.⁵²

In sum, both Czech and Romanian language reformers identified a linguistic tradition or language variety which could serve as a model for the establishment of a literary norm. Part of the reason why the Hungarian language reform was a more

⁵² On the evolution of Eliade’s career and his linguistic theory see (Close 1974: 48–90).

widespread and at times anarchic phenomenon, with a greater number of writers and more intense debates involved than in the case of Czech and Romanian, is that Hungarian reformers were unable to identify either an earlier, medieval “golden age” of their language or a linguistic tradition from a related, more prestigious language which they could have emulated in the making of modern Hungarian (i.e. Hungarian lacked “anchorage”, as we shall see in Section 2.3). Consequently, the Hungarian language reform was characterised by fierce fights between language reformers speaking different varieties of Hungarian, despite the fact that the dialectal differences were subtle even at that time, as well as by competitions advertised in periodicals for the coining of new words. Neither of this occurred, or showed as dramatic a pattern as in Hungarian, in Czech and Romanian. It should therefore come as no surprise that of the three speech communities it is in Hungarian that the tradition of linguistic purism or the need for planned intervention in language change is the most striking. As Gábor Szarvas’s conservative language movement at the end of the nineteenth century, and more recent “language cultivation” movements⁵³ show, with the first language reform a bipolar tradition of purist activities was established in Hungary. Each movement centred around acrid disputes between advocates of opposing trends. Such vehement debates normally

⁵³ In the late nineteenth century the focus of opposition to Szarvas centred around prestigious academics, such as Pál Gyulai (1826–1909), Mór Ballagi (1815–1891), and Ferenc Toldy (1805–1875) among others, who were in favour of Kazinczy’s heritage instead of the conservative “language defence” advocated by Szarvas. The trend represented by Szarvas had its roots in the late eighteenth century as well in the activities of the Debrecen Circle. The interwar period saw the revival of the language cultivation movement, which this time centred around *Magyarosan* (1932–1949), the periodical of the newly established *Nyelvművelő Szakosztály* (roughly: ‘language cultivation subdivision’ of the Academy, later: *Bizottság*, ‘committee’), with the involvement of prestigious linguists and outstanding writers such as Miklós Zsirai (1892–1955), Béla Zolnai (1890–1969), and Dezső Kosztolányi (1885–1936). However, one finds linguists among the critics of *Magyarosan* as well, such as Zoltán Gombocz and Miklós Kovalovszky (1910–1997). Aladár Schöpflin (1872–1950) warns against the dangers of nationalism which might overwhelm the new language movement in the form of the overstatement of the “fight” against foreign words, while Kovalovszky calls the exaggerated hungarianisation of foreign vocabulary self-endangering for the movement and dangerous for the public (*ön- és közveszélyes*). Gombocz is one of the few Hungarian linguists who did not believe “language cultivation” and “language guardianship” to be part of the professional activities of linguists. Trends such as this in Hungarian linguistic thought remained isolated, without real continuity for decades. After the Second World War the resuscitation of the language movement by Lajos Lőrincze, discussed in Chapter 1, was so successful that in the following decades language cultivation came to be understood as a self-evident goal and part of scholarly activity concerning language.

involved the general, lay public as well, through periodicals promoting ideas of language purity and correctness.⁵⁴

In Romanian, purism remained influential, but, as is the case with the first language reform movement, language-related questions tend to be part of broader cultural tendencies and literary movements. In the 1860s and 1870s, a literary circle called *Junimea*, for instance, advocated a cultural movement against the devaluation and falsification of Romanian culture in order to ape the West, in a manner which was then called *Formă Fără Fond* ‘form without content’. Their aim was the revitalisation or the resuscitation of “genuine” Romanian culture. Nevertheless, the mastermind of the movement, Titu Maiorescu (1840–1917), discusses in his essay *Direcția nouă în poezia și proza română* (1872)⁵⁵ language-related questions, among them, language purity, “linguistic fashions”, and the exaggerated use of neologisms, which, he claimed, had impoverished Romanian. The attitude of *Junimea* towards language and neologisms is a reaction against the exaggeration of the ideas and activities of Eliade Rădulescu’s language reform movement, much in the same way as Gábor Szarvas’s “orthology” was a reaction against the encroachment of the neologising tendency in Hungarian. Another example of the endurance of language interventionism in Romanian is the 1953 reform of orthography which abolished the use of <â> in favour of <î> to represent the high back unrounded vowel in script, only for <â> to be reintroduced in 1993, unless in word-initial or -final position, where <î> is still to be used. In this case, Romanian orthography adopted the etymological principle in spelling, rendering Romanian script more transparent with regards to the Latin origin of its words, thus emphasising the linguistic affinity of Romanian to Latin, and implicitly (and metonymically) the affinity of the Romanian people to speakers of Western Romance languages. The main difference between Romanian and Hungarian with regard to the motivation for intervention in

⁵⁴ Such public debates about language remain characteristic of periods of social tradition in Hungary to this day. One fairly recent example is Kontra & Saly (1998). What was at stake in this debate was whether regional varieties of Hungarian used in the neighbouring countries should develop their own “standards” or should adhere to the one set by the Academy in Budapest (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3). The question of language “correctness” has been reinterpreted here as a question about what Hungarian really *is*, or *can be* like. A similar debate in the 1990s concerned recent loan words into Hungarian, and whether there was a need for a language law (cf. Grétsy 1997a; 1997b; Hajdú 1997; Nádasdy 1997; Kenesei 1997).

⁵⁵ I used the version of the essay found at (http://ro.wikisource.org/wiki/Direcția_nouă_în_poezia_și_proza_română) (Accessed 2007-03-17.)

language seems to be that in Romanian language-interventionist attitudes normally form part of a broader project of national and cultural engineering, whereas in Hungary a concern for language is an end in itself.

Part of the reason for the persistence of such ideas about language might be that in Hungary there was a tradition of language being a symbol of privileged status, as shown in the eighth row of the Table 7. As discussed above, the social basis of the Enlightenment in Hungary was the nobility, who knew German, but mostly spoke Hungarian as their first language or “mother tongue”, and for menfolk Latin was the language of public affairs. While Bohemian and Moravian diets were conducted in Czech until 1774, Hungarian was used in such a function only after 1825. Therefore, the opposition to Joseph II’s plans to introduce German as the official language of the Empire was nowhere as strong as among the Hungarian nobility, for whom the knowledge and use of Latin was the symbol of their privileged status (cf. László 2012 and above). Because of this tradition and the relatively strong political position of the Hungarian nobility, it was easier for Hungarian to acquire its status as the “flag” of national sentiment fuelled by the cultural and political activities of the nobility, for whom the idea of independence became a guarantee of the maintenance of their privileged status. Similarly to Hungarians, members of the first generation of the Czech Enlightenment endeavoured to promote Czech national interests within the Habsburg Empire. They therefore emphasised the importance of education in the classics and encouraged the use of Latin in order to mitigate the effects of germanisation. That is to say, Latin was seen as neutral from a national point of view, hence it represented less of a danger for Czech and Hungarian national aspirations than German, which was the language of the nation that held the central power and privileged status in the Habsburg Empire (Pražák 1991: 41). For Romanians, the boyars’ connections with Western Europe, which included the knowledge of Western Romance languages as well as studies in Italy or France, played a similar role in creating a counterbalance to Greek dominance. It is important to note, however, that in Romanian linguistic thought this process led to the recognition of Romanian’s linguistic relatedness to the Western Romance languages in question. This awareness strengthened the status of the Romanian-speaking community and contributed to a feeling of security among Romanian élites. Hence, in Romanian-

speaking lands the prestige of language, acquired through linguistic affinity to other languages, was the guarantee of the “worthiness” – and sense of security – of the entire community. The recognition that Romanian originated from Latin – and resembled, to some degree, its prestigious “sister” languages – was a cause for recognition in the wider world rather than the symbol of the privileged status of political élites. Hungarian, lacking a similarly prestigious ancestry, came to be seen as a key factor in the national independence movement. This leads to the question of anchorage to which I shall turn after a brief discussion of the last row in Table 7.

A detailed account of the steps leading to the institutionalisation of the language movements, including the establishment of periodicals, literary circles, scholarly societies, and the dissemination of ideas about language in other spheres of intellectual life, such as theatre groups, university faculties and libraries, would require a chapter on its own. What follows therefore is no more than an outline of the most important institutions that were available on Czech, Hungarian and Romanian territory for the promulgation of the ideas of the language reform movements.

The idea of a scholarly society whose task is to “elaborate and safeguard” Hungarian language can be traced back to work by György Bessenyei, a Hungarian nobleman, who, having studied in Vienna as a member of Maria Theresa’s Royal Guard, was the first to instigate a national literary and language movement in his *A holmi*, which he published in 1779 in Vienna. In this study on the state of development and status of Hungarian, we can trace Hungarians’ general perceptions concerning their language, which also gain their expression in the “the oft-repeated aphoristic formulation of the relationship between language and nation in which [Hungarians’] self-awareness culminated, [and which] is widely quoted and held to be true even today: *Nyelvében él a nemzet* (‘it is in its language that a nation lives’)” (Sherwood 1996: 28)⁵⁶. The practical and ideological implications of this aphorism during the Enlightenment in the wake of the first Hungarian language movement are best illustrated by a quotation from *A holmi*:

⁵⁶ The first English translation of the aphorism is by Zsigmond (Sigismund) Wékey, author of the first Anglo-Hungarian grammar, *A Grammar of the Hungarian Language* (1852). Wékey arrived to the British capital as aide-de-camp to Lajos Kossuth, the figurehead of the 1848–49 Revolution and War of independence. The introduction to the grammar opens with the well-known phrase which Wékey glossed in English as ‘A nation may be said to exist in its language’.

Kezdünk mi mozogni; anyanyelvünkön irunk, fáradunk, de mikor fogunk oda menni, hogy benne a tudományoknak minden szükséges erein evezhessünk? Mikor fognak tiszta Magyar Akademiát tsinálni? Vagy olly tudós Társaságot öszve szerezni, mellynek más kötelessége, hivatala szerint ne lenne, hanem hogy Magyarúl irjon? [...] Remélhettyük é mi, hogy nyelvünket valaha oda vihettyük, hol Frantzia, Anglus vannak? Ha pedig Anya nyelvünk porba marad, hidjük é hogy idegen nyelvek által Nemzetünket közönségesen a szép tudományokra fel emelhettyük? Leg aláb azt tapasztollyuk, hogy tsupán idegen nyelven soha még egy Nemzet is e földön, a maga Anya nyelvét meg vetvén, böltességre, tudományokra nem emeltethetet. A Görög Görögbe, a Deák, deákba, az Anglus Anglusba, a Frantzia Frantziába mentek fel. Valameddig e Nemzetek Anya nyelveikkel el nem kezdettek fényleni, addig homályba nyögtek. [...] Ha a Nemzet akarja, s' valamit öszve téssen, fundálhat egy Magyar Társaságot, melly néki mindég *Magyarul írna, be ditsösséges dolog lenne!*⁵⁷

We now begin to stir, we endeavour to write in our mother tongue; but when are we going to reach the point where we would be able to navigate all the necessary rivers of science in this language? When is a pure Hungarian Academy to be created? Or a scholarly Society whose sole official duty will be to write in Hungarian? Can we have a ray of hope to take our language as far as where the French and the English are? And if our Mother tongue remains in the dust, are we to believe that we will be able to elevate our Nation to the cultivation of the noble sciences through foreign languages? In our experience, having denied its own language, no Nation on earth has ever managed to attain wisdom and knowledge by way of foreign languages. Greek was uplifted in Greek, Latin in Latin, French in French, English in English. As long as these Nations failed to shine bright through their respective Mother tongues they were groaning in the dark. [...] If the Nation wanted it and contributed a little, it could found a Hungarian Society, which would always *write in Hungarian. What a glorious deed that would be!*

The importance of Bessenyei's suggestion was realised almost half a century later, with the establishment of Magyar Tudós Társaság ('Hungarian scholarly society') by Count István Széchenyi in 1825. It was only in the 1870s that the Hungarian Academy included the "treatment of [natural] sciences" in its activities, alongside the "guardianship" and "elaboration" of Hungarian language and literature, thus becoming the single most important centre of scholarly activities in Hungary. Bessenyei's text also points to the fact that language consciousness in East-Central Europe imported ("translated") prestigious Western models and applied them to local vernaculars. As we shall see in Chapter 3, similar ideas about language were a major preoccupation for poets and *littérateurs* of the French Renaissance, for instance.

Although the goals of the Academia Română are somewhat similar to those of its Hungarian counterpart, the Romanian Academy is heir to the academies of Iași and Bucharest of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries rather than being a

⁵⁷ I cite the passage by Bessenyei in the original spelling from the critical edition by Bíró (1983)

descendant of the literary and scholarly circles whose target was nothing more than the “enrichment” of language. The academies of Iași and Bucharest became the first universities of Romania in the nineteenth century, and a new scholarly society was founded in 1866 on the model of West European academies. After the unification of the two principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, in 1859, the success of earlier learned societies encouraged the notion of a central institution to promote literary and scientific creation, and to compile an exhaustive dictionary of Romanian literary language. This was the institution founded in 1866, which would begin its activity the following year, under the name of Societatea Academică Română and which, renamed Academia Română, was granted the status of a national institution in 1879. The Romanian Academy today is not only a “centre for fundamental research and a forum of recognition” but also a “symbol of national spirit”, according to its introductory statement⁵⁸.

Although “the cultivation of the national language” remains one the Academia Română’s main objectives, the early history of the Romanian language reform was linked to the idea of an academy to a much lesser extent than that of the language renewal in Hungary. As shown above, the idea in Hungary was Bessenyei’s, who is often seen as a precursor to Kazinczy in the national and cultural reform movement. Nonetheless, while Kazinczy and some of his collaborators were members of freemason societies, they never advocated the necessity of a language academy. This may be due partly to the fact that in the aftermath of Ignác Martinovits’s Jacobin movement, when many prominent intellectuals, among them Kazinczy himself, were imprisoned or vanished (like the writer József Kármán), the foundation of a society whose aim was to create a “national language” would have been regarded unfavourably by the Habsburg court. In Bucharest, Eliade Rădulescu and Dinicu Golescu (1777–1830) were the first ones to suggest the foundation of a Societatea literară (1826–1828) and its successor, the Societatea filarmonică. The objectives of these societies support an earlier observation in this chapter, namely that the “cultivation” of Romanian was a by-product of broader national and cultural processes, compared with the “cultivation” of Hungarian, which

⁵⁸ Statement and history of the Romanian Academy found at (<http://www.academiaromana.ro/default.htm>) (Accessed on 2007-05-01.)

appears to have been a goal in itself. Elisabeth Close (1974: 2) summarises the early history of these societies as follows:

Thus the years 1821 and 1838 do mark fairly decisively the beginning and end of a distinctive era, during which the leading writers and radical boyars formed a cohesive group. Their aims were the popularisation of advanced political theories, the encouragement of a Rumanian-based education in Muntenia and Oltenia, and the stimulation of literary, didactic, and technical writing. The first requirement for the fulfillment of the literary aims was a rich and flexible language, which Rumanian certainly was not in 1821; but in less than twenty years the writers [belonging to *Societatea literară* and *Societatea filarmonică*] succeeded in so enriching the language that it could be used for all types of composition.⁵⁹

The brief accounts of the history of the Hungarian and Romanian academies given above point to a similar pattern: in both communities the early emergence of vernacular language-consciousness was “institutionalized” only through semi-formal networks of various social and intellectual élites. The foundation of academies and other scholarly societies was in both cases preceded by the launch of a successful language movement, a pattern which we find in France, as well, some two hundred years earlier. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century saw the foundation of scholarly societies and literary circles not only in Hungary and Muntenia but in Bohemia as well. A characteristic of Slavonic literary language movements was the emergence of philologically oriented patriotic groups known as *Matice* (Herrity 1973: 368-386), whose core meaning is ‘queen-bees’ and ‘little mothers’ (N.B. the association between the concepts LANGUAGE and MOTHER). The idea underlying this metaphor was similar to the principle behind the foundation of academies, namely that language, together with other aspects of “national culture” would be sustained from the centre, and, as in the case of *Matica česká* (1830), in a spirit of purism. As was mentioned above, the Czech scholarly society, too, was reorganised in 1828. Jungmann’s greatest achievement, the publication in 1835 of the first modern dictionary of Czech, was made possible by the cooperation of a small group of friends, experts in a number of disciplines, who supplied him with the terminology essential to the making of a standard language.

The example of Jungmann’s, Kazinczy’s, and Eliade Rădulescu’s circles serves to remind us that language reform is more likely to be effective when it involves collective

⁵⁹ Note that in this citation not even Close manages to avoid the pitfall of applying value judgements on the “state” of Romanian prior to the language movement.

action than when it is conducted by individuals acting independently. With regard to the role of academies, it is essential to distinguish two models: one based on German, and the other on the French and Italian examples. In the former, the primary role of the academy is to conduct basic research in all sciences and disciplines, among which the writing of prescriptive, authoritative works on the “national language” may or may not be included. The Czech academy followed this model, especially at the time of its foundation in the eighteenth century. The Hungarian and the Romanian academies were designed after the French model. At their inception, their sole aim was to elaborate and “institute” a multi-purpose normative variety of the vernaculars which were to be reinterpreted as “national” languages. The Hungarian and the Romanian academies were enlarged only later to include other disciplines and natural sciences in their sphere of interest.

Periodicals are just as vital as institutions and societies in the spreading of purist ideology and, at the time of the language reforms, in the introduction of neologisms. By the end of the eighteenth century the Hungarian-speaking territory was enjoying a boom in daily papers and journals. The first daily to be published in Hungarian appeared in Pressburg/Pozsony (Bratislava, Slovakia) in 1780. *Magyar Hírmondó* was first edited by Mátyás Ráth (ed. 1780–1782) and later by Miklós Révai (ed. 1783–84), who then became the head of the Department of Hungarian at the University of Budapest. The fact that *Magyar Hírmondó* became the hotbed of the early movement of language reform is due to Ráth’s and Révai’s dedication to neologisms and interventionism. *Magyar Hírmondó* was followed by Szacsvey’s *Magyar Kurír*, which was more explicit in its political orientation. Besides *Magyar Museum* there were other attempts to publish literary journals, too. József Kármán launched his *Uránia* in 1794 but it was soon proscribed by the Habsburg court as it was considered dangerous because of Kármán’s alleged involvement in anti-Habsburg plots in the period following Ignác Martinovits’s Jacobin movement, and because of the radically new cultural-political programme that he advocated in his essay *A nemzet csinosodása* (‘The refining of the nation’). Kármán himself died prematurely and mysteriously in 1795.

More successful than Kármán’s attempt to launch a periodical was that of Eliade Rădulescu in Muntenia. In April 1859 he published the first issue of *Curierul Românesc*

with Dinicu Golescu (1777–1830) and Constantin Moroiu (1837–1918). *Curierul Românesc*, being the first Muntenian newspaper, contributed greatly to the development of the “national literary language” in the second half of the nineteenth century. The year 1859 coincides with the unification of the two principalities, and the making of a Romanian state, as a result of which the Romanian vernacular (*limbă maternă* ‘mother tongue’) came to be associated with a well-defined administrative territory. In Hungary, however, the concept of a continuous territory, a key component of Hungarian statehood, remained uninterrupted throughout the centuries, even at times when this imaginary territory was divided between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empires, and the Principality of Transylvania. This difference in (imagined and real) statehood accounts for many of the differences between the objectives of the early nineteenth century language movements in Muntenia and Hungary. Nonetheless, the role of *Curierul Românesc* is somewhat similar to that of its early Hungarian counterparts inasmuch as it provided a forum for the publication of literary works and essays which were written in Romanian, thus contributing to the formation of a language variety which could then serve as a model for the making of the “national literary variety”, once political conditions permitted such endeavours after 1859.

In addition to providing a forum for the evaluation of both language features and methods of coining neologisms, such journals proclaim the need for caution in safeguarding the national linguistic heritage and for efforts to carry out language reform (cf. Thomas 1991: 105-106). Beside the publication of grammars, dictionaries, and the writing of original works and translations, the establishment of literary societies may play a similar role, as may the foundation of university departments. Departments of Hungarian and Czech studies were created in 1791 and 1792, in Budapest and in Prague, respectively. However, university education in the vernacular language assumes a variety that can be taught at academic level and which is therefore most likely to become the normative language variety. It is no surprise that the early years of the Department of Hungarian, and the activities of its second, most prominent head, Miklós Révai, were accompanied by heated debates regarding not only the language variety that should become the basis of the standard variety, but also the principles to be followed in

standard Hungarian orthography⁶⁰. Questions of script and spelling represent yet another set of factors in the problematisation of linguistic purism.

In this, the second part of this chapter I have reviewed language-external phenomena which appear to bear on the adoption of interventionist approaches to language, represented by language reform movements, in the three speech communities. It would be impossible to give, here, a detailed account of all factors in each of the communities in question. My objective has been merely to suggest a number of criteria which are cross-linguistically applicable to the study of historical and cultural processes in the course of which conscious and planned intervention in language change gains ground in a community. The rise of language reform movements has to do with political circumstances, in Central and Eastern Europe, too, where, in the aftermath of the French Revolution, such movements were often the only potential arena for political resistance and progress (Pražák 1991: 47-59). Thomas (1991: 114) points out that “[i]f created from above, without reference to the value-system of the speech community, societies [of language cultivation, academies] serve a symbolic function only: their presence is no guarantee of actual language purification”. The last part of this chapter explores ways in which “reference is made to the speech communities’ value-system” by groups of élites who are the key actors in the formation and preservation of ideas about language. Our understanding of why value-laden postures prevail in some communities and show weaker patterns in others will also benefit from the discussion that follows.

2.3 The quest for purity and the problem of anchorage

In speech communities where the “standard” variety of language functions as a symbol of the idealised national culture, taboos and restrictions on people’s unregulated use of language are a means of protecting the imaginary unity of language from unwanted, foreign or “substandard” elements. Such taboos in a society are inspired by

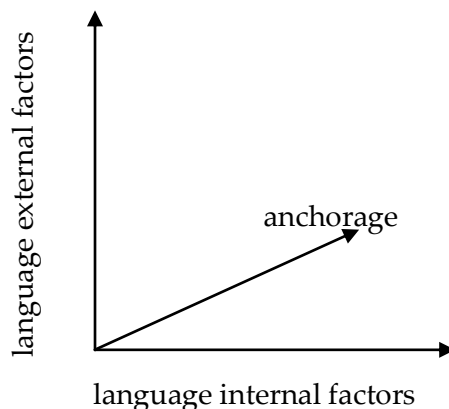
⁶⁰ See, for instance, the “Ypsilonist–Iottist War” (*ypsilonháború*; 1805–1806) in Szalai (1980). In this “quill-war” one of the contenders, Ferenc Verseggy, advocated a spelling system based on pronunciation, which involved the use of <y> and was non-transparent regarding morpheme boundaries; while his opponent, Miklós Révai, espoused an orthography based on morphological/analytical and historical criteria, involving <j>, and not reflecting sound assimilation patterns in spelling.

fear, insecurity, and “preoccupations against malignant spirits”, as Douglas (1966: 10) puts it. A crucial question arises from this rationale. What are the “equivalents” of “malignant spirits” in concerns about language? In other words, what are the origins of the fear or insecurity which accounts for the emergence of value-laden postures towards language? Possible answers to these questions will be elucidated below through the concept of anchorage.

Anchorage is a theoretical construct proposed by Austerlitz (1975: 204-205) to explain ways in which an ethnic community’s sense of security and self-worth might be influenced by an awareness of affines – other ethnic groups related to it – beyond its borders. The most obvious index of affinity in this model is language but it is suggested that the notion of anchorage could be exploited also along religious and cultural lines. (An instance of religious anchorage from Section 2.2 is Hungarian Protestants’ awareness and relations with Western Protestant communities.) Austerlitz applied anchorage as an analytical tool to explain – to use a more recent term – the ethnolinguistic vitality of speakers of languages, some of which were endangered, in the Soviet Union (as it then was). Larger ethnic groups (often with a written tradition; e.g. Armenians, Buriats, and Estonians) were characterized by a stronger sense of historic consciousness and national awareness than smaller and economically less significant groups. If a linguistic-and-ethnic group had linguistic affines within or outside Siberia (e.g. groups speaking a Uralic language such as the Mansi and Khanty), awareness of this affinity brought about a sense of relative security among group members. Speakers of language isolates, such as the Gilyak, considered themselves also culturally and ethnically unique. In his analysis of 32 linguistic-and-ethnic minorities in the USSR, Austerlitz found that awareness of an ethnic group through which a particular community is willing to establish anchorage significantly strengthened the community’s likeliness to sustain its language and folklore. The remaining part of this chapter is an experiment with the concept of anchorage, which I will apply to the three linguistic communities under discussion, in order to offer a tentative explanation of some of the factors that underpin value-laden postures and beliefs about language in these communities.

Figure 1 shows that anchorage can be thought of as a mediating link between language-external (history, society, culture) and language-internal (here: historic relatedness of languages) factors which impinge on attitudes towards language.

Figure 1: The concept of anchorage



If anchorage is explored from a linguistic point of view, it is more closely related to language-internal than to language-external factors inasmuch as it is determined by the historical relatedness of languages. The notion of anchorage, however, also involves the awareness that exists regarding this relationship in a speech community. Through this awareness – which is bundled up with the self-perception and self-evaluation of members of a community – language-internal (or at least language-related)⁶¹ factors influence language-external, social psychological phenomena, that is to say, they have an effect on the way in which members of a broadly defined speech community negotiate their position when acting as members of politically constructed entities.

Defining the strength of anchorage in a community, in the Central and East European context, therefore, involves the following questions: whether or not a language has historically closely related languages, whether or not these languages are located in its proximity, whether or not there is an awareness of this relationship among members of a community, whether or not the related language(s) are held in low/high esteem, and whether or not the potential typological similarity to a related language is explored in the “making” of the prestige-variety of a language. For instance, the 1993 spelling reform of Romanian, mentioned earlier in this chapter (p. 88), is an example of a community

⁶¹ N.B. the history of a language is not to be confused with its language-internal, typological features, although (a measure of) typological resemblance (as understood by community members and not language typologists) may come in handy in the search for anchorage.

willing to assert its anchorage more strongly to another language, in this case Latin. Eliade Rădulescu's endeavour to italianise Romanian is another example of the quest for linguistic affinity for non-linguistic ends.

In contrast to the Romanian examples, Hungarians' insistence on finding anchorage through more prestigious communities than those whose languages are related to Hungarian pinpoints the importance of concerns about anchorage (for a comprehensive survey of such attempts see Sándor 2011; also in English in Sherwood 1996; 2011). Hungarian, the only Uralic language in Central and Eastern Europe, lacks "anchorage" in the region. Its affinity to other members of the Uralic language family is, on the one hand, remote, and, on the other, it was held in low esteem and deemed not prestigious enough at the early stage of research into the historic relatedness of languages (and to this day). The low prestige of the historical relatedness of Hungarian to Finnish – Hungarian's potential linguistic affine in Europe – is illustrated by the derogatory term *halzsíros atyafiság* 'fish-fatty kinsmen' with which it was labeled. In this respect, it is particularly instructive to contrast Hungarian with Romanian, the other non-Germanic non-Slavonic language of the region, because the latter was able to embrace its relatedness to languages of high prestige in Europe, Italian and French, in the wake of the first, Muntenian language movement. This hypothesis, however, appears to be insufficient to explain purist postures among speakers of Slavonic languages in Central and Eastern Europe, which is a Slavonic spread zone (cf. Nichols 1993), and therefore, Slavonic languages and their speakers are located here in the immediate proximity of their potential "affines". Table 8 (on p. 100) outlines the questions about anchorage listed above and indicates how they could be answered with regards to Czech, Hungarian, and Romanian.

The prerequisite for awareness of linguistic affinity was the *discovery* of the historic relatedness of languages through the comparative analysis of the structure (phonology and morphology) and lexis of Slavic, Romance and Finno-Ugric languages.⁶²

⁶² The proof of Uralic was a much later, twentieth-century development (Paasonen 1917), so the earlier term, Finno-Ugric, is used here.

Table 8: Anchorage in Czech, Hungarian, and Romanian

| | CZ | HU | RO |
|--|-----|-----|----|
| affinity to prestigious languages of Western Europe | - | - | + |
| ANCHORAGE linguistic affinity to Slavonic languages of the region | + | - | - |
| awareness of a prestigious “ancestor” language | +/- | 0 | + |
| Independent statehood | - | - | - |
| Adopting Western Romance purism as a model | - | -/+ | + |
| Adopting German as a model | + | + | - |
| Borrowing from historically related languages | +/- | 0 | + |
| Defending language from foreign, “alien” elements | + | + | + |
| Defending language from elements from related languages | + | 0 | - |

In Bohemia, the starting point of Slavic studies is connected to the early period of the Enlightenment and to Dobrovský’s work. Nevertheless, the position of Czech in this respect is different from both Hungarian and Romanian in the region, inasmuch as the territory where it is spoken forms part of the Slavic continuum of Central and Eastern Europe, thus there was always an awareness of its linguistic resemblance to other Slavonic languages in the region. Speakers of Western Slavonic languages are different from most of their East- and South-Slavonic “affines” culturally; religion, for instance, binds them to Western European Catholicism (as is the case with speakers of the variety named *Croatian* in the South Slavonic group).

In the Habsburg Empire, Czech had linguistic affines both within and outside the political borders; Romanian was spoken on both Habsburg (Transylvania) and Ottoman territory, providing speakers with the possibility of anchoring themselves through “the same” language on both sides of the border. Hungarian – apart from the pockets of Hungarian speakers in Moldavia on the Eastern slopes of the Carpathian – had no affines outside of the Habsburg Empire during the Enlightenment. The Muntenian language movement, as we have seen, was located in the Ottoman sphere of interest, hence, Romanian in this region was under pressure from Greek rather than German. The fact that both Czech and Hungarian were spoken in the Habsburg Empire accounts for the similarities between the motives of their language movements, namely, the threat that figured in the history of both languages is oppression mainly by German, the official language of the Empire. At the same time, Czech, unlike Hungarian, was not only able to ground itself in the tradition of a body of canonical texts – a literary tradition – from the

thirteenth century, but also to anchor itself through its linguistic affinity to Polish and other Slavonic languages of the region, the role of which should not be underestimated in the period of the awakening of the Pan-Slav idea. On the other hand, the Czech language movement, like the Hungarian one, evolved largely on the model of German linguistic purism, both in adopting ideas of word formation and in calquing from German. Although Czech language reformers, unlike their Slovak and Slovene counterparts, did not seek to protect Czech from borrowing from other Slavonic languages, methods of coining words from “native” material were more popular. Auty (1973: 339) describes the results of the Bohemian language movement as follows: “[t]he inner form of the language was brought into line with the concepts and processes of thought current in western Europe, while at the same time the external form of the words in question became increasingly unfamiliar for those approaching it from a west European linguistic background”.

Auty’s remark encapsulates the different impact of direct lexical borrowing, on the one hand, and, on the other, calquing, on the target language. Borrowing might imply a greater degree of transparency (“foreign-ness”) of loan words for native speakers of the borrowing language, while both calquing and the coining of new words work with “native” material. In calquing, the morphological and lexical elements of source-language material are “translated” into the target language, thus, the resulting new words seem entirely alien to speakers of the source language (e.g. German *Einführung* PVB’in’-lead=NDER ‘introduction’ v. Hungarian *be-vezet=és* PVB’in’-lead=NDER ‘introduction’). In the process, morphological features and word formation techniques of the source language are accommodated in the borrowing language, yet the “external form of the words” becomes increasingly unfamiliar for speakers of the source language. The increasing unfamiliarity of the shapes of words from a west European linguistic point of view applies to both Czech and Hungarian as a result of the language reforms. Romanian displays a radically different pattern in this respect. Its relatedness to Romance languages played a crucial part in the making of modern Romanian, both in the calquing and the borrowing of new words from Italian and especially from French. Other Western-Slavonic languages never displayed as strong a xenophobic purism as Czech during the language reform. The impact of purism on Russian and Polish was

marginal due to their history, which differed from Czech in that their existence and status had never been challenged, and foreign elements were therefore not seen as a real danger to them (Auty 1973: 337-339). Perhaps a more important factor in the rise of linguistic purism than the danger of actual language extinction is whether speakers perceive the position of their language as likely to destabilise and eventually vanish.⁶³

In contrast with Slavonic languages, the linguistic affinity of Romanian, and especially Hungarian, to other languages had to be “discovered”. The assumption that Romanians and Italians were one and the same people⁶⁴ was discussed at some length by Dimitrie Cantemir (1673–1723), among other historians of the seventeenth century. But the first to embrace this kinship theory fully was Ienăchiță Văcărescu, who believed that Italian and Romanian were different only because the latter had never been standardised or enriched by Latin loans. Hence, he sought to describe and standardise Romanian morphology and syntax in his grammar, but never proposed the idea of fully latinising Romanian. Linguists and historians belonging to the Școala ardeleană in Transylvania had no such reservations. Inspired perhaps by the example of non-Romanian speakers, especially Germans and Hungarians, surrounding them, they were the first to advocate the introduction of Latin script instead of Cyrillic, thus making Romanian resemble Italian more closely. Among the members of the Transylvanian school the best known in Muntenia was Petru Maior (c.1756–1821), an advocate of the emancipation of Romanians in Transylvania. His central thesis was that Romanian and Italian had been the same language until the latter was reshaped by Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch (a question which will be revisited in Chapter 3, Section 3.2). In Maior’s view, these changes led to the fact that Italian was no longer as “pure” as Romanian. In his essays he claimed that contact with Slavonic languages had had little effect on the morphosyntactic structure of Romanian and that Slavonic loans could easily be removed from the lexis, thus purging

⁶³ In this chapter I decided to compare Czech rather than a language from the South Slavic dialect continuum with Hungarian because in the latter significant dialectal differences represented a greater difficulty in the creation of a literary language than in Hungarian. Types of purism in South Slavic which target linguistic similarities with other members of the dialect continuum – rather than seeking anchorage through them – makes the motivation for purist activity different here from patterns found in Hungarian. This particular brand of purism is also well-explored in the secondary literature; for a comparison with Hungarian, see Auty 1972 and 1973: 340-341.

⁶⁴ Linguistic affinity or resemblance and the common origins of the people appeared to be a simple corollary at the time.

Romanian of all foreign elements. However, Maior realised that the presence of those words of Latin origin in Western Romance and Italian which lacked Romanian cognates represented a problem for the acclaimed “purity” of Romanian and jeopardised his entire theory of Romanians being descendants of the Roman colonisers. He dealt with this difficulty by arguing that the Latin words found only in Western Romance had been borrowed from Latin as a result of the continuous contact with this language through its use by the Catholic Church, whilst Romanian had only the Latin words taken to Dacia by the Roman colonists (Close 1974: 18-20). Maior’s ideas were adopted by Eliade Rădulescu without reservations in the second part of his career, as discussed earlier (Section 2.1) in this chapter. However, the picture of Romanians’ concerns about the cultural prestige of their language would be incomplete without an understanding of their efforts to establish anchorage with especially French among the Western Romance languages. French was the prestige language *par excellence* in Europe at the time of the Muntenian language movement, and linguistic affiliation to it was seen as an enormous cultural advantage among Romanian intellectuals, who, similarly to Hungarians, felt the need to assert their separate identity from the neighbouring Slavonic and German-speaking peoples. At the same time, as shown in the second part of this chapter, for Romanians in Muntenia the idea that they shared the rich cultural heritage of the French was also a way of establishing a direct link with the distant world of Western civilization. Hence, anchorage through language-relatedness and anchorage through cultural affinity were exploited simultaneously as part of a broader cultural project to realign Romanian culture with Western European thought instead of South-East European traditions. This idea gave Romanians a feeling of security and affirmed their privileged position among the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe. The initial objectives of the language reform headed by Eliade Rădulescu were to “enrich” and standardise Romanian, drawing on neologisms from both Latin and French.⁶⁵ As a result

⁶⁵ What is more, Romanian writers had a practice of obscuring the direct source of loanwords, so that it is difficult to tell whether it is an international loan or a borrowing from a particular language, and if the latter, which one; e.g. Romanian *superstiție* could be based on Latin *superstitio*, French *superstition*, or Italian *superstizione*. Another practice was to give loans that did not occur in Latin a Latinised shape; e.g. *civilizație* by analogy with words such as *observație*, which were genuinely Latin (Close 1974: 38-46). For the latter, see also *familie* ‘family’, a borrowing from Latin or French, v. *femeie* ‘woman’, an internal development from Latin (cf. Schulte 2009: 259).

of these processes, by the 1830s the frequency of French loans in Romanian literary works increased to such an extent that this gallomania inspired Constantin Faca (c.1800–1845) to write a play, *Comodia vremii*, which itself took its inspiration from Molière’s *Précieuses ridicules*, in order to satirize the young ladies and gentlemen of Bucharest society who “were infatuated by all things French – language, dress, manners, and pastimes” (Close 1974: 213).⁶⁶

As shown in the first three rows of Table 8 on anchorage, to contemporaries of the language reformers Hungarian’s position appeared to be somewhat forlorn in Central and Eastern Europe. It should therefore come as no surprise that the early history of the discovery of the relationship between Finno-Ugric languages ran parallel with the history of counter-theories attempting to establish a more impressive ancestry for Hungarian. From the work of the early grammarians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the implicit goal of attempts to describe Hungarian had been to make it more accessible and less enigmatic for speakers of German, German patrons (such as Maurice of Hessen, cf. p. 108 below) in particular. In so doing, it was becoming increasingly clear to the grammar writer’s mind that the structure and peculiarities of Hungarian were ill-suited to the rigid categories used in the description of Latin and Greek. An interesting attempt is a grammar by György Komáromi Csipkés, *Hungaria Illustrata* (published in Utrecht in 1655), which was written in Latin, but followed the descriptive practices of grammars of Hebrew, its author having been a student of Oriental languages at the University of Utrecht. *Hungaria Illustrata* is also the first attempt to find a “language family” for Hungarian. Indeed, Komáromi Csipkés states that Hungarian is historically related to Hebrew.

As far as other, rather persistent, kinship theories are concerned, by the eighteenth century there was a general awareness of the Eastern origins of Hungarians, partly because of some rediscovered knowledge of the medieval historical heritage

⁶⁶ Youth slang, characterised by loan translations from French, becomes a source of comic effect; e.g. *oi să fac curte* < *faire la cour* ‘woo, court so.’ (cf. Hungarian *udvarol*: *udvar=ol*: ‘court’=VDER whose basis is the Slavonic stem for ‘court’ (N), cf. Czech *dvůr*, and the verb is derived with a native denominal verb suffix =*Ol*); *să varsă în științe* < *être versé en sciences* ‘be immersed/well-versed in scholarship’. For the exploitation of individual speech styles or dialectal features in literature, see Chapter 4 (especially 4.2 and 4.3) (Romanian examples cited from Close 1974: 213-218).

which linked Hungarians' prehistory to the Huns and to "Scythia". This medieval heritage relied largely on Anonymus's *Gesta Hungarorum*, written c1200 in Latin.⁶⁷ This is the oldest chronicle of the history of Hungarians, and it establishes the myth of Hungarians' relatedness to Turkic-speaking peoples of the East, a consequence of the fact that the semi-nomadic tribes that were to become "Hungarians" did come into contact with Turkic peoples while migrating from their original settlements in the western Ural region. The other main source of assumptions about the Eastern origin of Hungarians was the increasing awareness of "Jugria" and Ugric-speaking peoples in Russia and Central-Asia even before the eighteenth century (cf. Sherwood 1996). There were attempts to consolidate the two theories regarding the "Scythian" or Ugric origin of Hungarian from the early eighteenth century, in work by Mátyás Bél (1684–1749) for instance. Nonetheless, the Turkic affinity was an appealing possibility from the point of view of establishing anchorage, and it was exploited with the aim of manipulating general knowledge in Hungary and Europe regarding the "mysterious" but unquestionably prestigious ancestry of Hungarians. The polemic culminated in the "Ugric-Turkic War" in the mid-nineteenth century, that is, after the foundations of Finno-Ugric linguistics were laid down, clarifying Hungarian's status as a Finno-Ugric language, by János Sajnovics's and Sámuel Gyarmathy's work in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. János Sajnovics (1733–1785) was the first to demonstrate the relationship between Hungarian and Saami in his *Demonstratio Idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse* (published in 1770), thus paving the way for enquiries into the history of Finno-Ugric languages, but also preceding the discovery of the relatedness of Indo-European languages. Even after the "victory" of the "Ugric camp" in the "Ugric-Turkic War" various theories about the origins of Hungarian and its speakers have mushroomed to this day; these include, *inter alia*, the idea of a "Turanian" family of languages, embracing all Altaic (Turkic, Manchu-Tungus, Mongolian) and Uralic languages. A further, and perhaps the most absurd but in Hungary rather persistent claim is the notion of Sumerianism according to which Hungarians would have directly

⁶⁷ Anonymus was the notary of King Béla III; the *Gesta Hungarorum* is available in an English version (translated by Martyn Rady) (<http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/18975/1/18975.pdf>) (Accessed 2015-07-30.)

descended from the pre-Biblical Sumerian people:⁶⁸ an “enormous cultural prize”, as Peter Sherwood put it (1996: 33), to assert their special rights among other peoples of the Carpathian basin.⁶⁹

I have recounted the anecdotal material on linguistic kinship theories in great detail because it casts light on the fundamental reasons for the various myths of ancestry among not only Hungarians but also Romanians. In the wake of nineteenth-century nationalisms, Eliade Rădulescu’s endeavour to italianise Romanian was the overstatement of Romanians’ “Roman” origins, which can be seen as a theory to counter similar kinship theories among the Magyars. In turn, the persistence of ideas about the Hun, Sumerian, Latin, or more recently, Etruscan origins of Hungarians (and of Hungarian language) are examples of Hungarians’ concerns about finding anchorage for themselves, in Western Europe or, in the absence of such candidates, among the glorious, mythical peoples of the East.

One question remains to be addressed. How does the quest for anchorage, which is grounded in the feeling of cultural and linguistic isolation, correlate with the rise of linguistic purism in a community with a tradition of literacy? In other words, does the relative distinctiveness or perceived matchlessness of a language account for a sense of

⁶⁸ The misleading association between the type and genealogical relatedness of languages again accounts for this fiasco. Sumerian is a language isolate, but its agglutinating morphology drew attention to its typological similarities with Hungarian.

⁶⁹ Most recent “theories” include the one of Hungarian’s putative Etruscan kinship, whose proponent is Mario Alinei (2003; 2005), professor emeritus at the University of Utrecht, and president of the *Atlas Linguarum Europae* at UNESCO. Alinei is a celebrated “paleolinguist” whose ideas are, however, widely rejected by mainstream historical linguists. More interesting than this from our viewpoint is the reception of his book, *Etrusco, una forma arcaica di ungherese* (in Hungarian translation: *Az ősi kapocs, A magyar–etruszk nyelvrokonság*) in Hungary. The linguistic aspects of the utter nonsense advocated by Alinei have been entirely ignored by *Magyarok Világszövetsége* (‘Alliance of Hungarians Worldwide’), the organisation which supported the translation and publication of the volume in Hungary. While Hungarian linguists found the book unworthy of being dignified by criticism, the non-linguist president of the Alliance, Miklós Paturbány, introduced it in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, Romania) at a press conference where he also advocated the idea of “double citizenship” for Hungarians living in Transylvania (source found at the news section of the webpage of the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation at <http://www.hhrf.org/rmsz/05jun/050613.htm>; accessed 2006-09-21; “double citizenship” since then has become a political reality). One must not ignore the political undertones of the scene, where a volume claiming that Hungarians were descended from the Etruscans, mythical founders of Rome, was introduced to members of the Hungarian minority living among the Romanian majority community, and the relevance of such a proposition in Transylvania, which has long been the arena of competing Romanian and Hungarian claims for dominance, and thus for primacy in the region.

political insecurity and isolation among its speakers in a European context as well? As Asad (1986) points out in his article on the concept of cultural translation, the inequality of languages accounts for the willingness or unwillingness of the translator's language to subject itself to the transforming power that is involved in the process of translation. According to Asad, languages of Third World societies are "weaker" than Western languages inasmuch as they are more likely to submit to forcible transformation in the translation process than the other way around. The inequality of languages, or language varieties, is governed by institutionally defined power relations between the societies, and thus languages concerned. Economically stronger communities have a greater ability to manipulate the language of the economically weaker community, partly because the desired knowledge, as well as access to resources, are more readily produced and deployed in languages used by economically stronger communities. I believe that Asad's argument is applicable to the relation of German and Hungarian or German and Czech within the Habsburg as well as to the relation of Romanian and Greek in the Ottoman Empire in the period of the Enlightenment and early Romanticism, and this relationship partly accounts for the rise of the first organised language movements in Bohemia, Hungary, and Muntenia.

Romanian and Hungarian, the two non-Slavonic languages wedged between German and the Slavic spread zone in the region, were spoken within the territories of two great empires in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Ottoman and the Habsburg. As a consequence of the language policies of these Empires, both Hungarian and Romanian were under strong pressure from dominant foreign languages (German and Greek, respectively). In this respect, Hungarian appears to have had a more advantageous position after it replaced Latin as the official language of Hungary in 1844, although German was widely-known and also decreed to be the compulsory language of secondary education even as late as 1856 (Sherwood 1996: 30). On the other hand, Romanian was able to embrace its linguistic affinity to other, prestigious Romance languages of Europe, and find anchorage through the increasing awareness of the genealogical relatedness to such a "great ancestor" as Latin. As argued in the previous part of this chapter, the Hungarian language movement had no comparable potential for anchorage. Thus, the avowed aim of early grammarians, such as Komáromi Csipkés,

was not only to provide a grammar for potential learners of Hungarian, but also to promote the appreciation of the Hungarian people in the wider world. Albert Szenczi Molnár, the author of the most comprehensive early Hungarian grammar, for instance, dedicates his *Nova Grammatica Ungarica* (published in Hanau in 1610) to Maurice, landgrave of the Principality of Hessen, whose endeavour to master Hungarian inspired Szenczi's work, and whose sponsorship provided for its completion. Only grammars of ancient languages, particularly Latin, were available as models for the description of Hungarian; the consequences of this are twofold. On the one hand, the grammar writer had to fit the system of Hungarian into the grammatical categories widely applied in the description and teaching of Latin. Further compromise had to be made according to the native language of the target audience, in Szenczi's case German, in the course of which Hungarian was subject to the "transforming power" of cultural translation Asad mentions. We shall see further instances of translation as a way for poets and grammar writers to be confronted with the intricate specificity of languages in all their details (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5). In this confrontation, the alien nature of Hungarian led some of its students to desperately seek connections between Hungarian and other languages that were familiar to them (or even close to their heart), as was the case with Komáromi Csipkés among the early grammar writers, and Ármin Vámbéry among the advocates of the Turkic origin of Hungarians. A more recent example of this is the Transylvanian László Szabédi (1907–1959), who, as late as the mid-twentieth century, almost two hundred years after the discovery of the relatedness of Finno-Ugric languages, proposed a theory that Latin and the Finno-Ugric protolanguage both descended from the same Indo-European ancestor (cf. Sherwood 1996: 34). Such attempts reveal the non-linguistic objectives behind the ambitious linguistic projects of finding a "great ancestor", similar to that of Romanian, for Hungarian. The non-linguistic motivation, in Szabédi's case, reaches even further than the realm of politics, insofar as it concerns his personality and presentation of self. For Szabédi this theory had the potential to reconcile the bias in his Transylvanian identity by proving "scientifically" that the two major languages spoken in his native Transylvania, Romanian and Hungarian, and therefore their speakers, were closely related to each other.

Similar abortive ideas about the linguistic affinity of Hungarian as well as the two seventeenth century grammars discussed above display a characteristic of Hungarian thought, namely, the bi-directional gravitation which pulls Hungarian culture simultaneously towards the West and the East in its attempt to establish anchorage among the stronger and more prestigious nations of Europe and Asia.⁷⁰ The reason why Romanian speakers and language reformers perceived the position of their language more advantageously accounts for the abundance of Romance, especially French, loans among the neologisms coined during the early nineteenth century. In this light, what appeared as a weakness in the case of Hungarian, that is, its isolation among the Slavonic languages of Central and Eastern Europe, came to be seen rather as an advantage in the case of Romanian, which could claim to have descended from the same ancestor as the then most prestigious language of Western Europe. This fascination with the Roman roots gave way later, and is palpable even today, to a preference for Dacian and Getic (that is, more ancient and mysterious than Roman) affiliation. The unceasing stream of kinship theories is an instance of the manifestations of myth (cf. Austerlitz 1988 in the Introduction) to explain natural and social phenomena, in this case the origins of *language* and of *people(s)*, which are both. It is the explanatory power of myth which transforms language into a MORAL BEING in our conceptual system (cf. Chapter 1), and which projects values on language such as “good”, “bad”, “high”, “low”, “pure”, “ugly” (cf. Bauer & Trudgill 1998). Myths of linguistic superiority and ancestry gain their most extreme expressions in racial theories, which conflate the origin and “virtues” of language with the origin and moral standing of a people, of which German purist theory (e.g. Wells 1987: 389-419) and the language of the Third Reich (Klemperer: [1946] 2007)

⁷⁰ Given that Hungarian’s Finno-Ugric ancestry was held in particularly low esteem, and the lack of contact opportunities because of geographical distance, it is no surprise that the sole example of Hungarian adopting a loan from a related language is a matter of coincidence. János Sajnovics, who was the first to discover the relationship between Hungarian and Saami in his *Demonstratio*, coined Hungarian *mint* ‘pattern’ from the Saami noun *mynta* ‘money’ (< Lat. *moneta*) to mean ‘form, shape’ for which Hungarian had borrowed by then the Latin *forma*. Sajnovics suggested that the Saami noun would be more suitable because its meaning is more transparent than that of *forma* given that in Hungarian *mint a* (‘as, like’ comparative particle, ‘the’ definite article) means ‘like the’. His folketymological reasoning turned out to be a fiasco: a result of a misprint in the Lappish dictionary, in which *mynta* appeared instead of *minstar* ‘form, pattern’. However, by the time the etymology was discovered, *mint* had become established in Hungarian as ‘prototype, pattern’ allowing the meaning of *forma* to remain ‘form, shape’ (TESz, s.v., “mint”).

are the best known examples. The quest for anchorage is a milder form of such myths but its force should not be underestimated among Hungarians, especially during the late nineteenth century, when the fear of isolation, underpinned by the perception of language as “unusual”, or even “unique”, was further reinforced by the growing nationality problems of the multi-ethnic Dual Monarchy. The rationale for language intervention – “cultivation”, “purification”, “reform” – is always underpinned and “explained” by myth, and the kind of myth along which a particular society structures its beliefs about language determines the type of language intervention it prioritises.

To return to the period of the language reform movement, making Hungarian “look” more European was not only a necessity of the craft of the grammarian. It was also an attempt to involve Hungarian and its speakers in European power relations, and to make the language more acceptable and significant in the eye of the ruling elites of “stronger” nations. As Asad’s argument suggests, in this process Hungarian would have been submitted to forcible transformation, in the course of which it would have been stripped of its unwelcome and alien features. In this regard, attempts to reform Hungarian, which culminated in the language renewal of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, can be seen as the conscious repeal of these processes. Language reform movements result in a language variety, whose attributes are normally polyvalence, adequacy in all fields of human experience, which is achieved and then maintained through the conscious “guarding”, “cultivating”, and “purification” of this variety. Unlike for Slavonic languages and Romanian, for Hungarian the existence of such a variety was seen as the sole guarantee of the survival of the “people”, a unique potential to assert Hungarians’ worthiness in the political arena of competing “nations” under the dominion of the Habsburg and Ottoman empires. In the Hungarian community the fear of unworthiness originated from the feeling of cultural and linguistic isolation, which was heightened by Herder’s (1791) infamous prophecy that Hungarians might disappear in the sea of Slavs.⁷¹ It is worth noting that according to Dezső Dümmerth (1987b: 205-281), Herder’s source was the German historian August Ludwig Schlözer’s *Allgemeine nordische Geschichte*, published in Halle in 1771. Schlözer,

⁷¹ von Herder (1791) “[...] die Ungern oder Madscharen [...] sind sie jetzt unter Slaven, Deutchen, Wlachen und andern Völker der geringere Theil der Landeseinwohner, und nach Jahrhunderten wird man vielleicht ihre Sprache kaum finden“ (cited in Dümmerth 1987b).

on the other hand, quotes the archbishop of Esztergom, Miklós Oláh's (Nicolaus Olahus) *Hungaria*, which was first published by Mátyás Bél in 1735 and then in 1763 with notes by Ádám Kollár, director of the Habsburg Imperial Library at that time. Kollár was *hungarus* in respect of his national loyalty; he regarded himself as being from Hungary (*magyarországi*) and described his own identity as Slav. It is in his notes for the second edition of Oláh's *Hungaria* that Dümmerth discovered the origins of Herder's prophecy. In this light, Dümmerth argues, the prophecy that led to the fear of "nation death" in Hungarian thought, precisely because it was attributed to Herder, that is, to a German thinker, independent of the internal affairs and ethnic power relations of the Habsburg Empire, was inspired by an early emergence of the Panslav idea.

2.4 Summary and outlook

In this chapter I have outlined the phenomenon of linguistic purism and the quest for anchorage in three speech communities of Central and Eastern Europe, with particular reference to the Hungarian community.

As was shown in the first part of this chapter, the language and discourse of linguistic purism and language cultivation are highly language-and-culture specific. The intricate specificity of the discourse hinders an inter- and intra-linguistically adequate taxonomy of interventionist attitudes towards language. The investigator is tempted to understand purism in the context of the language-and-culture in which the study of purism is undertaken. The understanding of value-laden postures remains problematic because the frame of interpretation (myth) which we use to untangle purist phenomena is rooted (culturally and often linguistically) in the very same way as the interpretative practices which gave rise to purist orientations at the first place. Ways of talking about languages are driven by metaphors grounded in the conceptual system of speakers; therefore, the set of terms that are applicable to the description of value-laden postures in one community prove to be of little help when one tries to apply them to the study of purism in another community. What I have suggested here, instead, is a set of criteria which is cross-linguistically relevant to the study of interventionist and elitist postures

towards language during the decisive period of the rise of language reform movements in Central and Eastern Europe.

I have reviewed language-external factors, social-historical and cultural phenomena. The understanding of such factors, albeit necessary for the thorough analysis of language reform movements, affords little insight into the cultural processes underlying the events of reform movements and language reformers' activities. Thus, I have proposed an alternative, the quest for anchorage in the three communities in the early period of research into the historic relatedness of languages. The explanatory model based on anchorage includes theories and counter-theories of linguistic affinity, which contribute to a sense of security, stability, and groundedness in the self-perception of linguistic communities.

In summary, both languages and language attitudes are in contact in Central and Eastern Europe. Reformist language movements show comparable patterns across the region as a result of similarities in cultural, historical, and social circumstances which motivated these movements. Ideas about the prestige of a learned vernacular variety, however, are also instances of cultural borrowing of West European, mostly French models in these communities. Sándor (2006) concludes in her chapter on language planning that language cultivation is a quintessentially political issue, inasmuch as the action plan for intervention in language change is normally directed by institutions, academies, and political organisations. Thus, language movements and language ideologies are a mediating link between social structures and language use. In the third chapter I shall discuss language-internal, typological factors, and suggest that these are equally important in shaping attitudes towards language, not least because in "cultural borrowing" the language of the "lender", the high-prestige culture, comes into contact with the receiving community's vernacular.

Before moving on to the next chapter, I propose a methodological outlook which couples insights from the analytical techniques used in Chapter 1 (conceptual metaphor, metonymy and blends) and the concept of anchorage introduced in this chapter.

Figure 2: Metonymic relationships within the blends MOTHER TONGUE and ANCHORAGE

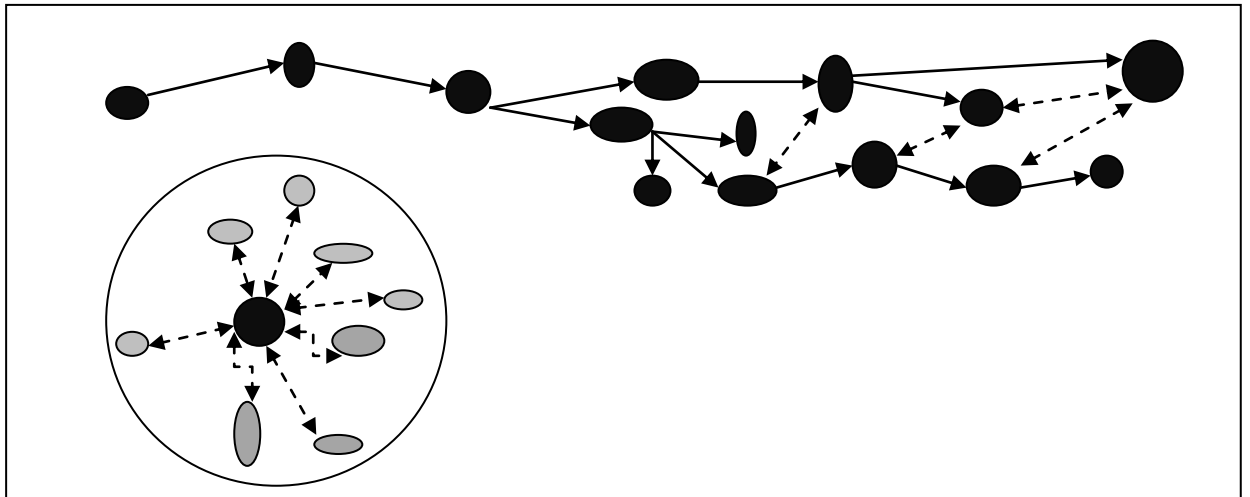


Figure 2 is a schematic visual representation of the causal (continuous) relationship and of the *pars pro toto* ('part for a whole') relationship within the metonymy underlying the collocation *mother tongue*. Each dark circle/oval stands for a member of a generation who transmits language to the next one. Single-headed full black arrows represent language transmission. The shape of the circles/ovals is dissimilar from one another but this is no typographic coincidence: no two individuals' use of language is identical, and in particular, the intergenerational transmission of language is one of the reasons for language change. Double-headed arrows indicate interaction between members of the same generation, or any member of the speech community, who do not descend directly from each other. This is the network of relations on which the second image, framed by the large circle, zooms in. Every single light-shaded circle (individual speakers) is embedded in a larger unit: the large transparent circle represents the speech community of which the individual is a member (and of which the following generation may remain a member but not necessarily so). The chart shows possible interactions between members of a speech community from the perspective of the individual, hence, the possible exchanges between other members of the community (symbolised here with light grey circles/ovals) are not drawn in here.

The first outline in Figure 2 shows the continuity-causality element of the metonymy while the second one sketches the 'part for a whole' element. The first reflects temporality and diachrony within the blend: language transmission connects the

individual with speakers of the language before and after their time. The second graphic reflects synchronicity and interconnectedness between speakers of a language within a period of time in which actual interactions between speakers are possible (*étape de langue*). In other words, this is the bond of the individual speaker to members of a community who speak the same language (or, indeed, who are in agreement with each other that they speak the same language).

It is the second component of the metonymy which makes yet another metonymic association possible: the individual is – and believes herself to be – connected to a community through language (and other cultural practices). The community is spread across a territory and – through a further metonymic transfer – language comes to be associated with that territory, particularly in the language ideological stance of nation states. It is through this series of metonymic relations that the metaphors LANGUAGE is COMMUNITY and LANGUAGE is TERRITORY become possible in the blend. To return to Figure 2, the first component highlights the temporal entailments of the blend, the second one the spatial ones.

In order to fully exploit the explanatory power of the concept of anchorage, it is worth extending our understanding of it by interpreting it as a blend. The blend of ANCHORAGE has an underlying structure whose similarity to that of MOTHER TONGUE is a revealing and likely possibility. Let us consider the sketches in Figure 2 according to the components of anchorage. Similarly to the blend underlying MOTHER TONGUE, ANCHORAGE also has a twofold underlying structure: first, a causal-temporal, second, a spatial-synchronic one. In ANCHORAGE, the single-headed arrows represent a series of synchronies in language history. The formulation *history of a language* is deliberately avoided here, as the concept of anchorage assumes the involvement of various languages which are historically related to each other. Therefore, the dark circles in the first sketch now represent various languages, each of which is understood by their speakers as “one” language. In other words, the first drawing illustrates the descent of languages from their “ancestor” languages. It is helpful to think of the dark circles as languages which are separated from one another by not only, and perhaps not primarily, language-internal differences but also by speakers’ socially, culturally, and politically motivated understanding of them as separate languages. These

synchronies are likely to correspond to stages of language development when language naming occurred (e.g. when Latin “turned into” Italian by Dante’s act of naming it; see Chapter 3).

The historic relatedness of languages can be understood only along the temporal axis of the blend, as relatedness may account for varying degrees of (and at times low) synchronic similarities between languages. Yet speakers’ awareness of the historic affines of the language which they think of as “theirs” is the single most important condition in the concept of anchorage, although typological similarity, too, plays a part in popular theories about language relatedness (e.g. popular beliefs which relate Hungarian to Turkic languages which, similarly to Hungarian, have a concatenating morphology and vowel harmony). Awareness is illustrated in the above schemata with the double-headed arrows (which represented interaction between speakers in the analysis of the metonymic structures underlying MOTHER TONGUE).

The similarity in the underlying structure of the two blends (MOTHER TONGUE and ANCHORAGE) reflects – and perhaps accounts for – several common misconceptions concerning the relatedness of people and languages. The descent of a language from its “ancestor” languages, even if it undergoes fundamental changes in the course of its history, can be demonstrated with methods of historical and comparative linguistics as far as the availability of attestations (texts from previous stages of the development of the language in question and/or linguistic data from congeners) allows. The *biological* reproduction of speakers, however, is no guarantee for the sustained continuity of their language. If the intergenerational transmission of a language fails, the population goes through language shift, and members of this community become speakers of another language. This is where the misunderstanding concerning the relatedness of languages and the relatedness of people lies. For instance, the typological resemblance of Hungarian to Turkish, and the – wrongly – assumed relatedness of the two languages oscillate in the background of renewed attempts to find anchorage for Hungarian(s) through Turkic-speaking people (such as the Huns) (cf. Sándor 2011: 303-321). Incidentally, the Turkic peoples and languages with whom Hungarians yearn to find anchorage are quite different from the speakers of those languages with which

proto-Hungarian came into contact (such as Chuvash) (cf. Sherwood 1996; Sándor 2011: 137-152, 264-285).⁷²

It is the projection of the temporal-causal domain onto the synchronic-spatial domain in the blend which allows anchorage to work. Speakers' synchronic awareness of related languages is crucial in this "projection", however; if speakers are aware of linguistic affines, and the projection of historical relatedness becomes relevant in a given synchrony, anchorage is established. On the other hand the lack of closely (or transparently) related languages is a challenge to this possibility. Two different responses to such situations will be illustrated with the example of Modern Greek and Hungarian.

Greek, one of the prestige languages of the ancient world, has no closely related languages in the Indo-European family. (A close relationship, in the European context, is usually understood in terms of a degree of resemblance between languages which is obvious to most native speakers; typical examples are the Romance or the Slavonic languages.) Speakers of Modern Greek, therefore, seek anchorage in the prestigious past and weighty cultural heritage of "their" language, which they see as not only a direct continuation of Ancient Greek but, *mutatis mutandis*, as *identical* with it. The fact that the name of the language has not substantially changed over time allows for this possibility (cf. Chapter 3, Footnote 102 on p. 138). Historical continuity is projected onto a synchrony here, too, but it allows anchorage through an awareness of Greek's affiliation to what is seen by speakers as "the language's own" past, as a substitute for historically related languages in the present. Greek's anchorage in the past manifests itself in a number of preoccupations concerning language (for a thorough review see Moschonas 2004). Appendix C shows an excerpt from a Greek-language London weekly paper which captures most of these preoccupations. The writer of the article takes issue with the replacement of Greek road signs (written in the Greek alphabet) with "English" road signs (in Latin script). Ancient Greek, a language of "utmost beauty", was "abolished" by Greeks, the article claims. The appendix also shows the metonymic typicality

⁷²People's sense of belonging to communities may be underpinned by a range of factors other than the assumption that they use "the same" language; these are factors explored by the social and historical sciences and may have marginal bearings on language attitudes, so, they are of little relevance to this study. The same holds for the genetic relatedness of people.

domains which signal anchorage through the past in the text (marked with a plus sign) or which threaten it (marked with a minus sign). As can be seen in this short text, preoccupations typically include the threat represented by the spread of English, and with it the infiltration of Greek writing by the Latin alphabet; Latin transliteration in general; claims for higher prestige for Modern Greek in contemporary Europe; the adoption of the monotonic writing system (which “made Modern Greek unrecognisable”, that is, from the perspective of previous stages of the language). “Greek abroad”, in various parts of Italy and particularly in Cyprus, is another instance of preoccupations in which the Greek brand of anchorage manifests itself.

An example taken from Hungarian illustrates what I will call “reversed anchorage”. According to the original theory put forward by Austerlitz (1975), if a language has historically related languages, some of which are minority languages while others are official state or national languages, it is usually a diaspora or a minority community which seeks anchorage through a language-and-culture which is of higher cultural prestige and/or has a more solid administrative backing, such as independent statehood. As Hungarian has no related languages through which its speakers might establish anchorage (we have seen, earlier in this chapter, the low prestige of the Finno-Ugric connection), “Hungarians living abroad” (*külföldön élő magyarok* or *magyarság*) represent a potential for anchorage. Interestingly, the phrase “Hungarians abroad” means not only Hungarian speakers but also people of Hungarian descent or who, for some reason, have a Hungarian “identity”. As we shall see in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3), the teaching of “Hungarian abroad” – similarly to “Greek abroad” – is a growing preoccupation of language educators in Hungary.

A particularly important subgroup of “Hungarians abroad” are those living in neighbouring countries⁷³, for whom a separate denominator exists in Hungarian: *határon túli* (*határ-on túl=i*: ‘border’-SUP ‘across’=ADDER; ‘across the border, Hungary-external’). A further, particularly interesting subgroup of these are the *csángó* of Eastern Romania (ca. 50,000 speakers), a predominantly Catholic population who speak an archaic variety of Hungarian with Romanian lexical, morphological and syntactic influences. As

⁷³ As a result of boarder reshuffling, typically, not migration; cf. the significance of Transylvania for Hungarian national imagination explained in Chapter 1 Section 1.2.

language shift to Romanian has been underway for many decades, since 1989 it has been a concern of various agencies of the Hungarian state to “save the *csángó*” (Trudgill 2003: 32-33). This has included teaching varieties of Hungarian (spoken in Western Romania or in Hungary) in community school settings, and producing a large body of scholarship on language endangerment, language shift, and identity among the *csángó* (e.g. Heltai 2014; Peti & Tánczos 2012).

The Hungarian quest for anchorage through its diaspora communities is counterpointed by the case of Romanian, as was discussed earlier in this chapter. In the light of “reversed anchorage” yet another intriguing difference emerges. An archaic dialect of Romanian (‘Boyash’), with Hungarian lexical, morphological and syntactic influences, is spoken in Southern Hungary by approximately 30,000 people (Orsós & Kálmán 2009). This dialect is little known in Romania; Romanians are usually unaware of it. Conversely, the lack of interest on the part of Romanians to establish anchorage through this dialect, led to the fact that there is a greater chance to develop an autonomous language for Boyash speakers in Hungary than for speakers of “Hungarian” (the *csángó*) in Eastern Romania (Bodó 2013).

To conclude, as the last examples illustrate, anchorage can be “reversed” in the conceptual blend, and applied to the description of the social significance of a minority group’s language for its respective majority community. In this respect, anchorage can be put to use as an analytical tool in the understanding of contemporary developments and discourses concerning, especially, language endangerment, language shift, status planning, standardization, and the intricate interrelatedness of language and identity.

3 Poets, pedants, and pioneers: the interface of language-internal and -external factors in the development of poetic norms

J'écris en langue maternelle
Et tâche à la mettre en valeur.
Afin de la rendre éternelle
Comme les vieux ont fait la leur ;
Et soutiens que c'est grand malheur
Que son propre bien mépriser
Pour l'autrui tant favoriser.

Si les Grecs sont si fort fameux,
Si les Latins sont aussi tels,
Pourquoi ne faisons-nous comme eux,
Pour être comme eux immortels?
Toi qui si fort exercé t'es
Et qui en latin écris tant,
Qu'es-tu sinon qu'un imitant?

Jacques Peletier du Mans (1517–1582), 'À un poète qui n'écrivait qu'en latin'⁷⁴, *Vers lyriques* (1547)

3.1 Preliminary remarks: why poetry?

In the discussion of attitudes towards language, this chapter provides case studies from the evolution of poetic standards in early Romance vernaculars to the height of the French Renaissance. The special attention that poetic texts – and attitudes related to them – receive in this chapter requires some explanation. It is my assumption here that the writing of poetry and of grammars are akin to each other: not only in the sense that both activities are intellectual pursuits⁷⁵ which concern themselves with language most closely and intimately but also in the sense that both activities involve varying layers of awareness of certain cultural and linguistic heritages, norms and conventions. Some of these norms and conventions are anchored in the past, inasmuch as they follow Latin or Ancient Greek models, others are based on pre-existing native traditions, or represent precisely a reaction against such native traditions. In both of these projects, the language-internal (typological) closeness and distance between the language providing the model and the language whose grammar is written, or in which

⁷⁴ The text is cited from Longeon (1989: 127-128). I have not managed to locate a critical edition of the text in the UK but it has been double checked in a volume that follows the original edition (Séché 1904: 110-112). The two stanzas are transliterated according to present-day conventions of French orthography.

⁷⁵ Grammar writing, in particular, is always self-conscious and in this sense secondary: an intellectual pursuit. As for poetry, the question is more complex: as the example of folk poetry (repetition and parallelism in songs, riddles, proverbs) shows, authors' or reciters' awareness of the poetic devices employed varies (cf. Jakobson 1985a: 59-68). Theoretical writing about verse, however, is always self-conscious; in this sense it is more similar to grammar writing.

oral or written poetry is composed, is hardly a negligible factor. Language-internal characteristics – closeness and distance to the model – play an important part in shaping the poets’ or grammarians’ attitudes.⁷⁶

If we recall Table 2 from the Introduction, which provided a visual representation of the contents of this thesis, the third and fourth chapters fell under the “specific” category, with Chapter 3 providing insights from a predominantly linguistic, and Chapter 4 from predominantly a social psychological point of view. The former focuses on the interaction between language-internal factors and attitudes, while the latter on ways in which individual language use is a decisive aspect of personality, individuality, and ultimately, identity. In other words, both Chapter 3 and 4 are studies of specific instances in which attitudes to language gain their expression, or, as Kahane (1986) puts it, of “points of interest which mark a stage in the progress of linguistic insight” (cf. Introduction). Chapter 4 investigates such “stages of linguistic insight” from the point of view of the individual, whereas Chapter 3 takes the perspective of a particular group of individuals: poets and other men of letters who are consciously involved with finding patterns in language for artistic or scholarly expression, thus setting, maintaining, but also challenging conventionalised norms. Both the grammarian’s and the poet’s work involves using language in a seemingly unusual way which is typical of only grammars and poetry. They both use language about language: poetry, unlike narrative texts or prose, depends more heavily upon non-referential functions of language, in which the form (e.g. types of parallelism and repetition such as metre, rhyme, number of syllables, etc.) is an essential part of the message⁷⁷; grammars use language to describe (and in

⁷⁶ The interconnectedness of linguistics, poetry, and poetics has been explored from a theoretical perspective in various fields of linguistic and literary enquiry. The first one to suggest that the poetic function of language would offer unparalleled insights into the study of language on the whole was precisely the Russian philologist, Roman Jakobson (e.g. 1960: 350-377; 1985b: 37-47); further such approaches include work by other adherents of Russian formalism (discussed, e.g. in Steiner 2008) and the Prague Circle (Doležel 2008), as well as John Lotz’s (1976) treatment of metrics. For an overview of these see, e.g. Szépe 1969; Simon 2012). My analysis of verse relies on such approaches methodologically but a theoretical exegesis on the relationship between linguistics and poetics remains beyond the scope of this chapter. The present discussion is primarily concerned with attitudes to language, and explores the overlaps and discontinuities between poetry and grammar writing from this particular perspective.

⁷⁷ As Bradford (1994: 2) put it in his overview of Jakobson’s theoretical works: “Poetry [...] obliges the poet and the reader to confront the necessary but uneasy relationship between what language *is* (in Jakobson’s post-Saussurean terminology, the *signans*) and what language *does* (the

certain intellectual traditions to prescribe or proscribe) language. While using language in this way, poetry and grammar writing come up against traditions of poetics, which might favour one type of verse over others, and of grammar writing, which in itself can be proscriptive or prescriptive, or belong to different trends in descriptivism. In grammar writing, the language under discussion is often different from the language used to describe it (e.g. Latin-language grammars of Hungarian, English-language descriptions of endangered languages); in any case, the language of description usually involves a technical apparatus (e.g. technical terms, various conventions of language description, etc.). Prescriptive and proscriptive treatments of language usually lack such technical apparatus although they, too, use language about language, thus participating in the meta-discourses about language. At the same time, both poets and grammar writers are primarily concerned with exploiting and exploring the possibilities given (or lacking) in the particular language in which they write or which they describe (cf. Dragonetti 1961: 40 likens troubadours to grammar writers, both of whom are inventors or “finders” who “make language return to its own law”). Hence, including poetry and the language attitudes that underpin poetic composition in this discussion has the advantage of highlighting levels of awareness, abstraction, and norm-oriented postures which characterise language attitudes in general but which are present in poetic form – because of the poetic function of language – in a condensed yet transparent way. Poetic language and verbal art allow experimentation with norms – called *myth* in the Austerlitzian model discussed in the Introduction – but they also challenge the legitimacy of myth. *How they do it* is one of the questions that this chapter attempts to investigate. Most importantly, a closer look at the evolution of poetic norms will allow some insights into the linguistic nature of certain attitudes to language, in other words, how attitudes are grounded not only in socio-cultural factors, as is often mentioned in the secondary literature (cf. Chapter 2), but also in linguistic typological ones.

The interconnectedness of poetry and grammar writing, and their reliance on each other, has precursors both in practice and in theory. In medieval Europe and in sixteenth century Hungary, grammar writing and theoretical discussions of poetry were often a by-product of writing verse in a new language or language variety. Translation into, or

signatum and the referent). Poetry is about language [...]” [emphasis mine].

writing verse in, the emerging vernaculars of Europe drew attention to the structural features of these vernaculars which differed from the source language or the model (usually Latin) to varying degrees. Early grammar writing and theoretical works on poetry and literary language were a reaction to, and signs of the appreciation of, these differences, which grammar writers and poets sensed acutely. The effects of this self-consciousness about the medium (Ferrante 1982: 598) were twofold. On the one hand, it prompted poets to improve their technical skills in the new medium, to develop complex and often *recherché* rhyming or rhythmical patterns, or to experiment with new forms of verse, which at times involved imitating pre-existing traditions in the prestige languages (Ancient Greek and Latin) of the time. While so doing, poets often saw themselves as pioneers in the development of a certain literary tradition, and they consciously emphasised this self-assigned role throughout the ages. On the other hand, the typological similarities and differences between a vernacular and the language which serves as the model for grammar writing (predominantly Latin) leads to the grammar writers' polemicising about the worthiness of the vernacular. This is a particularly recurrent theme in introductions to early grammars of, and Bible translations into, Hungarian (to mention but a few examples: János Sylvester's 1539 *Grammatica Hungarolatina* and his 1541 New Testament translation; and Albert Szenczi-Molnár's 1604 Hungarian grammar; on the former, see, e.g. Ács 1982: 395, 397; Heltai 2006: 9).

The above reasoning suggests that there was an inherently value-oriented posture in various early grammatical and poetic treatments of vernaculars in Europe, and that such attitudes pre-date the rise of nationalism, which was discussed in Chapter 2. Poetic activity is in part motivated by the desire to overcome previous traditions and literary predecessors. Success in this endeavour proves the worthiness of the poet, whose means of overcoming is his mastery of language and its deployment in writing verse in ways in which no one has used that particular language before⁷⁸. Early poets and pioneers in a

⁷⁸ Ferrante (1982) shows through a series of convincing examples how early Provençal poets were forced into this position by their desire to overcome Latin, which was seen at the time as the only medium worthy of poetic composition and grammatical treatment. In their case, the "desire to overcome" was brought about by Latin's enormous prestige towards which early vernacular-language poets were bound to display a defensive attitude. In the first part of this chapter, a detailed case study will show the existence of a similar dynamics during the French renaissance, when poets' and men of letters' self-consciousness about their medium was partly grounded in

certain literary tradition often assert the perfection or correctness of their verse alongside their position as daring innovators in a particular tradition. In the first part of this chapter I shall argue that language change, and poets' awareness of it, accounts for the emergence of such attitudes alongside matters of social status (discussed in Chapter 1), linguistic nationalism (Chapter 2), and intellectual fascination with one's own poetic craft and language. The mirror image of such attitudes in grammar writing is the grammarians' desire to show (and show off) the features of a vernacular which may have been seen as lacking a grammar or as unworthy of having one. It is tempting to posit a somewhat simplistic contrast between the poet's and the grammarian's activities with regards to their attitude to language. The emerging variety of a vernacular, and the poet's skill in it, may have served to prove the worthiness of the poet. At the same time, the grammars of, and translations into, a vernacular, as well as the skill with which the grammarian or translator executed them, may have served to prove the worthiness of the language.

In the process of grammar writing, language features which were different from those of either Latin, or Ancient Greek, or Hebrew, had to be discovered and unpacked. The discoveries, in turn, prompted grammarians to boast about the language they attempted to describe. Especially in the case of Hungarian – a vernacular which exhibited considerable historical obscurity and greater typological differences compared to Latin than, say, the Romance, or even the Germanic and Slavonic languages of Europe – grammarians saw much cause for celebration over the fact that such a vernacular lent itself to description. The possibility of description meant that the language in question had *grammatica*: implicit rules, laws, and regularities which could be made explicit thanks to the skillful application of the grammarians' craft. This was a great achievement, not only for the grammar writer but also for the vernacular: the perceived "lawfulness" of the language ensured its civilisational prestige. Vernaculars and actual usage were seen in the early medieval period as part of nature – uncontrollable and dangerous – while grammars, eloquence, and poetic composition were deduced by reason from nature, and were thus rendered safe and regulated (cf. Ferrante 1982: 589,

their push against both Latin and also, to some extent, the pre-existing French and Provençal vernacular tradition.

on John of Salisbury and Alanus de Insulis)⁷⁹. While this reasoning pertains to the medieval period, arguments about the worthiness of a vernacular, which is upheld through the rendering of its inherent laws explicit in the process of grammar writing, permeate Central and East European grammar writing even at the height of the renaissance and later (sixteenth-seventeenth century). The grammars of Hungarian cited above (and mentioned also in Chapter 2) are examples of this. Discovering the regularities of a vernacular means “lifting”⁸⁰ it from “nature” to civilisation and culture. Thus, a value-oriented approach to language, and in particular the search for a standard which is suitable for codification in a grammar or for poetic expression, is deep-rooted in European intellectual history. Throughout the Middle Ages, such value-laden approaches had to do with closeness and distance between prestige languages and vernacular language varieties, and with the poet’s or grammarian’s awareness of the differences or similarities. Notions of complexity, regularity, precision, and conciseness, when applied to language, also have bearings on the individual poet’s – and later on other intellectuals’ – efforts to excel in a new medium or through the application of a new technique in a medium. Such innovative gestures imply that the innovator has to challenge, and push against, perhaps be critical of, existing traditions. The above discussion suggests that the metaphoric structuring of language in terms of the contrasting spatial metaphors HIGH and LOW (cf. Chapter 1 and Footnote 80) can easily

⁷⁹ Ferrante (1982: 589) explains that Alanus de Insulis in his *De planctu Naturae* “links the lack of control in language with the lack of control in sex, and equates the need for order in grammatical terms with stability in the universe, with procreation”.

⁸⁰ One cannot help noticing the spatial metaphor in which this use of *lift* is grounded. NATURE (e.g. folk poetry, unwritten forms of verbal art, languages that lack orthography) in discourse concerning language is often seen as LOW, whereas CULTURE (literature, the printed press, grammar writing, critical studies, etc.) is seen as HIGH. Hence, incorporating elements of oral verbal art into poetry (as in Hungarian literature an oft-repeated commonplace suggests about Sándor Petőfi’s work) is *lifting* it into a higher realm. I borrow this metaphor here to apply it to attitudes to language: in early medieval Europe – and in Hungary even five centuries later – vernaculars are seen as part of NATURE, and through their grammars they are *lifted* to civilisation and CULTURE. In this juxtaposition of nature and culture, especially as the latter is achieved through the application of laws to language, it is possible to discern some similarities to the pre-Socratic conception that the human condition is simultaneously grounded in both nature and man-made laws and customs. This dichotomy is explored widely in writings about political philosophy (cf. Beasley-Murray 2013: 20-21); it would be interesting to see the contribution that its application to language could make to the study of value-laden attitudes to language.

be traced to the medieval period and perhaps even earlier⁸¹. In this blend, when it is applied to language, HIGH is CONTROL, which is achieved through human intervention, through the discovery of laws and regularities by reasoning and deduction. LOW is UNCERTAINTY, which stems from a suspicion towards the untamed vernacular in use, which remains beyond the realm of reason and rules. It is, however, only through the metonymic association between language, speech community, and territory that these value-laden approaches become potential vehicles for nationalism (as in Chapter 2).

Beyond the historical and theoretical continuities between poetry and grammar writing, discussed above, there are also obvious discontinuities between them. It was mentioned earlier that grammar writing always assumes a measure of awareness of language on the part of the author, and due to its use of a technical apparatus it always displays a relatively high level of abstraction. In contrast to grammar writing, writing verse may display various levels of language awareness on the part of various poets (points which will be revisited at the end of Chapter 4, in Section 4.4). Theoretical treatments of verse, however, operate at a level of abstraction and language awareness similar to that of grammar writing, and in many cases they are also prescriptive in nature. Early grammar writing may be value-oriented in the author's motivations and attitudes, or in the description itself. Two outcrops of descriptive approaches to language are prescriptivism and proscriptivism, avowedly value-oriented approaches to

⁸¹ Works on rhetoric and poetics of Antiquity point in this direction; so does the emergence of koine Greek (e.g. Colvin 2009: 33-45) and attitudes towards languages whose speakers the Greeks called βάρβαροι 'barbarians' (e.g. Robins 1967: 11). The latter were famously excluded from theoretical treatments of language in Ancient Greece. Foreign speech (in a foreign-language, in a foreign-sounding mock language, and in non-native Greek), however, was exploited for artistic-dramatic effect (Colvin 1999: 39-90, 287-295). My focus here is on the tension between emerging vernacular-language literacy and the learned meta-discourses it prompts; hence works on rhetoric and style, which are unconcerned with everyday use, are outside the focus of my analysis. As for the emergence of the koine, and of a notion of standard with it, Colvin connects the success of a language variety as a "standard" with the metonymic transmission of value-laden ideas from one language feature to language as a whole. His revealing discussion of "citation form" (Ancient Greek ὀρθὴ πτωσις, Latin *casus rectus*, terms clearly belonging to learned discourses) points to the metaphors which endow language with moral qualities such as uprightness and correctness. The standalone form (the nominative) of nouns is taken for the "true", "straight", and "upright" case (Ancient Greek ὀρθότης 'uprightness, correctness'). Colvin (2009: 34) then comments that "[t]he slippage between correctness as a property of locution (a matter of style and rhetorical theory) and correctness as a property of language itself (a concern of dialectology) was as easy in antiquity as it is in the modern national context".

language. Prescriptivism targets actual usage and lacks the kind of technical apparatus and level of abstraction which are involved in grammar writing. Hence, there is an interesting mismatch between poetry and grammar writing. Historically, the writing and learning of grammar, as well as composing poetry – joining words in metrical feet or in complex rhyming schemes – were different approaches to controlling form and forcing the vernacular to obey laws similar to those found in prestige languages. In this respect, grammar writing and composing poetry are primary activities, from which prescriptivism and poetics, respectively, branch out. In poetry writing, the more abstract activity (poetics) presupposes a self-conscious, and often a value-laden, attitude on the part of the writer of poetic works. Conversely, in grammar writing, it is the less abstract approach to language, prescriptivism, that is governed by value judgements toward elements of language. In the next two chapters I shall focus mostly on this conjecture, building on the key words *abstraction*, *awareness*, *originality*, *imitation*, *prescriptivism* and *descriptivism*. In Chapter 3 and in the first part of Chapter 4 (4.1), layers of awareness and intentionality will be discussed in the development of literary standards and in poetic composition. Examples will be used mostly from French Renaissance poetry, and contrasted with developments in other poetic traditions.

3.2 The emergence of *mother tongue*: a turning point in linguistic insight

The first part of this chapter picks up the thread directly from Chapter 2, as is suggested by the introductory quotation. It is instructive to contrast the first two stanzas of the poem *À un poète qui n'écrivait qu'en latin* by the humanist poet and mathematician, Jacques Peletier du Mans, with the introductory quotation to Chapter 2, which was a passage by György Bessenyei. The contrast captures fundamental differences – and underlying similarities – between Western and East European trends of standardization of, and attitudes toward, vernaculars. There are some two hundred years between the gestation of the two passages, yet Bessenyei's stance seems to echo the preoccupations of Horace's French translator. If we contrast the introductory citations, it is easy to see Central-East European language movements and attitudes to language as instances of (European) cultural translation. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to locate the Central-East European language attitudes discussed in Chapter 2 in their broader,

European context, by providing an overview of the history of ideas about language with case studies presented from Occitan, Italian, and mostly French.

This chapter expands on the regional and time frame discussed in Chapter 2, and traces some features of attitudes towards language in Europe to the late medieval period and to the Renaissance. This chapter also glimpses beyond these periods, to the formation of early standard language varieties in Ancient Greece and Rome. One of the central tenets of this chapter is, however, that the rise of vernaculars and vernacular-language literacy in Europe brought with it the emergence of a particular way of thinking about language, which, although not without precursors in Antiquity, shows an increasingly coherent pattern from the late medieval period. The emergence of the collocation, and topos, of *mother tongue* – post-Classical Latin *lingua materna*, which appears in British sources from the twelfth century, and middle French *langue maternelle* (c1370) – around this time supports this point (*OED Online*, s.vs., “mother tongue” and “mother language”). In Dante’s *Divine Comedy* (*Purgatorium* 26:117), the term *parlar materno* occurs with the meaning ‘in the vernacular’, particularly ‘Provençal’.⁸² One of the most wide-spread metonymic and metaphoric⁸³ representations of language, *mother tongue* is unattested in ancient languages (Haugen 1991:75); it emerges with the rise of vernaculars in Europe. Haugen (1991: 82) elucidates three fundamental stages in the development of attitudes towards the “mother tongue”, which is understood in this context as the language of a community: the vernacular languages of Europe. First, from the community’s perspective, there was a real association between mothers, women in general, and the mother tongue: in the early Middle Ages vernaculars were predominantly associated with women’s and children’s speech. They lacked the command of the “father language”, Latin, which was mostly used by men who were granted the right of education. In this period, the mother tongue was seen in a pejorative light: it was the unregulated language of unlearned people; to adopt the terms introduced in Footnote 78 of this chapter, it belonged to the unregulated and dangerous

⁸² I thank Ádám Nádasdy for this reference (personal communication).

⁸³ Let us recall from Chapter 1 that MOTHER TONGUE is a blend in which the connection between *mother* and *tongue* is simultaneously metaphoric and metonymic. In Chapter 2, the blend underlying *mother tongue* was compared to that of ANCHORAGE. On the two different uses of *mother tongue* (as ‘an individual’s native language’, hence ‘language of a community’, v. ‘a language which gives rise to others’,) see Chapter 1 (especially p. 31).

world of nature rather than culture.⁸⁴ The second stage in the development of attitudes towards vernaculars is the one emerging during the Renaissance and the Reformation. Haugen (1991: 78) describes this as “a new spirit of equality for the mother tongue”. Vernaculars had competed with, and eventually overtook, Latin in prestige, and became the languages of scholarship, literature, and, ultimately, of God by the end of the period.⁸⁵ There is a considerable time difference in this respect between the West and Hungary, where the language of both scholarship and literature remained Latin during the Renaissance, and where scholarship written in the mother tongue took off as late as the late eighteenth century (cf. Chapter 2). The third, final stage in Haugen’s systematisation of attitudes is the Romantic era, during which it became a point of honour – and a potential for artistic expression – to care for the “folk language” and promote the cause of not only the learned, “cultured” variety of the mother tongue but also the unregulated, “natural”, everyday variety used by the people (cf. Footnote 78 on the oft-repeated evaluation of Petófi’s achievements in this respect).

The introductory quotations by Bessenyei and Peletier, to Chapters 2 and 3, respectively, illustrate that ideas about language which are rooted in the emergence of

⁸⁴ Let us note that Haugen’s point seems to support Ferrante’s account of early perceptions of vernacular-language poetry, cited earlier in this chapter (Footnote 78 and 79). Given these negative perceptions of vernacular languages, it is unsurprising that those who dealt with them – poets, early grammarians, translators – were driven by a desire to prove the worthiness of these languages. This, again, seems to underline my earlier suggestion that a value-laden approach to language is inherent in the development of European vernaculars whose status was determined, and undermined, by that of the prestige language, the language of literacy and education: Latin. A late sixteenth-century example encapsulates these medieval developments of attitudes towards vernaculars. The *Tsenerene* (c.1590) is a Yiddish-language rendering by Jacob b. Isaac Ashkenazi of various Hebrew-Aramaic religious texts, including the Five Scrolls of the Torah and commentaries. The *Tsenerene*, although it was not only intended for women, came to be branded as “a book for women”, and even “women’s Bible”, as women had no access to the original texts because of their lack of knowledge of Hebrew (Turniansky 2007: 491). For Ashkenazi Jewish communities the latter was the high-prestige sacred language compared to which the prestige of the Yiddish vernacular, used in informal interactions, was low; in this light Yiddish, the language associated with the household, women, and children, was understood similarly to the early medieval vernaculars of Europe. They were seen as means of communication which are lower in status *in contrast to* the high prestige of Hebrew and Latin: languages of scholarship, culture, men, and God.

⁸⁵ What Haugen means by this is that vernacular-language translations of the Bible proliferated: the English reformer Wycliffe translated it as early as the late fourteenth century (1380), to be followed by Luther some two centuries later (1534), when he completed his translation into German. Both translators recommended the use of the mother tongue in prayers and church services (*die rechte mutter sprache* in Luther’s words; cited by Haugen 1991: 78) although Luther himself kept writing in Latin.

vernaculars, left behind by a receding Latin, trickle down to various parts of Europe, and permeate not only thinking about language but also the processes of acting upon a predominantly purist view of language, namely the establishment of academies during the Enlightenment. Value-laden postures and language movements in Central and Eastern Europe, in particular in Hungarian, were established against the backdrop of earlier, Western European, in particular Italian and French, language movements in Chapter 2. This chapter not only expands this subject to cover a broader regional and time frame, it also zooms in on language-internal factors which play a part in shaping attitudes toward language. Snapshots from the history of the development of Occitan verse, Italian, and French, which seem to have been decisive in introducing a new approach to language, will be discussed (namely, some passages from Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* and from poetic works of the French Renaissance). An in-depth discussion of the standardisation of Italian and French, and of the development of vernacular poetics, remains beyond the scope of this thesis. The snapshots have been selected for discussion because they are symptomatic of a particular posture towards language, and they are early occurrences of the attitude in question; hence, they represent a turning point in linguistic insight.

A language-internal explanation of the development of a set of attitudes to language is illustrated here with a quest, on the part especially of poets but also other *littérateurs*, for an ideal form of language that is to be embodied in poetic works. The two stanzas of the poem 'To the poet who wrote only in Latin', cited as the epigraph to this chapter, form one of the starting points to this discussion. The development of attitudes to "best practice" in writing poetry in the Occitan lands and Italy will be contrasted to similar endeavours, a few centuries later, in France. It will be argued that the historical affiliation – and a sense of awareness, however vague, of this affiliation – as well as typological features of language played a crucial part in what was seen as best suited for vernacular-language poetic expression. First, I shall contextualise the author and the text cited at the beginning of this chapter. Second, I shall turn to a discussion of the broader sociolinguistic context surrounding the gestation of the poem, drawing on similarities and differences between vernacular-language literature in Occitan, Italian, and French. Third, I shall locate the text in the development of French lyric tradition, highlighting

also the changing attitudes to poetic practice against the background of language-internal changes. Finally, I shall conclude with some contrasting remarks concerning the stages of development of attitudes to language which come into play in late medieval and Renaissance poetic practice and theory in France. I shall also offer a few tentative conclusions about the role of poetic language, as a form of *art*, and, in the Austerlitzian (1988) sense, *play*, in attempts of a culture to redefine itself.

3.3 Jacquest Peletier du Mans's poetic programme and the *Pléiade*

The octosyllabic lines cited at the beginning as a motto for this chapter are part of a longer poem dedicated, according to its title, *À un poète qui n'écrivait qu'en Latin* 'To a poet who wrote only in Latin'. The poem appeared in a cycle entitled *Vers lyriques de l'invention de l'auteur* 'Lyric poems of the author's own invention', which was published as part of Jacques Peletier du Mans's *Ceuvres poétiques* (1547). The same volume included a great number of translations, for instance the first part of both the *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Georgics*, three odes by Horace, and twelve sonnets by Petrarch.⁸⁶ The volume is thus a condensation of contemporary literary interests and aspirations, which were directed at the study and translation of ancient texts from both Greek and Latin, the imitation and surpassing of Italian poets, and the writing of original works in the French vernacular in order to "elevate"⁸⁷ it to the rank of the prestige languages.

By 1547 the thirty-year-old Jacques Peletier was an accomplished author and translator.⁸⁸ He was the first to translate Horace's *Ars poetica* into French (first published

⁸⁶ I used the edition by Séché (1904).

⁸⁷ N.B. instances of the GOOD is UP metaphor, discussed in e.g. Footnote 83 and Chapter 1.

⁸⁸ Peletier was a man of his times: a humanist synthesizer and innovator in fields as diverse as orthography, mathematics, poetry, and even medicine. His early works were mostly on mathematics and medicine but later his attention shifted to poetics, translation, and orthography. Peletier himself placed his engagement with mathematics front and centre among his scholarly interests, yet method and arrangement were his major preoccupations in whatever material and discipline he had in hand. He belonged to a group of Renaissance scholars who believed that mathematics functioned allegorically as a theological language; a language that facilitates the correspondence between the inferior and superior world. According to Pantin (2002: 388-389), for thinkers such as Peletier, what made the diversity of their scholarly achievements and their synthesis possible was a profound unity and coherence in the existing world, through which all entities and branches of scholarship interconnect. It is precisely this coherence and unity which he sought to decipher by discovering the inherent order of the human body, of theorems of algebra

in 1541; cf. Weinberg 1952), and, perhaps even more importantly, to add to his translation a preface which clearly marks him as a forerunner of ideas that were later at the very heart of the *Pléiade's* theory of language and poetry.⁸⁹ Even the order of the presentation of ideas and the line of argument in Peletier's preface⁹⁰ reminds the reader of Joachim du Bellay's (1522–1560) oft-cited programmatic manifesto *Deffense et illustration de la langue françoise* (1549). Peletier's preface reads as a condensed formulation of the ideas that du Bellay later elucidates in detail in his *Deffense et illustration*. Both works have as a starting point the premise that the French language (du Bellay's *notre vulgaire* and Peletier's *notre langue native*) is in a bad way: abandoned, neglected, and underestimated. According to Peletier's reasoning "[...] qui nous oste le merite de vray honneur, est le mesprix & contennement de nostre langue natie : laquelle nous laissons arriere pour entretenir la langue Grecque & la langue Latine, [...]"⁹¹ To prove his point, Peletier points the finger at his own class of "bright and

and geometry, and, most importantly, of language and discourse. A central tenet of Peletier's thought is that all thinking is *logos* and all manifestations of the intellect are linguistic in nature (Pantin 2002: 375). For him, therefore, to *say* is to put in order. Rhetorics, thus, is not only the art of persuasion but also that of organizing discourse in the sense of both aesthetics and logics. This general science of discourse was at times called rhetorics and at times dialectics. Dialectics or rhetorics, on the other hand, were not to be understood as mere pedagogical devices; instead, the discourse that serves to teach a discipline is of the same essence as the discipline itself (Pantin 2002: 376-377). Perhaps it is this synoptic view that accounts for the fact that Peletier never fully dissociated in his own works theoretical reflection from explanation and prescription. The lines of verse cited as a motto at the beginning of this chapter typify Peletier's prescriptive stance and his preoccupations with possible forms of expression and arrangement in discourse patterns. It is precisely his synthetic and prescriptive approach which allowed Peletier to become an innovator, and, from the perspective of the present discussion, a forerunner of the poetic and aesthetic ideals of the *Pléiade's* generation. Peletier's role as an innovator, and the ways in which his intermediary position between two generations of intellectuals is present in the lines cited as a motto, are two of the main questions this chapter and Section 4.1 in Chapter 4 explore.

⁸⁹ *La Pléiade* is a group of sixteenth-century French poets whose activities and aesthetics culminated in work by du Bellay and Pierre de Ronsard (1524–1585). Peletier's preface to his translation of Horace's *Ars poetica* predates all other key works of the *Pléiade's* poetics (e.g. du Bellay's 1549 *Deffense et illustration* and Ronsard's 1550 Préface to his *Les Quatre premiers livres des odes*). Weinberg (1952) was the first to recognise the significance of Peletier's preface, and of his work in general, in paving the way for the latter works and for the radically new attitudes toward the vernacular which characterise humanist thought.

⁹⁰ I used the first critical edition of the 1541 text by Weinberg (1952: 297-299) and the digitalised version of the 1545 edition available on Gallica, the Bibliothèque National de France's digital collection of old prints.

⁹¹ "[...] what denies us real honour is the underestimation of, and contempt towards, our native language, which we leave behind in order to entertain the Greek language and the Latin language [...]" [my translation]. The passages are cited here in the original orthography, the way it was

learnèd men" (*tres ingénieux & doctes*) who make serious and unacceptable mistakes (*erreurs lourds & insupportables*), and not only in everyday speech (*en parler quotidien*) but also in composition and orthography. This passage makes a clear distinction between the everyday use of language, which is unregulated, and the cultured, literate use, which is expected to be regulated and free of errors. This supports the points made earlier (in Footnotes 78 and 81) about contemporary perceptions of the vernacular, whose re-evaluation as a medium potentially suited for scholarly and artistic expression was still in progress in this period. This re-evaluation, however, is subject to the condition that a variety of the vernacular which obeys certain rules and regulations is developed, and is clearly distinguished and distanced from spontaneous, unregulated manifestations of the same vernacular in everyday speech. Thus, Peletier's reasoning corresponds entirely to the second stage in Haugen's three-stage classification of attitudes towards vernaculars, summarised earlier in this chapter. Both du Bellay (Lecompte & Searles 1937: 31) and Peletier (Weinberg 1952: 297) continue by asserting that their propositions concerning the learned elaboration of the mother tongue are not to discourage the study of Greek and Latin. On the contrary, those who lack knowledge of these two can hardly be expected to excel themselves in producing outstanding works in the vernacular. For du Bellay, a sound education in the ancient languages, or at least in Latin, and the ability to write well in the vernacular is a key to immortality "among one's own people, one's contemporaries" (*entre les siens*). Peletier's reasons for insisting on the knowledge of Greek and Latin have to do with the fact that, to his mind, most of the world's knowledge, scholarship, and whatever is worth remembering from times past originates from these languages.

Furthermore, Peletier also notes that it is impossible to either speak properly or write correctly in the vernacular without knowledge of especially Latin, given that most expressions in the vernacular are borrowed or derive from *these* languages.⁹² His final argument for Greek and Latin seems to present the reverse of du Bellay's point about immortality: no man can hope to write anything that would remain in his honour or that would commend him to posterity without relying on the help and thrust of the Greeks and Latins. Further on, both du Bellay and Peletier nod to the achievements of the Italian vernacular-language poets, especially Petrarch. Peletier concludes his preface by reminding his contemporaries of the unparalleled opportunities which open up for

⁹² Peletier's own wording is intriguing here (cited in the original spelling):

"[...] ie soustiens estre impossible proprement parler ny correctement escrire nostre langue sans acquisition de toutes deux, ou bien (afin que ie ne soye trop rigoureux estimateur des choses) *de la Latine pour le moins, estant la plus grand' partie de noz termes vulgaires prise & deduite des langues susdictes*" [emphasis mine].

I maintain that it is impossible to speak properly and write correctly in our language without the acquisition of both [Latin and Greek], or (in order not to be too rigorous in my evaluation of the matter) *at least Latin, given that the largest proportion of our vernacular terms and expression were taken or derive from the two aforementioned languages* [my translation].

It is tempting to speculate that when Peletier presents his point about the assumed origin of language elements in the vernacular, he has his earlier point in mind about "at least Latin", which precedes immediately his reasoning about the origin of vernacular-language expressions. At the end of the highlighted passage one expects to find *langue* in the singular, with reference only to Latin, so, the use of *langues susdictes*, in the plural, comes somewhat as a surprise. This may seem an anachronistic projection of the corroboration, almost three centuries after Peletier's time, of the historical relatedness of Romance languages to Latin, on the one hand, and, on the other, of Latin (or French) to Greek. To be sure, scholars were aware of the historic connections between Latin and French but this awareness manifested itself as a recognition of the similarities, and striking differences, between the two. In other words, they knew that French had much to do with Latin – for cultural reasons among other things – but they were unaware of the details of historical relatedness. A parallel example from Italian pinpoints the contradictions surrounding the complexities of language relatedness: Dante explains in the *De vulgari eloquentia* (1.5-1.8; edition and English version by Botteril 2005) that Latin, a single language, split into three main languages, which he identifies based on their words for 'yes'. At the same time, Latin (*grammatica*) is understood as immutable, a language that cannot change, because it is not subject to individual will unlike the spoken idiom, Italian (*latino*) (1.9). Latin, in this light, could not have been fully understood as the origin of the vernacular languages in the historic sense (cf. Colvin 2009: 41). When Dante discusses the *vulgare illustre* (the prestige variety of Italian), he seems to contradict himself: this variety is seen as, on the one hand, something that derives from the dialects (this is the "search": the process of delineation that Dante undertakes in 1.9-1.15), and, on the other hand, as a single language (*unum ydioma*) from which the fourteen Italian vernacular dialects diverged (1.10-11). Colvin (2011: 33-36, 43) reports a similar tendency in the seemingly contradictory understandings of the koine among early Greek grammarians.

French-language poetry – which he sees as key in the development of a cultivated vernacular variety – due to the French monarch’s, Francis I’s, support for the cause.

The poem *À un poète qui n’écrivait qu’en Latin*, published in 1547, six years after the first appearance of Peletier’s translation of Horace (1541), recapitulates the main points from the contrastive analysis above of Peletier’s preface and du Bellay’s *Deffense et illustration*. The poem echoes the commitment to the cause of the “mother tongue” by pointing out how undeservedly underestimated it is (the preface uses the noun *mépris* ‘disdain, contempt’ while the verb *mépriser* ‘underestimate, look down upon’, derived from the same stem, features in the poem). According to the poem – and to the two theoretical works – it is a great misfortune to fail to recognise the primacy and the potential of the “mother tongue” in granting a writer’s work eternal existence and in leading its author to immortality. All one needs to do is to follow in the footsteps of the ancient masters in order to learn to *be like* them – immortal – and the only way to achieve this is by *acting like* them – by gaining superior skill in linguistic expression in their own language. To be and act like them means, in this context, to *avoid imitating* the very same masters: the insistence on writing in Greek and Latin – neither of which were in use in their idealised classical forms by Peletier’s time – surely leads to mediocrity in poetry, a quality which defies any association with the masters of ancient languages.⁹³

The central tenets of the poem, and of the two theoretical works discussed above, point to an interesting, and seemingly paradoxical, feature of Renaissance thought. While on the one hand European humanists in the West were eagerly discovering and asserting the descent of their culture from Ancient Greece and Rome, when it comes to the history of the status planning of vernacular languages, they embraced the opposite trend. In keeping with this trend, it was the very same European humanists who saw to the standardisation of the vernaculars they spoke, by upholding the suitability of their languages for such “elevated” intellectual and cultural pursuits which had previously been reserved for the prestige languages, mostly Latin. Writing poetry masterfully, by fitting the vernacular into patterns as strict as those of Latin and Greek poetry, was key to showing off the potential of the vernacular to obey rules, and thus becoming worthy

⁹³ Further comparison of the remaining parts of the poem and of the two theoretical works would unveil further overlaps and similarities but a contrastive analysis of this length would be impracticable here.

of the prestige of Latin. The emphasis in this endeavour is on the regular nature of the pattern: the possibility of writing verse, and elucidating rules of versification, in the vernacular, too. Peletier also provides examples of best practice, when he produces translations as well as original poetic works. Now, the patterns which were available for vernacular-language poetry were bound to be different from those of Latin because of the substantial typological distance between the ancient languages and the vernaculars. Therefore, poets and theoreticians of verse – and later grammar writers – endeavoured to reveal and render explicit the patterns to which the vernacular lent itself best, by taking into account the language-internal features of the vernacular in question.⁹⁴

After having placed the ode *À un poète qui n'écrivait qu'en latin* in the context of an emerging French-language literary culture and thought, let us turn to the broader sociolinguistic situation surrounding the text and the French vernacular itself.

3.4 Sociolinguistic insights into the broader cultural-linguistic context of the poem

Peletier's *langue maternelle* was the *langue françoise* (in Peletier's own spelling), or, according to the nineteenth-century technical term, *Francien*: the dominant Île-de-France dialect of Middle French (Harris 2001a: 31). One of the standardised vernaculars which were later re-evaluated as national languages, this dialect had gradually replaced Latin as the language of administration, legislation, and education in France. Peletier's ode 'To the poet who wrote only in Latin' appeared less than a decade after the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts in 1539, in which Francis I made the use of the *langage maternel françois*

⁹⁴ Ferrante (1982: 594) notes a similar paradox in Provençal poets' attitude towards the relationship between Latin and the vernacular. This attitude is characterized by "the desire to show how good the language is by virtue of its Latinity, while establishing principles which affirm its independence". She claims that such attitudes persisted for centuries after the first troubadours wrote, which holds for French-language literary aspirations, too, centuries later. The fundamental association, ultimately, appears to be between language and its potential for being regulated through poetic art, in other words, through human intervention. Human intervention (cf. the cultivation metaphor discussed in Chapter 1) "elevates" vernaculars from nature to culture, from the low status of languages used in everyday life to the high prestige of the regulated literary variety. The preponderance of this interventionist attitude to language, therefore, can be traced to medieval thought, and may be linked – as Ferrante's (1982: 590) further examples taken from work by Alanus Insulis show – to man's aspirations to equal God, who is "superior to nature by his art and his word" in the same way as Latin is superior to the vernacular.

compulsory in all official documents.⁹⁵ The Edict is a milestone symbolising the beginning of the predominance of French, at first in contrast to Latin but later to other vernaculars (Fodor 1993a: 541; 1993b: 187). Despite the success of French as a language of trade in large parts of Western Europe, and its advances as the language of legislation, (medieval) Latin remained the most widely printed language in France for another century after the Edict. Even as late as the 1780s, Francien was the “mother tongue”, the language variety in everyday use, of only a quarter of the population of France (Harris 2001a: 31). The nativisation of a standard is less likely, and is certainly a longer process, in areas where speakers of a relatively closely related dialect, as Occitan to French, have to modify their language use to accommodate the standard variety (cf. Colvin 2009: 43 for evidence on koine Greek).⁹⁶ The ultimate victory of a vernacular as a prestige language was bound up with its success not only as a multi-purpose *lingua franca* but also as a variety used for literary output⁹⁷. This is, indeed, what Peletier and other members of the *Pléiade* set out to accomplish with French.

⁹⁵ The French of Île-de-France spread across a large part of Western Europe as a language of trade centuries before the Edict was published. Because of the dialectal contact due to river-trade in the region, in the Île-de-France variety of French many dialectal differences were accommodated and leveled out, rendering the variety suitable for koineization (e.g. Ostler 2006: 404). This variety was truly François I.’s mother tongue but it was different from the Romance varieties spoken in the South of France, where the Edict provoked complaints (Picoche & Marchello-Nizia 1989: 29). The controversy stems from two different perspectives on a written standard for the whole of France. In the South, where varieties of *langage d’oc* (Occitan, Provençal) were spoken, the promotion of a *langue d’oïl* dialect, originating from the North-East, was seen as a threat to the Southern vernaculars, whereas for the legislators, based in the North, the point of adopting the *langage d’oïl* dialect of Île-de-France as an official language was to rule Latin out as the multi-purpose written language of France. The position of the Southern varieties of Gallo-Romance is comparable to, and sheds new light on, the insistence in eighteenth-century Hungary on Latin, and not German, as an official language. Latin as the language of written texts and communication was entirely acceptable, as a result of the medieval heritage, but German, a fully functional modern language, was perceived as a realistic source of threat to Hungarian, which it could have replaced in all walks of life.

⁹⁶ It was only in the aftermath of the French Revolution that the northern dialect of Gallo-Romance was fully adopted as the dominant variety not only in administration but also in everyday use (Harris 2001a: 24).

⁹⁷ As Colvin (2011: 32) observes with regards to Greek koine, “the notion of koine implies a *lingua franca* [...] a *lingua franca* does not imply a koine”. The crucial difference seems to lie in the cultural prestige of the language: koinai appear as forms of standards against which other language varieties are measured and evaluated. They also assume the existence of a literary tradition, even an oral tradition such as the Homeric epic (Colvin 2009: 35, 38; Miller 2014: 29) or as the early Occitan lyric tradition, which, according to Burgwinkle (2011: 22) was the basis of a collective literary identity. *Linguae francae*, languages of trade and administration spread across

Dante and his contemporaries' achievements in establishing a high status for a vernacular were held in high esteem, and were seen in a competitive light, by French humanists throughout the sixteenth century (e.g. Peletier's preface to his translation of Horace's *Ars poetica*, Weinberg 1952: 298; du Bellay's *Deffense et illustration* (1.11); Lecompte & Searles 1937: 31; Elwert 1965: 177 § 217; Ferguson 1983; Hope 1984). A key to these achievements was that Dante, for instance, not only wrote *in* the vernacular (e.g. in the *Divina Commedia*), as many of Peletier's predecessors had done in French, but he also wrote *about* the vernacular (e.g. in the *De vulgari eloquentia*)⁹⁸. One of Dante's innovations in the *De vulgari eloquentia* is that he consciously delineates a standard idiom which is used all over Italy, but which is not identical with any of the vernaculars spoken in Italy at his time (cf. the conclusion of his search for such a variety in 1.15)⁹⁹. What is worthy of note in Dante's innovative gesture is that he adopts the use of a language variety in literature as one of his main criteria for the identification of the Italian standard variety¹⁰⁰. Thus, Dante's gesture has little to do with engineering an artificial language variety, a kind of *Kunstsprache*, for literary output. His innovation lies in the self-conscious act of pointing out that there *is* a variety which is used by the most distinguished authors (*doctores illustres*) of the Italian lands, and which thus sidelines, somewhat, dialectal differences between vernaculars. This is a variety which emerged,

large areas, serve practical purposes of written and oral communication.

⁹⁸ On the contribution of theoretical treatises by e.g. Raimon Vidal de Besalù and Jofre de Foixà to the prestige of troubadour song, see e.g. Burgwinkle 2011: 21; Ferrante 1982: 593.

⁹⁹ Passages from the *De vulgari eloquentia* are cited from Botteril (2005).

¹⁰⁰ It is worth recalling, from Footnote 97 in this chapter, the distinguishing factors between koinai and lingae francae, namely, that the prestige of the former – and the possibility of reinterpreting any vernacular as a standard variety – presupposes the existence of a body of codified texts and usually of a written tradition of some sort. Further intriguing analogies can be drawn between Dante's way of arguing for vulgar Latin as a written and literary standard, and the emergence of earlier standard languages in Europe, most importantly, koine Greek. The emergence of language varieties which qualify to be reinterpreted as standards is always gradual, and, as we saw, it is preceded not only by a mixing or levelling of various dialectal forms but also by a literary tradition to which speakers can relate. This may then be followed by a change in linguistic terminology: an act of renaming (as in the *De vulgari eloquentia*) the language variety which emerged from the literary tradition. Thus, there is a metonymic transfer between literary genre – a body of texts of which members of a community have various degrees of awareness – and the language variety which embodies this canonical ensemble of texts. A standard, therefore, is always abstract: a written variety which corresponds to speakers' awareness of their linguistic culture and of their linguistic identity (cf. Colvin 2009: 35-37). The implementation of this variety in administration (as that of the koine in the Hellenic world and that of French by Francis I) and in education secures its position and maintenance.

and diverged, from Latin, and which became the natural idiom for new trends in literary production and in scholarly works. In other words, as a conscious statement of identity about both language and “Italianness”, Dante sets an existing written variety as a standard: based on what has been usual practice, or the “norm”, in authoritative works of mostly literature in Italy, he suggests that writers consciously adapt their language to this variety, which thus becomes “normative”. Therefore, the potential for koinetisation – the consolidation of a language variety as a standard – depends largely on native speakers’ willingness to change, or adapt, the way they write in order to approximate a variety that has been posited as *normative*.¹⁰¹

Dante’s attitude towards language and standard idiom in the *De vulgari eloquentia* is brought to bear on “Italianness” in his act of naming¹⁰² the overarching and normative variety (1.19) as (vulgar) *latino* (‘Italian’) as opposed to *grammatica* (‘Latin’). Now, “to

¹⁰¹ Note, again, the parallelism with the emergence and spread of the koine, which reflected writers’ willingness to modify the ways they wrote Greek some time before 400BC (Colvin 2009: 34).

¹⁰² It is instructive to compare the development of Romance languages, and their distinct names, from Latin with Greek, in which the modern language has the same name (in most European languages) as its ancient, classical, Hellenic, and Byzantine varieties (cf. Colvin 2009: 41). The identical nature of the name may suggest, for the non-specialist, a close association between the languages and linguistic identities. As was discussed earlier (cf. Introduction and Footnote 100), it is possible to define standards as abstractions which comport with people’s feelings about their linguistic identity, in other words, with the language people believe they speak, rather than what they actually speak (Colvin 2009: 36). Names of languages impinge on such beliefs: language varieties with the same name are more easily perceived as being “the same” than varieties with different names. This explains, in part, why Greek anchorage is more easily sought in the past (along the temporal axis of the anchorage metonymy; see Chapter 2 and Footnote 128 on *katharevousa*) than in the present: the lack of closely – and transparently – related languages is reinforced by the sameness of the name of the language, which is *Greek*, regardless of epithets such as *ancient*, *modern*, etc. which are used in official and scholarly discourses to keep the varieties apart. In the history of Romance languages such immediate association with the Latin heritage is impossible, although textbooks and teachers of Romanian, for instance, never fail to point out that “Romanian is Latin”. Another instance in which speakers of a Romance language attempt to anchor themselves – and their language – in the Latin heritage, building on the temporal axis of the anchorage blend, is when speakers of Spanish in Latin America refer to each other – often to citizens of a different Central or South American country, including even Portuguese-speaking Brazil – as *hermanos latinos* ‘Latin brothers’. The historic relatedness of the languages and their anchorage through Latin is thus exploited in political discourses, and is put to use, unsurprisingly, in the hope of political gains (see Dávila 2004: 179-180 for an example in New York City’s El Barrio district, where ethnic differences between Ecuadorians, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans are ironed out through the use of the panethnic term *latino/-a* in order to empower these groups through the strength of numbers). This also explains why Dante’s act of naming the normative language variety brought to bear on “Italianness” as much as on Italian. We shall return to this point through examples from French theory of verse later in this chapter.

name a linguistic variety is to make an ideological choice which is likely to have social and political implications; it need not be the immediate result of linguistic change (and conversely, linguistic change need not result in a change in language name)” (Colvin 2009: 41). As for the political implications of naming the overarching dialect of Italy, Chapter 1.18 of the *De vulgari eloquentia* is revealing in this respect. In this chapter, a parallel is drawn between the political unity of a territory – under a monarch, as in Germany – and the curial nature of the distinguished, normative language variety. This parallel is an instance of the metonymic transfer between language, speakers, and territory, which was explained in Chapter 2 through the ANCHORAGE and MOTHER TONGUE blends. The implementation of the language variety – which surfaced as a normative variety through the existence of a literary tradition – in administration (as in the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts in France) helps to seal its position (cf. Footnote 95 in this chapter) and secures its maintenance. Dante argues that although Italy lacks the institutions necessary for a political and linguistic unity, the elements of this unity exist, dispersed, but united by reason (“et sicut membra illius uno principe uniuntur, sic membra huius gratioso lumine rationis unita sunt”). The “gracious light of reason”, which secures the prestige of the vernacular dialect proposed as a normative variety, recalls earlier suggestions (cf. Footnote 78 and 89 in this chapter) concerning the metaphors HIGH v. LOW in the conceptualisation of language. Varieties of high cultural prestige are characterised by rules and regularities deduced, through human intervention and reasoning, from “nature”: the spontaneous use of language. Poetic form unravels the inherent regularities of the untamed vernacular: it sheds the light of reason on the features of language which previously escaped human understanding. In Chapters 1.10-16, Dante delineates (identifies) a normative linguistic variety by pointing out the differences of its features from those of other varieties; in other words, he bases his argument on identification by distinction, by singling out. However, given the dispersed nature of the variety delineated – and distinguished – in this way, another notion of identification is necessary: that of symbolically uniting the scattered but distinctive features of this variety under one name. Thus, the gesture of naming (again, identifying) a linguistic variety is also an assertion of its selfsameness, uniqueness, and oneness.

It is possible to elucidate two main threads in the attitudes toward language which characterised the emergence of early standards in Europe. The first thread concerns the attitudes which accompany the emergence of early standards both in pre-classical Greece and in late medieval Italy. As we saw, the pre-existence of an intellectual or literary tradition, and in particular poetry, play a crucial role in the prestige of a language variety which is to be established as a standard. The emergence of koine Greek, approximately in the fifth century BC (Colvin 2009: 34), shows that there is a metonymic association on the part of speakers between literary genre and the language variety (usually characterised by various degrees of dialect mixing and levelling) in which the literary genre is written (sung, recited). Dante exploits the potential that the existence of a body of canonical texts represents in creating a shared and coherent linguistic identity, by *identifying* the language of these texts as the variety most suitable to connect speakers across regions and dialects. Once the metonymic slippage between literary genre and its language has taken place, linguistic identity comes to rely on the perceived homogeneity of this standard, and especially on the perceived sameness of the standard and the language variety that people *believe* they speak. Both the gradual emergence of a literary tradition and speakers' increasing awareness of the differences between its language and everyday use are spontaneous, primary processes. Speakers' willingness to adapt their language use to accommodate features of this variety, language naming, as well as the legal and educational establishment of the normative variety are secondary processes, which require a degree of intentionality and linguistic self-consciousness on the part of speakers, educators, legislators, and other intellectuals. The second thread concerns the relative prestige of vernacular language varieties compared to Latin, and, to a lesser extent, Ancient Greek. Attitudes which reflect a preoccupation with the prestige of the vernacular were explained in terms of the language-related implications of the HIGH and LOW spatial metaphors. Securing high prestige for a vernacular involves, first and foremost, proving that "faultless" poetic texts can be created in it, that is, texts whose regularity of pattern, and "nobility" of theme, are comparable to that of Latin.¹⁰³ The

¹⁰³ The prestige of Latin itself was initially understood in relative terms, in comparison to Greek (Ostler 2007: 58-83). This is a significant difference in terms of language attitudes between the two prestige languages of the ancient world. Until the third century BC, Latin, although already a successful lingua franca in the Italian peninsula, was "literate but not literary" (Ostler 2007: 26),

Occitan poets' oft-repeated claims about the refinement of their poetic technique are instances of their defensiveness about writing in the vernacular (Ferrante 1982: 595-597). The prejudice towards vernacular-language poetry is lifted if the poetic potential of the variety is proven, and the inherent regularity of the language is uncovered in the complexity of its poetic patterns.¹⁰⁴

To summarise, standards, which channel speakers' feelings about language into a shared linguistic identity, assume the existence of canonical texts against which everyday speech is measured. In turn, the refinement of poetic technique in the vernacular uncovers and upholds those features of the vernacular which render it suitable for the production of such canonical texts.¹⁰⁵ The confluence of these two currents explains the eagerness with which members of the *Pléiade* (or, indeed, generations before and after them) endeavoured to redefine the technical apparatus and patterns which constitute good poetry. Peletier's *À un poète qui n'écrivait qu'en latin* is at the very heart of a literary tradition in the making: it is a reflection on the possible foundations of such a new textual tradition and linguistic identity. The next part of this chapter locates the text in the development of the lyric genres in French and in closely related vernaculars.

3.5 Attitudes to language through the lens of evolving poetic norms and practices

France at Peletier's time had the political unity, under a monarch, that Dante's Italy lacked. French had emerged, and was legally established, by the mid-sixteenth

which also means that its use was conceived of by its speakers as a mere practicality and not as an attribute of being Roman or of Roman greatness. It is only after the discovery of Greek-language culture (which followed the extension of Roman political control to Greek cities) that the idea of refining Latin on the Greek model surfaces and a Latin-language literary canon gradually emerges. The stages of the development of Latin, first as a *lingua franca*, a language of administration, and then as a literary koine of high prestige, remind us of the progression of French. As we saw, the heightened interest in remodelling French poetry during the Renaissance was preceded by the spread of French as a language of trade and its establishment as a language of legal administration.

¹⁰⁴ Dante also points out (*De vulgari eloquentia* 2.1.7) that writers of prose often learnt from poets (cf. Colvin 2011: 43).

¹⁰⁵ Even Occitan terminology points to a three-fold functional distinction between language varieties: alongside the distinction between Latin (*grammatica*) and the vernacular, the latter is divided into two further registers: *latī*: the language of art and poetry, which is ordered by rules, like Latin, and *romans*, the unregulated local parlance (cf. Ferrante 1982: 595).

century as the language variety central to trade, legal matters, and administration in France, whose territory had included the Occitan-speaking lands since the thirteenth century. At least two centuries prior to the publication of the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts, French had spread into the Central and Southern territories; a spread which led to an increasing degree of Occitan-French bilingualism in these lands. With the gradual incorporation of the Occitan lands into the French state, and the resulting language contact, French made headway, initially through the upper echelons of society, in the South at the expense of Occitan. Cultural diffusion, however, appears to have been significant in the other direction, too: “[t]here is almost no theme that appears in later French medieval literature that did not get a first hearing in Occitan verse or narrative” (Burgwinkle 2011: 21).

Notwithstanding the success of French as a lingua franca – and later as an official language of jurisdiction – the two varieties of Gallo-Romance had very different literary and cultural profiles in the medieval period. The *De vulgari eloquentia* describes the “lingua oïl” (in 1.10) as best suited for “quicquid redactum sive inventum est ad vulgare prosaicum” (‘whatever is composed or invented in vernacular prose’). Lyric poetry, on the other hand, was traditionally written in, and therefore associated with, the *langue d’oc*¹⁰⁶, or Occitan, of the South. The earliest rhyming verse composed in a vernacular language in Europe is known to be troubadour song; thanks to the popularity of this genre Occitan literature became a point of reference, as in the *De vulgari eloquentia*, in the medieval literatures not only of France but also of Italy, Spain, and Germany.¹⁰⁷ This success is due in part to the very fact that these verses were composed in the vernacular, and in part to the features of this vernacular, Occitan, whose phonotactics allowed for tight patterns of rhyme- and syllable-count to develop (Abondolo 2001: 241; Ferrante 1982: 600).¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ The widely known French names of the two varieties of Gallo-Romance, *langue d’oc* and *langue d’oïl*, are translations of Dante’s attempt to name two of the three language varieties into which, according to his train of thought in the *De vulgari eloquentia* (1.10), Latin had developed: “Allegat ergo pro se lingua oïl quod propter sui faciliorem ac delectabiliorem vulgaritatem ...” and “pro se vero argumentatur alia, scilicet oc, ...”

¹⁰⁷ Even two of Dante’s sources were poetic guidelines to the troubadours’ lyric poetry, written by the Catalan poets Raimon Vidal de Besalù (early thirteenth century) and his follower, Jofre de Foixà (Dragonetti 1961; Burgwinkle 2011, 21-25).

¹⁰⁸ Ferrante (1928: 598) characterizes the way in which Occitan poets were affected by the type of

The earliest Provençal poets were the first to create a literary tradition in a language with neither a literary nor a grammatical tradition of its own in medieval Europe. As a result of the defensive attitude (cf. Section 3.4 above), which goes hand-in-hand with the intention of promoting vernacular-language poetic composition in the period, these poets paid particular attention to, and took special pride in, the regularity and order of their verse. The phonological and morphological typology of the varieties of Occitan in which they wrote was fundamentally different from Latin, to which the existing rules of poetic composition applied. Regularity and metre in Classical Latin meant quantitative verse. By the time of the Occitan poets, however, the phonological profile of (medieval) Latin had changed as well, resulting in a transition from a quantitative to a predominantly syllabic type of verse.¹⁰⁹ Vowel and syllable length was no longer felt with absolute clarity since the third century AD (Elwert 1965: 18), and quantitative verse gradually receded to give way to rhythm based on syllable numbers and, by the tenth and eleventh centuries, “non-sporadic, regular, and regulating” rhyme (Abondolo 2001: 240; cf. Elwert 1965: 76). The old rules, however, prevailed, and learned, typically monastic, Latin-language poets persisted in trying to write quantitative verse although its basis, the phonological opposition of short v. long vowels and consonants, was not perceptible to the ear by this time. What is at issue here is that the adherence to the old rules (i.e. to quantitative verse, which constituted the dominant *norm* in learned poetic output) was seen as necessary (i.e. *normative*) if one was to write poetry according to the dominant, high-prestige perceptions of the genre at the time. In terms of attitudes toward language, it was against the tenacity and prestige of these rules that Occitan poets had to push by elaborating and asserting the regularity of their verse. As a result of the altered phonological profile of Latin itself, however, another development took place

language they had in hand as follows: “For anyone trained in a language like Latin, in which the forms of words, their inflections, are so numerous and so distinct, the monosyllabicity of Provençal, which produces so many homonyms, must seem totally inchoate. [...] There is so little inflection in the language, and so much overlapping of forms, so little, to put it differently, of what lends structure to Latin, that poets turn to the technical aspects of their craft to impose an order.” Conversely, it is precisely this “new order” which secured Provençal poetry its popularity and prestige in medieval Europe, particularly between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.

¹⁰⁹ For the three main prototypes – quantitative, tonic, and syllabic – of verse, and transitions between them, see Abondolo 2001: 171-177.

simultaneously, which served the interests of Occitan theory of verse (and its application) well.

Both Ferrante (1982: 590-591) and Elwert (1965: 13-18) identify learned medieval Latin poetry, namely texts of the Christian liturgy, as a source of Occitan and French poetry.¹¹⁰ The phonological changes that had been in progress since the third century AD, meant that by the time the first troubadours composed their texts, Latin verse was also predominantly syllable counting and availed itself occasionally of loosely patterned rhyming. No rules were fixed, however, for this type of poetry in Latin: there was variation in the recurrence of rhymes within a poem as well as in the length of the rhyming strings. In addition, Latin rhyme was unavoidably based on inflection: on the repetition of nouns and adjectives in the same suffixed case forms and of verbs in the same person and tense (Ferrante 1982: 591). Inflectional suffixes limit rhyming

¹¹⁰ As far as French is concerned, specifically, it is instructive to contrast the following three passages, each discussing the origin of French verse [emphasis mine, throughout]

“La versification française, ainsi que celle des autres langues néo-latines, *n’est pas sortie de la versification latine populaire – come on continue de le lire dans les manuels scolaires –*, elle ne vient pas directement non plus de la versification latine classique. Elle est sortie de la versification latine du Moyen Age, savante, elle aussi, mais où l’accent a supplanté la quantité, et qu’on appelle versification rythmique par opposition à la versification métrique de l’Antiquité.” (Elwert 1965: 18)

“La versification française est sortie de la versification latine populaire, tout come la langue française est issue de la langue latine vulgaire.” (Grammont 1930: 1)

“La versification française est l’héritière directe de la versification latine. Les modifications profondes entre l’une et l’autre sont dues au passage d’un système quantitatif à un système syllabique.” (Aquien 1990: 10)

The two French-native scholars, Maurice Grammont and Michèle Aquien, although their authority on the history and typology of Latin and French verse is beyond dispute, clearly assert the sameness of the two. Grammont’s terminology is slightly vague: it is unclear what kind of Latin he means specifically by “vulgar Latin”; but he distinguishes it from Classical Latin. The two sentences cited from Aquien seem to contradict each other, as she makes it clear in her second sentence that the two types of verse are fundamentally different. Alternatively, and this seems a more likely interpretation, “to be an heir of Latin verse” has to be understood here in cultural-historical terms and *not* in linguistic terms. If this interpretation is correct, her wording points to a relatively rare instance of French anchorage being sought through Latin: a cultural and linguistic affiliation of high prestige. The textbook interpretations of the origins of French verse to which Elwert (a German native-speaking author) alludes are likely to be similar to Grammont’s and Aquien’s stance. Such interpretations seem to assert the sameness of types of verse *despite* their fundamental differences which, certainly in the two examples above, are clear to the authors. (Aquien (1990: 46), in fact, also discusses the influence of liturgical Latin texts on French rhyme.) In contrast to this, Kastner (1903: 1) – another non-native scholar – leaves the “Latin heritage” out entirely from his introductory definition of French verse. Scholars are also subject to the cultural processes which their languages project, and which they themselves address in their scholarship.

possibilities by rendering rhymes repetitive to the point of banality. In contrast to this, the non-inflecting morphological profile of Occitan allowed for a high number of rhyme types, each with relatively few tokens, which made the development of complex patterns of repetition possible in rhyme schemes. Occitan poets were bound to turn these phonological and morphological features of their vernacular to advantage in their endeavour to display the regularity of their verse, and, indirectly, to showcase the possibilities of imposing regularity onto their vernacular.¹¹¹ The shortness of lines in Occitan poetry also served the purpose of showing off the rhyming possibilities of words. In sum, Occitan verse challenged the prestige of Latin on two fronts. First, the *regularity of patterns* in Occitan rhyming and syllabicity, although of a completely different type, was no inferior to the regularity of patterns in Classical Latin quantitative verse. Second, the potential of Occitan for variation within the regular patterns was superior to the typologically more similar (syllabic and rhyming) medieval Latin verse. Hence, the case of Occitan illustrates that individual poets' desire to uncover vernacular-language-specific features which render the language suitable for the accommodation of a strict – and potentially new – poetic pattern have to do as much with language-internal as with language-external factors.

Further language-external reasons are often mentioned in relation to the popularity and prestige of the Occitan lyric tradition. It is tempting, for example, to speculate that rich rhyming schemes comported well with the musical innovations – polyphony and harmony – of the period (Dunsby 2003: 978; Ferrante 1982: 587; cf. on *trobair* Nichols 1994: 30).¹¹² Another source of the success of Occitan verse is the theme of intricate erotic symbolism whose roots have been traced back to Andalusian Arabic poetry (Burgwinkle 2011: 25; Ostler 2007: 181-182). Gradually, Occitan poetic material and themes were incorporated into French- (and German-) language lyric poetry via overt or covert translation from the thirteenth century, and influenced most of Europe's lyric tradition. According to the testimony of the *De vulgari eloquentia*, however, the

¹¹¹ As Ferrante (1982) put it: “[f]or grammarians, to whom rules and order are essential to proper communication, the vernacular is anarchic and dangerous; for poets, it offers freedom and scope, a wealth of ambiguity in meaning and harmony in sound”.

¹¹² The *De vulgari eloquentia* also makes the association between poetry and music clear (2. 4): “...si poesim recte consideremus, que nihil aliud est quam fictio rethorica versificata et musicaque posita” (cf. Rigolot 1982).

fundamental association even in the fourteenth century was between the northern French dialect and epic poetry on the one hand, and, on the other, the southern Occitan dialect and lyric genres.¹¹³

In spite of the fact that there were poets even in the North who composed lyric verse in the centuries before the height of the French Renaissance (e.g. Guillaume de Machaut (c.1300–1377) and François Villon (1431–1463), to name but two) the term *lyric* is closely associated with humanist thought in France (Helgeson 2011: 200).¹¹⁴ Poets writing in the northern variety of Gallo-Romance, just like their southern counterparts, developed the poetic techniques of native traditions, stemming from the late medieval period, and composed in genres such as the *rondeau* and the *ballade*, whose form was initially set to a relatively simple rhyming scheme (the ballade, in particular, was based on only three rhymes; cf. Aquien 1990: 47; Grammont 1930: 95-97). According to Aquien (1990: 47), French poets set out to research the poetic possibilities of their vernacular in an attempt to imitate the poetic output and skill of the troubadours, who preceded them in the lyric genre by several centuries, the heyday of troubadour poetry taking place approximately between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, while French lyric experimentations with rhyme started taking off some time in the middle of the thirteenth century (Elwert 1965: 84). Despite the tenacity of the association between music and verse, by the time of the *Grands Rhétoriciens*' generation¹¹⁵, in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the writing of music and the writing of poetry were seen as distinct

¹¹³ The role of poetic koinai in contributing to a shared linguistic identity was discussed earlier. Let us recall here the metonymic association between a body of literary texts and the language of these texts. As a result of this metonymic association, literary genre is “bundled up” with the language variety which embodies the genre, and this association leads to a shift in linguistic culture which accommodates, and becomes aware of, a particular variety that arches over vernaculars.

¹¹⁴ According to Helgeson (2011: 200) and Picoche (2002: 332; *s.v.*, “lyre”), French equivalents of the word *lyric* are unattested in medieval and early Renaissance French; Jean Molinet in his *Art de rhétorique vulgaire* (1493) discusses earlier poets and musicians but without bringing this subject matter under the umbrella term *lyric poetry*. The first attestations in French appear only in the 1490s. Neither of the sources give specific details of the attestation to a particular author or text.

¹¹⁵ *Les Grands Rhétoriciens* is the name of a group of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Northern French poets who are notorious for the refinement, at times excessively, of their rhymes, and for insisting on the alternation of masculine and feminine rhymes. Prominent members include Jean Molinet (1435–1507), Jean Lemaire des Belges (1473–1516), and the Protestant Clément Marrot (1496–1544), the first translator of the Book of Psalms into French.

activities. The separation between the two forms of art, as well as the Occitan poetic model, prompted members of the *Rhétoriqueurs'* generation to refine late medieval lyric genres by introducing complex rhyming schemes, which Helgeson (2011: 201) describes as “a synthesis of late medieval formal experimentation”, and speculative philosophical sophistication. In addition to virtuoso experiments with rhyme, there were also attempts to define both verse and vernacular rhetoric as a type of music (e.g. by Eustache Deschamps (1346–1406) and Jean Molinet (1433–1507); cf. Helgeson 2011: 201). Poetic works written during the so-called first humanism in the fifteenth century, however, “lack[ed] the developing historical consciousness that made humanists question the relevance of ancient and medieval exemplary literature” later (Rigolot 1994: 128). This kind of historic consciousness of one’s literary models, coupled with poetic self-awareness, is at the heart of the novel understanding of the poetic genre and technique which was introduced by members of the *Pléiade*, and it explains the attitudes to poetic norm which they adopted. We shall return to this point after having looked at two examples of the impact that language-internal changes had on French lyric experiments and poetic theory.

In addition to the Occitan influence and to the emancipation of the lyric genre from music, there were language-internal changes which were underway in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century French. These language-internal changes, once again, proved to be of crucial importance for the history of French verse and for the increasing distance between poetic language and everyday use (cf. Flescher 1972: 180; Elwert 1965: 42). Two examples of language-internal changes which are particularly relevant to developments in French poetics, are the weakening and gradual elimination of certain stem-final consonants, on the one hand, and, on the other, the phonological and morphological status in verse of what is commonly referred to as the *e muet* or *e caduc*. The latter became a concern because this vowel was also undergoing phonetic reduction in certain positions in everyday speech during the period in question. Both of these phonological changes are discussed in the context of their influence on French verse, and on attitudes to language, below.

As a result of the combination of the three factors discussed above (the Occitan model, a growing body of lyric texts in the French vernacular, language-internal

changes), the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were a period of poetic exploits and exploration. The *Rhétoriciens* pushed the rhyming capacity of French to its limits in their insistence on intricate rhyme schemes, such as the repetition of syllables both at the end and at the beginning of the line, line-internal rhymes, assonance, rhyming strings stretching over several syllables, and, at the very least, the use of rich rhyme, in which not only the consonant following the stressed vowel but also the one preceding it (the *consonne d'appui*) is identical in the rhyming string (for a detailed list of such complex rhyme schemes see Aquien 1990: 47-50; Elwert 1965: 108-111). The *Rhétoriciens'* virtuosity and principles of rhyming were branded by Kastner (1903: 49) "puerile metrical trick[s]" and characterised by Aquien (1990: 50) as "techniques savants [...] [qui] n'ont pas servi que des virtuosités à la limite du ridicule" (clever techniques [...] which] were nothing more than a pointless display of virtuosity pushed to the extent of the ridiculous; my translation). Aquien (1990: 50) also notes that many of the *Rhétoriciens'* poems evade understanding entirely.

In the intense lyrical experimentation characterising the *Rhétoriciens'* generation, paradoxically, the reduced array of possible syllable codas available for rhyming in fifteenth-century French led to an array of rules concerning the phonological sets that constitute good rhyme. "As a tighter metric pattern evolved, a need for greater rigor in the rhyme scheme began to seem important, and the quality of rhyme became a major preoccupation" (Flesher 1972: 179). The tradition of French rhyming verse, similarly to Occitan, is rooted in the late medieval period, by which time assonance, and later rhyme, came to be applied widely in Latin texts of the Christian liturgy as well. Assonance, based on the identity of the last tonic vowel in the lines, was a feature of French epic poetry, too. A distinction was made by poets between feminine and masculine rhymes already in this period, the former requiring the presence of the atonic *-e* after the tonic vowel. The consonantal environment of the vowels had never been taken into account until the rhyming string gradually stretched to include the consonant following the tonic vowel (a practice not yet adopted in the *Chanson de Roland*, for instance, in the twelfth century; Elwert 1965: 78; Kastner 1903: 40). Grammont (1930: 31) notes that the shift from assonance to rhyme, although it increased the precision and refinement of line-end homophony, decreased the variety of rhyming possibilities. In other words, the number

of rhyme types decreased and the close similarity of the tokens brought about monotony and repetitiveness in rhyming. Grammont suggests that the rule of alternating the masculine and feminine rhyme types at the end of the line was an attempt to avoid too much repetition. Extending the rhyming string to include three elements (the tonic vowel and two consonants: the one before and the one after it) was yet another way of remedying the problem of bland homogeneity. At the same time, the gradual reduction of the stem-final consonants, which was well underway in the fourteenth century, is also likely to have contributed to the tendency of including the consonant preceding the tonic vowel (the *consonne d'appui*) in the rhyming string. As the final consonants were increasingly muted, there was a greater desire to stretch the rhyming strings further back to the left of the tonic vowel, first to the *consonne d'appui*, then to the preceding vowel (which resulted in bi-syllabic rhymes called *rime double* or *léonine*), and finally, by the *Rhétoriciens'* time, to the third and fourth syllables. Elwert (1965: 87) seems to agree with Aquien (cited above) that in the *Rhétoriciens'* practice the phonic dimension of poetic texts took centre stage compared to meaning, which was often entirely neglected. He (Elwert 1965: 89), however, refuses to accept the "disdainful qualifiers, such as *jeux de rimes*". Elwert argues that such judgements are anachronistic, inasmuch as they are based on aesthetic ideals which are different from those during the Middle Ages or at the time of the *Rhétoriciens*, when extensive rhyming contributed to a "sensation of beauty". The shift in aesthetic ideal, at least in part, is brought about by language-internal changes. As the phonological and morphological inventory of a language changes, with it change the poetic possibilities, which, in turn, are bound to influence the features of verse which are seen (or set) as normative. Experiments and innovations in poetry, as it was argued in the introduction to this chapter, are motivated by a search for what works well in a particular language, and in the process ideas about the core features of that language crystallise.¹¹⁶

Elwert (1965: 84-86) puts forward an interesting argument about how the search for the "essence of language" through best practice in poetic composition is reflected in the change in linguistic terminology. The conditions for defining the richness of rhyme

¹¹⁶ Cf. Footnote 123 and p. 156 on elements of language which the poet and theoretician August Dorchain called "le nerf et l'armature de la langue".

have varied greatly over time in the history of theory of French verse. As a result of language-internal changes, rhymes which were originally classified as *suffisantes* 'sufficient, satisfactory' (Kastner's term is *ordinary* or *satisfactory* rhyme), and which included the consonant following the tonic vowel, had to be reinterpreted as *pauvre* or *faibles* ('weak' or 'poor' rhymes) because of the reduction in pronunciation of the stem-final consonants (when the consonant is retained in pronunciation, the rhymes are still *suffisantes*). Following the incorporation in the rhyming string of the *consonne d'appui*, in the fourteenth century, the new rhyme types were called *rime consonante*. They correspond to rhymes which, according to classical terminology, were called *rich* (whether there was a third identical sound – the stem-final consonant – or not) but, according to the post-Romantic tradition, these are only *suffisante* if the stem-final consonantal element is not present, and therefore the rhyme involves the identity of only two sounds. The modern, post-Romantic tradition (e.g. Elwert 1965, Aquien 1990, 1993 among the works consulted) uses the number of phonetic units which are identical at the end of the line to define rhyme types. A revealing example of the contradictory and obscure terminology, which stems from the circularity of definitions, concerns the distinction between assonance and weak rhyme. According to Kastner (1903: 40) "[w]hen the vowel which determines rhyme is not followed by a consonant, rhyme and assonance are one and the same thing"; in Grammont's (1930: 34) formulation "[w]hen rhyming was achieved through the stretching of the rhyming string to include the homophony of sounds following the tonic vowel as well as the tonic vowel itself, there was no difference between rhyme and assonance in such cases when the word ended on the stressed vowel (my translation)". Elwert is critical of the blurring of the boundaries between assonance and weak rhyme, on the grounds that in assonance the consonantal environment of the tonic vowel has no significance: there may or may not be consonants after the tonic vowel, and if there are, they may be different from each other.¹¹⁷ The only

¹¹⁷ A major preoccupation of Hungarian theory of verse has been, at least since the late eighteenth century, *how* the consonants can, and should, be different in assonance. A detailed treatment of poetic norms concerning assonance in Hungarian is impracticable here; however, a contrastive survey of the evolution of poetic norms in a language whose typological profile is as different from French as that of Hungarian would contribute intriguing insights to our understanding of the way in which language-internal factors shape attitudes towards language. In brief, as a result of the rich inflectional morphology of Hungarian, certain rhyme types (based on inflectional

condition is the homophony, or “equivalence” of the tonic vowel. In contrast to assonance, weak rhymes involve *only one sound* at the end of the line: they are based on the identity of the stem-final tonic vowel, which must not be followed by consonants.¹¹⁸

The theoretical and terminological polemics discussed above render the difficulties of regulating verse – and, indirectly, any use of language – explicit. By the time the language features which are seen as core to a language variety and its poetry are elucidated – and laid down, for instance, in *normative* compendiums such as textbooks of versification or manuals of “proper usage” – the language variety itself has changed. According to Kastner (1903: 42) “[w]ith regard to the strict homophony of rimes it may be said that O.F. poets were most careful; less so modern poets, who have often blindly followed rules set up before their time, and which have become absurd since, owing to changes of pronunciation [...]”. In this respect, the history and treatment in French verse of what is commonly referred to as the *e muet* or *e caduc*, to which we now turn, is particularly worthy of attention.

Alongside the muting of stem-final consonants, another major language-internal change in progress during the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance was the gradual reduction of the *e caduc* in most phonological and morphological environments. The evolution of poetic rules concerning this element¹¹⁹ is so rich and complex that their

morphemes) are easy to achieve and are therefore banal. The outstanding poet and *littérateur* of national classicism, János Arany (1817–1882) was the first to elaborate a thorough theory of assonance, in which he describes – way ahead of his time, with phonological accuracy – the types of consonant combinations which ensure the desired level of similarity and variation in rhyming (for details see Szépe 1969; and on the evolution of norms concerning rhyming see Horváth 1973; 1982).

¹¹⁸ Aquien (1990: 51) also signals this contradiction in Grammont’s definition. Grammont, on the other hand, uses his point about the equation drawn between assonance and rich rhyme to explain why such rhymes became a breeding ground for mediocre poetry, and thereby to defend certain restrictions on types of words which can occur in the rhyme. The restrictions, however, were imposed much later, during the seventeenth century, and not at the time when the possible overlap between assonance and weak rhyme would have been of concern.

¹¹⁹ My choice of the word *element* is intentional here: the *e caduc* is neither a sound nor a phoneme but it is not a letter (a mere orthographic convention) either. In contemporary French, it is not phonemic (although in certain environments it may have a lengthening effect on the vowel that precedes it: cf. [i]:[i:] as in *vî* ‘live.3SG’ v. *vîe* ‘life’); when it has a phonetic realisation (e.g., between consonants in first syllable: *regarde* [ʁɛgɑʁd] v. (rarely) [ʁgɑʁd] and (rarely) *petit* [pɛti] v. [pti]; or at lexeme boundaries in chansons: “quarante jours quarante nuits” [kɑʁɑ̃təʒuʁ kɑʁɑ̃ntyi]; George Brassens) it is usually [ə]. More importantly from our point of view, the *e caduc*, or rather its treatment in orthography and poetic texts, is a cultural phenomenon. Although there has been no sound corresponding to the grapheme in most positions for several centuries, it was retained

detailed treatment would bring to light an entire spectrum of attitudes toward language. Such a detailed analysis is impossible here; the following overview is based on five assessments by four theoreticians of verse – Aquien (1993: 13-17; 1990: 14-19), Elwert (1965: 42-57), Grammont (1930: 7-11), Dorchain (1910: 48-83) – whose main points about the role of *e caduc* in syllable count and prosody are also summarised and contrasted in Appendix D. The table in this appendix lists the main phonological environments which are usually enumerated in various discussions of the poetic treatment of the *e caduc*. As authors' lists and presentation vary, the phonological environments that are less frequently included have been left out here, too. Comments concerning the *e caduc* in a particular position are listed from the five poetic handbooks in the column under the name of the authors.

The attitudes towards the poetic treatment of the *e caduc* shifted from a fundamentally archaising and elitist type of purism through reformist periods to an increasingly aesthetic and ethnographic approach, with occasional xenophobic tints (cf. the classification of types of purism described by Thomas (1991) and in Chapter 1). As for the phonetic realisations of the *e caduc*, theoreticians agree that in Old French, it was pronounced in all environments as schwa [ə] (French “*e sourd*”) and it almost always counted in the number of syllables, except at the end of the line or hemistich, and in intervocalic position when it was either elided or *sinalefe* took place with the following vowel (French *élide ou lié* ‘elided or linked’). The dropping of the schwa [ə] started as early as the twelfth century in most environments (e.g. after and before tonic vowels, after atonic vowels, between consonants) and progressed greatly by the end of the fifteenth century. (In certain environments – e.g., in first syllable, as in *r(e)garde* ‘look!’, or between consonants, as in *quat(re) fois* [katfwa] v. [katəfwa] – there is vacillation to this day, which is explored in song texts.) Meanwhile, the orthography remained mostly conservative. As a result, the treatment of the *e caduc* in syllable count during and after the sixteenth century becomes increasingly complex, as poets and theoreticians of verse are preoccupied, time and time again, by the growing gap between phonetic reality and

in orthography in certain positions (e.g. 3PL conditional and imparfait suffix *-aient*). Depending on whether it is taken into account in syllable counting – and in which positions – provides French verse its special flavour and a clear association between texts and various periods in the history of verse (Elwert 1965: 55-57). It is from this angle that the *e caduc* is of particular interest here.

orthographic representation, on the one hand, and, on the other, between the prosodic features of poetic texts and of everyday speech. I shall look at a few instances of the various types of attitudes toward the treatment of *e caduc*, using examples, mostly, from its treatment in stem-final position after a tonic vowel (represented in Appendix D with the symbols -V^se(C), -Ve_V-, and -Ve_C-), which invited some of the most intricate rules in the polemics.

Given that the almost complete phonetic reduction of the [ə] in most environments pre-dates the period when most rules were fixed regarding its use in syllable count (the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), the language attitudes involved in establishing the rules can be characterised as fundamentally archaising and elitist. Grammont (1930: 7-8) for instance argues that as the *e muet* in Old French was never “muet”, classic poetic theory treated it by default as if its phonetic status had remained unchanged, and as if it was still perceptible to the ear. “It is therefore a falsification of the verses constructed according to these rules, whether they were written in the tenth or in the twentieth century, if the *e*-s which count in the syllables are not all pronounced scrupulously. This mistake is often made in our theatres today [1930s – E.T.] when certain actors recite the classics as if it was contemporary prose. One must refrain from following this practice as a model: this kind of diction destroys the artistic value intended by the author in the original work.”¹²⁰ This stance implies that in some cases twentieth-century actors have to follow rules of diction *which had already been archaic*, inasmuch as they were based on a previous stage of French prosody and pronunciation, *in the seventeenth century*.

The archaising trend is intertwined with elitism, inasmuch as it was partially based on a confusion caused by writing and orthography. The stem-final *-e* after a tonic vowel in Old French was pronounced as [ə] but when it was followed by a vowel in the next word in the line, it was either elided or pronounced closely together (*sinalefe*) with the first vowel of the following word. As a result, even when it was pronounced, it had no impact on syllable count (that is, it was not counted). After its phonetic reduction was

¹²⁰ The prosodic rules concerning the pronunciation of the *e caduc*, and the polemics surrounding the matter, are a gold mine for those interested in attitudes to language and metaphors for linguistic behaviour. In a study of synthetic scope, such as this thesis, it would be impossible to present all the fine and intricate details involved.

complete in this position, long before the seventeenth century, it remained a mere graphic convention, but – based on its treatment in Old French verse – it caused no concern for rules of syllable counting. If, however, the post-vocalic stem-final *-e* was followed by a consonant in the next word in the line, and therefore could not be elided, in Old French, it was present both in pronunciation and in syllable count. Following its phonetic reduction, this <*e*> was retained in orthography, and, as a result, “an embarrassing situation arose” (Grammont 1930: 8). If it had been included in the syllable count, it would have had to be pronounced, which, even by contemporary standards, was felt as artificial and archaising: “entirely alien to the habits of the French ear”, “unbearable” (Dorchain 1910: 75). Poets of the *Pléiade* – including Peletier in his 1548 *Art poétique* and Ronsard – suggested to allow greater freedom in the poetic rules concerning the *e caduc*, and even to ignore it, despite its presence in the orthography, when it is no longer audible. Other theoreticians, however, were of a different opinion (Elwert 1965: 51). François de Malherbe (1555–1628) insisted that the “mute *e*” was still audible alongside its impact on the preceding vowel (which it lengthened slightly). According to this view, which Dorchain shares, ignoring or leaving it out entirely would have failed to do justice to its assumed presence in pronunciation, however subtle, whereas counting it as a full syllable would have led to a more emphatic pronunciation than was acceptable in sixteenth and seventeenth-century French. The solution was to proscribe the use of words which contained post-vocalic <*e*>, whether the *e caduc* occurred in stem-final position (e.g., *pensée* ‘thought’) or in the middle of the word (e.g., *avaient* ‘they had’), unless the <*e*>, perceived according to this view as a reduced but still audible [ə], could be elided in front of the initial vowel of the next word or in line-end position. In other words, this intricate rule allows the use of words containing post-tonic-vocalic <*e*> only in environments in which the [ə] would have been elided in Old French. A confusion caused by orthographic conventions was resolved by recourse to a poetic rule which relied on prosodic conventions that belonged to an earlier stage in the development of French. Dorchain (1910: 76) celebrates this rule, even at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as follows: “We have to acknowledge that the rule established about this matter is one of the most exquisitely musical rules of our prosody”, pointing out that “at first, [i]t was not easy to arrive at this rule and our poets in the fifteenth and sixteenth

century often stumbled”: “Villon, Marot [and others], whose hearing was too subtle to eliminate it, preferred including it in the syllable count as a full vowel” (my translation) while Ronsard alternated the two options.¹²¹

It is a noteworthy feature of the formulation of ideas about the *e caduc* (see for instance Dorchain, but also Grammont, and Elwert paraphrasing Malherbe) that they centre on subtleties and refinements of perceived “pronunciation”. Such comments are, in part, speculations about what a “subtle ear can perceive”: what would count as *trop peu* ‘too little’ or *trop* ‘too much’ in the pronunciation of a “mute vowel”, in other words, of an abstraction which no longer had phonetic realisation. Alongside its archaising features, this posture toward poetic language is elitist in two different ways. First, the emphasis on the exceptional *physical* abilities of the most distinguished poets of France – which allowed them to *hear* this vowel, however subtle – marks out their place as rising, *intellectually*, above average humans: speakers of the vernacular who long became unperceptive to the presence of this “sound”. Second, with increasing literacy, the actual perception of the vowel is influenced by orthography. The *e caduc* may have had some auditory reality in Marot’s and especially Villon’s time but this was becoming increasingly unlikely in the late sixteenth century. Dorchain (1910: 77) himself seems to recognise this, judging from his comments on Ronsard’s poetic practice: “sensing that [to count the *e caduc* as a full syllable] would have placed far greater emphasis on a mute vowel than was legitimately possible, but at the same time wishing to avoid not pronouncing at all a syllable which is written, [Ronsard] replaced the mute *e* with an apostrophe” (my translation). In other words, even if the auditory perceptibility of the *e caduc* was a real possibility for some poets and theoreticians, it is possible that this “perception” was based on the interference of the graphic representation of the letter with the sound they heard – or they believed they heard. This kind of orientation towards the primacy of writing, and the gratification of a written tradition, is a characteristic feature of elitist approaches to language. Another example of the impact

¹²¹ As we saw on the previous page, Peletier and Ronsard were of the same opinion and recommended that the *e caduc* should be ignored. Ronsard, however, alternates this solution with counting it. In Dorchain’s (1910: 77) view, “as this complete ban on the sound does not conform to the demands of the ear, he mostly, instinctively, arrives at the modern rule, in a happy reconciliation, and either places it in a position of elision or at the end of the line. This way, he avoids sounding it either too much or too little” (my translation).

which the elitist posture had on the actual perception of speech sounds can be discerned in certain theoreticians' insistence on the lengthening effect that the post-vocalic <e> in line-end position had on the preceding vowel. This is described by Elwert (1965: 52) as a prosodic feature of French verse which was perceptible until the late seventeenth century. Elsewhere, Elwert (1965: 43) argues that the tenacity of this perception, and its actual phonetic realisation, may be due to a certain normative habit of pronunciation in elocution and recitation of verse. The real or perceived lengthening effect of the post-vocalic, graphic <e> on the preceding vowel, therefore, is the result of a learned tradition, which is intentional and conscious, and which serves the purpose of distinguishing between feminine and masculine rhymes at the end of the line.¹²²

As is shown by the comments collected in Appendix D, the new rules concerning the treatment of the post-vocalic *e caduc* in verse implied the exclusion of entire word classes from within the line, such as 3PL verb forms in the conditional, imperfect, the subjunctives *soient* and *aient*; feminine nouns, adjectives, and past participles in the plural (e.g. *vu-es* 'seen'-FEM.PL), as well as in the singular (e.g. *vu-e* 'seen'-FEM.SG) when followed by a word beginning with a consonant. Such restrictions meant that exceptions had to be made for words which Dorchain characterised as "le nerf et l'armature de la langue"¹²³, such as *soient* (*soi-ent: être.SUBJ-3PL*) and *aient* (*ai-ent: avoir.SUBJ-3PL*) and other verb forms ending in the suffix *-aient*, spelled as <oient> in the orthography of the time. In these third person plural forms, the *-e* was usually not counted as a separate syllable, although both solutions (including it or not in the syllable count) were possible until the end of the sixteenth century. As a result, as Grammont explains (1930: 9-10), forms ending in *-aient* were frequent only at the end of the line, in

¹²² In the phonetic environment under discussion, this means that, for instance, the final vowel in *la pensée* 'the thought' is long, and gives a feminine rhyme, while in *il a pensé* 'he thought' the vowel is short, so, the rhyme is masculine.

¹²³ Let us note the ORGANIC and MILITARY metaphors for language in Dorchain's wording. According to this, language is conceptualised as having *nerves* and *armature*: the latter is both a "defensive armour, protective cover" and "a framework to give structure to, and consolidate, a statue or building" (*OED Online*, s.v., "armature", Def.1., Def.4, Def.7a.&7.b.), so, structure and defense simultaneously. According to the *OED Online* (s.v., "nerve", Def.9.a.) sixteenth-century uses of French *nerf* had parallel senses in English, in particular, the uses in both languages included 'those qualities and elements which constitute the main strength or vigour of something'. So, the "nerves" here are those words and grammatical elements which constitute the *essence* of language: its core strengths and dynamism at the same time.

the rhyming string. Once the *e caduc* stopped counting in prosody and in the syllable count, such verb forms had to be reinterpreted as masculine rhymes. After the 3PL conditional and imparfait suffixes started being written as <aient>, the 3PL subjunctive of *être* (*soient*) became isolated as a potential rhyming word: it could have rhymed only with very few words (such as *voient* ‘they see’ and *croient* ‘they believe’) but these were still classified as feminine rhymes, so, *soient* was classified again as a feminine rhyme in line-end position (Grammond 1930: 9; cf. Elwert 1965: 54). At other times, as Aquien reports, the difficulties were overcome by variation in spelling, such as <pensées> v. <pensers>. Ronsard’s use of the apostrophe (e.g. <encore> v. <encor’>; <avec’> v. <aveque>), mentioned earlier, also illustrates that there were attempts to resolve a dilemma which was rooted mainly in orthographic conventions by allowing for a degree of variation in spelling (Elwert 1965: 54-55).

The contradiction – and growing gap – between pronunciation in everyday speech and orthography, which represented an earlier stage in the development of French more closely than sixteenth-century pronunciation, increased poets’ and theoreticians’ interest in the *e caduc* gradually. The rule of alternation between masculine and feminine rhymes – in which the presence or absence of the *e caduc* is the single most important criterion – was firmly established by Ronsard’s time, and it was rigorously decreed by Malherbe in the seventeenth century (Flescher 1972: 180). At the time of the *Pléiade*, the rules were still rather flexible and orthographic variation was allowed. The *e caduc* was a lesser preoccupation for Ronsard and Peletier than, for instance, the length of rhyming strings.¹²⁴ The era of a reformist attitude towards the *e caduc* was ushered in towards the end of the sixteenth century and reached its peak in Malherbe’s work and in the French classicists’ verse. The rules which were laid down during the period between, approximately, the *Pléiade*’s activities and the mid-seventeenth century remained in place until the nineteenth century (cf. Elwert). In the nineteenth century, when poetic diction, whose rules originated from two centuries before, was felt even more artificial and mannered compared to everyday speech, certain poets attempted to establish a rule thanks to which the use of the *e caduc* could be avoided. “Unfortunately, however, they

¹²⁴ In any case, they envisioned rejuvenating French poetry through translation from Ancient Greek and Latin sources rather than through establishing rigid rules for native traditions; a point to which we shall return later.

failed to conform exactly to the real state of affairs in current usage. At times they dropped it in positions where it was still pronounced, at other times they counted it when it was no longer present in speech" (Grammont 1930: 11). The cited passage and Grammont's example hint to a shift in attitudes towards the *e caduc*. The nineteenth-century posture could be characterised as ethnographic, inasmuch as it tries to bridge the gap between everyday speech and the archaising and elitist poetic diction. This attitude is also anti-purist because it attempts to eliminate rules and restrictions which had become increasingly burdensome in poetic expression.¹²⁵ There remained, however, archaising and conservative voices, too.

Despite the restrictions and further complications which were brought about by the rules that fixed the use of *e caduc* in verse, Dorchain – whose work as a theoretician and poet takes place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century – still condones the classical practices. In his *L'art du vers* (1910: 77), he ends his discussion of the rules concerning the post-vocalic *e caduc* by pointing out that Molière violated the rules set around his time only three or four times in his entire work. "It would be sheer barbarity to commit such negligence, which is precisely what certain poets have tried to do for a number of years [in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – E. T.]. Almost all of these poets are of *foreign origin*, and therefore can be very much excused; if not for hoping to match the greatest artists of verse of our race, but at least for not having all the delicate and refined qualities of the French ear"[emphasis mine] (Dorchain 1910: 78; my translation). Dorchain's profoundly elitist attitude is tainted by xenophobic purism when

¹²⁵ It was suggested in Chapter 1 that there are two possible understandings of *purity*: natural and chemical. To apply this distinction to the present discussion: *freedom* can be understood in terms of lack of structure, or inherent regularities, as early vernacular languages or any kind of spontaneous speech was seen. This kind of freedom in poetic expression corresponds to ethnographic trends in language attitudes, which involved the discovery for "high" literature of the "language of the people", in particular folk poetry and seemingly unregulated instances of verbal art; it could also imply simply a less controlled approach to writing verse (cf. Haugen's third phase in attitudes to the "mother tongue" discussed at the beginning of this chapter). This kind of freedom, on the other hand, may suggest, in all of its instances listed above, a lack of control, which is seen as LOW, and therefore dangerous for language. The other understanding of *freedom*, the one rooted in control, therefore, involves creative engagement with, and interventionism in, language structure, fixing the rules of poetic composition, and clarifying both the literary models and goals that one intends to follow. In other words, this is the freedom of the law-abiding citizen: freedom in poetic expression is guaranteed *as long as* structure is made explicit in rules of versification, which the poet is aware of. Thanks to the protective safety of rules of verse, literary ambitions can be pursued freely.

he associates nineteenth-century poetic experiments¹²⁶ with work by foreign poets, and their lack of skill in grasping the essence of French in their verse. He concludes his discussion of the rules concerning *e caduc* in a congratulatory fashion: “The conquest is therefore complete, and all in all, satisfactory. [...] But how can we be sure that [the exceptions made with *soient, aient*, etc.] are not going to lead us to the point when we end up using, inside the lines, nouns and adjectives in which the mute *e* of the final group of vowels is followed by an *s* [marker of the plural]? That we should have to go so far in every situation, *that*, I do not believe. This would be, I repeat, barbarism; it could eventually lead us to use these words within the line even in the singular, and soon, probably, to eliminate entirely the music of our verse. The half-sounds (*demi-tons*), on which this music relies, are full of exquisite resources – owing to the subtlety of the pronunciation, which is still sensed by the ear, of the mute syllables – but these are accessible only for those who can read, not with the vulgarity of colloquial language (*conversation courante*), but by allowing the words all their nobility and original fullness: virtues which poetry is in charge of defending as elements of its rhythm and beauty” (my translation).

I have cited Dorchain’s interpretation of the fixed rules of the *e caduc* in full because it sums up the significance of this phenomenon for French poetry, and poetic standards, which are thought of, even at the beginning of the twentieth century, as a model for a linguistic behaviour of higher prestige than everyday use of language. Dorchain’s predominantly elitist and archaising approach to poetic norm is underpinned by his use of MILITARY and ORGANIC metaphors about language. In terms of the military metaphor, the successful establishment of a rule of versification is a “conquest”, and, as we saw earlier (Footnote 123), language has “armature”, which corresponds to those language elements which Dorchain considers central to the structure of French. Structure, when understood in terms of “armature”, provides a solid, stabilising core to language, on the one hand, and, on the other, plays a part in its defence. STRUCTURE, therefore, is STABILITY and DEFENSE for language, and it is reliant on the regulations (prescriptions and proscriptions) that have been laid down, during a long “campaign”, for the attainment of best practice in poetic composition. Later in the same passage

¹²⁶ We can only speculate that Dorchain means here free verse, *vers libre* or *vers libéré*.

Dorchain (1910: 83) suggests that the right kind of rules are the ones which allow the right amount of freedom: solutions which “offered the least inconvenience and most advantages” (cf. Footnote 125 on *freedom*). In this respect, as the passage cited above illustrates, allowing the use of certain verb forms, which contain the *e caduc* after tonic vowels, inside the line is just the right amount of freedom. A strong division is established between such verbs and nouns of a similar make-up. As far as nouns are concerned, the liberalism applied to verbs would not only be unjustified but it could also lead to a complete destruction of the “music” – the “essence”, as we put it earlier – of French verse. Let us recall the dangers which, the cited passage claims, a “barbarian” foreign ear represents to this essence by lacking respect – or sensitivity – for the *e caduc*, and poetic rules regulating its use. An equation is drawn here between “Frenchness”, in the civic or ethnic sense, and the correct treatment of the *e caduc*: a central feature of “Frenchness” in the poetic-linguistic sense.¹²⁷ Once the right rules have been arrived at, “the conquest was complete”. According to this metaphor, the gradual uncovering of the internal regularities of a language through poetic composition (e.g., the practices that were discussed with regards to Occitan poets’ attitudes or to the *Rhétoriciens*’ treatment of rhyme on earlier in this chapter) is a “campaign”, while the establishment – the “fixing” – of the rules (e.g., Malherbe and the classicists’ recommendations about the *e caduc*) is a “conquest”. In this conquest a battle was won over the “vulgarity of colloquial language”: unregulated, spontaneous speech.

¹²⁷ Once again, attitudes toward language – in the previous discussion, toward a specific feature (the role of the *e caduc* in syllable count) of a particular kind of language (rhyming and syllable-counting verse) – have to do as much with language-internal factors (in this case, the gradual loss of a speech sound) as with language external ones. Establishing the standard rules for rhyming or for the use of the *e caduc* are instances of poets’ and theoreticians’ desire to untangle the essence of “Frenchness” in French poetry. This is clearly spelled out in the last sentence of the passage cited from Dorchain’s monograph (on p. 153 above), according to which the *e caduc* – which he calls *demi-tons* ‘half sounds’ – is an “exquisite resource” of French, precisely because of the subtlety of the “pronunciation” of these “mute syllables”, which are nonetheless still sensed by the “mind’s” ear. It is needless to point out that the possibility of the auditory perception of sounds which are not uttered works only, and at best, at the level of abstraction. Thanks to this abstraction – the theoretical guidelines to write and to recite French verse from various periods – awareness of these sounds is maintained, and provides, Dorchain argues, French verse with its special flavour of “Frenchness”, which poets of foreign origin are unable to grasp. It was mentioned earlier that Peletier and Ronsard attributed far lesser significance to the role of the *e caduc* in French verse. The *Pléiade*’s focus in their search for the *essence* of French in poetic texts was somewhat different, as we shall see.

From the sets of military metaphors, elucidated above, it follows that poetry is in charge of defending the virtues of language, the “nobility and original fullness” of its words (again, some kind of essence), both against external enemies (the “barbarian ear”) and internal dangers (the “vulgarity of colloquial language”, which escapes regulations). In terms of the military metaphor, STRUCTURE (the “armature de la langue”) – which poetic composition (the “campaign”) uncovers, upholds, and, in Dorchain’s narrative, requires – is STABILITY and DEFENSE; hence, by a metonymic association between poetry and structure, POETRY is language’s DEFENSE, and its role is to preserve, or stabilise, the features of language. Marking out such a place for poetry, and understanding language in terms of military metaphors, hardly comes as a surprise at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century, the period from which Dorchain’s work dates. What is more surprising is the extent to which these metaphoric representations of poetry echo the medieval perceptions of this genre in the context of early vernacular-language literatures. Let us recall the central role that poetic texts played in the unpacking and elucidation of the inherent “laws” of the vernacular for, e.g., Occitan, Italian, and French poets, thus securing a high cultural prestige for vernacular language varieties. Clarity of structure and the possibility of description – whether demonstrated through writing poetry or grammars – was a part of the vernacular’s defence against languages of high cultural prestige with a long-standing tradition of literacy. By the nineteenth century the cultural – and also the utilitarian – prestige of French, the language of diplomacy and cultured society across large parts of Europe and further afield, was beyond dispute. Therefore, the perceptions of language that are revealed in the metaphoric representations discussed above are instances of a high-prestige language-and-culture anchoring itself in the continuity of its own traditions.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ A tendency of establishing anchorage along the temporal-continuity component of the blend (cf. Chapter 2) was illustrated earlier (see Footnote 102) through the example of Greek. A key feature of Greek anchoring itself in its own cultural prestige and tradition was explained through the continuity of the name of the language: the sameness of the terminology is likely to contribute to a maintenance of the belief, on the part of speakers, in the *identity* of language: if the names are identical, the language is more easily seen as *identical* across vast expanses of time, or, indeed, area. There is little continuity, on the cultural and on the linguistic plane, between the high-prestige varieties of Ancient Greek and Modern Greek. These differences, however, are overcome, in speakers’ minds, by the putative continuity of the name of the language (N.B. *katharevousa* as a

Having considered the significance of writing verse, and increasingly elaborate rules of versification, in attitudes toward language in the French tradition, we now return to a distinct period in the making of this linguistic and cultural tradition, that is, to the period of the gestation of Jacques Peletier's ode *À un poète qui n'écrivait en latin*. This period is of particular interest because the height of the Renaissance and the activities of the *Pléiade* added a new tier to the factors that had influenced attitudes toward language before their time. As Jacqueline Flescher (1972: 181) put it: "[a] conscious groping towards a stable poetic form and the awareness of a new direction begin with these poets". Flescher argues that there is a dividing line, roughly in the middle of the sixteenth century, between earlier forms of verse, in which looseness of structure cannot always be clearly distinguished from variation, and "a versification which begins to work out consciously its metric pattern in relation to context and aesthetic standards". Apart from sporadic efforts to regulate, or the collective but excessive fascination with form at the expense of content, such as that of the *Rhétoriciens*, the development of French lyricism was a spontaneous process. As such, it is akin to the earlier advances of vernacular-language lyric poetry in Italy and in the Occitan-speaking lands. The beginnings of a prescriptive theory, according to Flescher, can be discerned with the *Pléiade*. In the remaining part of this chapter, I shall provide a tentative explanation for this fundamental shift in attitudes towards poetic composition. Given the central role that poetic language – and poetic koinai – have historically played in the development of prestige varieties, and in enhancing speakers' awareness of language standards and standard languages, the following discussion will also provide insights into the origins of value-laden (prescriptive and proscriptive) postures towards language in general.

linguonym was used only with reference to the standard Greek prestige variety created in the nineteenth century; the fact that the Byzantines referred to themselves as *Rōmaïoi* 'Greek', and to their indigenous language as *rōmaïka* has no significance to this argument, as these terms have had no continuity in the naming traditions of Greek; cf. Kahane & Kahane 1976: 31). French, whose cultural prestige in the nineteenth century was second to none among Romance languages, had had a continuity of linguistic and cultural tradition since the middle ages. But precisely because the prestige of French was unparalleled among the Romance languages certainly by the classical period, it was more likely to anchor itself in the continuity of its own linguistic culture than in its historical relatedness to other Romance languages, including even Italian, which was held in such high esteem by French poets during the Renaissance.

It was established earlier that in the northern Gallo-Romance lyric tradition, humanism introduced an unprecedented dimension of historical consciousness to the literary models that poets of the time were to follow. While the *Rhétoriqueurs* expanded upon native poetic traditions, members of humanist circles such as Peletier and his contemporaries in the *Pléiade* endeavoured to enrich French language-culture with lyric genres *ad fontes*. Guillaume de Budé's (1467–1540) *Commentariae Linguae Graecae* (1529) marked the beginning of enhanced interest in Hellenism that was to culminate in Ronsard's *Odes* (1550) (Zemon Davies 1994: 136). Poets of the sixteenth century envisioned overcoming both (medieval) Latin and vernacular poetic traditions through studying and interpreting works of literature, poetry, and poetics written in Ancient Greek and Latin (of Ancient Rome). Therefore, for them, the "enriching" of French, and in particular of French verse, involved the translation of texts, and the transplantation of literary genres, from antiquity (Norton 1994; Monferran 2006; Jourde & Monferran 2004). Musical genres, such as the *chanson*, were restyled as odes and hymns, and, as we shall see, there were attempts at reinventing French prosody in line with Greek and Latin metrical verse (see Helgeson 2011: 203; Elwert 1965: 24-26, 58, 72; Kastner 1903, 298-303). This exercise, in turn, required close engagement with the sounds and morphology, and, to a lesser degree, also syntax, of the vernacular. Poets and men of letters experimented with the moulding of a French language whose lexical and poetic inventory was capable of embodying an ancient Greco-Roman culture, perceived as richer than the medieval traditions. The new French poet's and orator's crowning achievement was to absorb the discourse of a temporally distant culture, through not only poetic inventiveness but also philological erudition, and to transfer and reinvent that discourse in a new linguistic and cultural environment (Norton 1994: 181). In the process, a vernacular language variety was to become the substance and form of expression (cf. Hjelmslev's terms discussed in the Introduction) for a literary tradition which was seen as superior to native literary production. A metonymic connection was made between the perceived superiority of a language variety and the perceived superiority of the culture that the variety embodies.

The innovative gesture in the humanists' endeavours centres on two major motions. First, unlike their predecessors, they theorised, and consciously problematised, the tradition upon which "good French" (i.e. in their case, good French poetry) should be

built. This is a self-conscious gesture. The idea of writing verse in genres such as hymns, odes, and sonnets, in poetic pattern in which no one had tried to forge the structure of French before, comported well with humanist poets' desire to "conquer virgin territory" (*tracer un sentier inconnu* as Ronsard famously put it in his Préface to the 1550 edition of *Les quatre premiers livres des odes*; cited in Ahmed 1987: 587). This "conquest"¹²⁹ was the key to besting poets of the previous generations, and ultimately, to immortality (that is, to overcoming death). Second, as poets of the *Pléiade* were very well aware of the models that they wanted to follow, for them, poetic invention involved imitation. They identified the source of their originality in reinventing a certain tradition, thus using the "mother tongue" for the writing of poetry in innovative ways. Ahmed's (1987) is an example of many studies (e.g., Castor 1964: 189-190; Helgeson 2011, Monferran 2006) that discuss imitation as a possibility for, and a form of, poetic invention; he also traces the ancient lineage of the image of treading on untouched soil to Horace and some of his contemporaries. Ahmed (1987: 590) later notes that "[t]he source of [Ronsard's] poetic acclaim stems from having imitated Horace and Pindar in the vernacular". The two key components of the newly invented poetic process are, therefore, *imitation*, on the one hand, and, on the other, *in the vernacular*.¹³⁰ Studies such as Ahmed's focus on the implications of this conjecture on the invention of the poetic self and intertextuality.

¹²⁹ N.B. that the military metaphor has different entailments in Ronsard's use from those discussed earlier. The "conquest" here is not targeted at the treatment of language-internal features (such as, for instance, the *e caduc* and its gradual phonological reduction) in poetic composition. According to the original formulation, the victory here is that of the runner, who, while wondering freely on Attic and Roman meadows, dared tracing unknown territory: "combien davantage doit on vanter *le coureur*, qui galopant librement par les c[a]mpagnes Attiques, et Romaines *osa tracer un sentier inconnu* pour aller à l'immortalité" [emphasis mine; cited in Ahmed 1987: 587]. There is an interesting overlap here between Ronsard's well-known image and the cartographic-military metaphor coined by Lajos Lőrincze, which was discussed in Chapter 1. The "conquest" here entails the discovery of non-native traditions – Greek and Roman poetry – and not the inherent regularities of the vernacular which can then be formulated as sets of rules for writing poetry.

¹³⁰ The untrodden path v. tracing someone's footsteps metaphor in the description of one's poetic route, with its implied paradox, was one of the driving forces and challenges behind eighteenth-century Hungarian poetics, and experiments with Hungarian, as well. The debates concerning the way in which the modernisation of the Hungarian literary language should be undertaken were mentioned in Chapter 2. One of the two opposing trends advocated the use of translation as a method, while others voiced a preference for the writing of original works. The idea of refining an individual's (for instance, a learner's) language skills through translation goes back at least to Quintilian in the European tradition (*Institutio Oratoria* 10.5; cf. p. 165 below).

Below, I propose a way of exploring the significance of this poetic stance to attitudes to language.

It follows from the reasoning outlined so far that the humanists' preoccupation with the lyric was rooted in cultural and linguistic processes which were intertwined, on the one hand, with the emergence of a vernacular poetic tradition and the separation of this lyric textual tradition from music. On the other hand, it was also an increasingly self-conscious reaction to the phonological changes taking place in fifteenth-century French, which paved the way for intense lyrical experimentation on the part of poets and intellectuals of the period. Exploring the rhyming possibilities of French was initially the focus of these lyrical experiments, in which French poets were also influenced by the Occitan legacy. Experiments in writing rhyming verse drew poets' attention to the possibilities and limits of their medium, and the search for guiding principles, which were later elucidated as sets of standard rules, began. With regards to rhyme, as a reaction to the "metric tricks" that had dominated in the generation immediately preceding their own, members of the *Pléiade* recommended the use of rich rhyme, for instance, but shifted the emphasis from the forced identity of sounds to the perfect balance between sound and sense (cf. Aquien 1990: 50; Flescher 1972: 178; Elwert 1965: 87).¹³¹ For them, exactness of thought and expression – "la belle invention et des mots"¹³² as Ronsard put it in his 1565 *Abrégé de l'art poétique françois* (cited in Kastner 1903: 50) – had primacy, and rhymes had to take a back seat. Rhyme, however, had been established by this time as vital to French verse, whose basic typology is syllable-counting. Rhyme was a fundamental requirement in strengthening the metric pattern within the syllabic

¹³¹ In the *Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Françoise* (1549) du Bellay wrote: "[la Rhythme de notre Poëte] sera telle que le vers tumbant en icelle ne contentera moins l'oreille qu'une bien armonieuse Musique tumbante et un bon et parfait accord' (cited in Kastner 1903: 50).

¹³² Ahmed (1987: 588), citing Castor (1964: 189-190), explains that *invention*, in its sixteenth-century context, was "the process of doing something which had not been done before... To invent was simply to come into something which already existed and to make it manifest for the first time. This strong link with existent (but unknown) reality is an essential element in the *Pléiade's* view of invention"; thus, invention was, for the *Pléiade*, the rejection of imitation of literary models originating from the generation preceding directly their own. Instead, by *invention* they meant the imitation of literary models that no one had fully unearthed and embraced in French before their time. Hence, invention of something new and imitation of something extant are hardly at odds with each other in this period: a point which was elucidated at the beginning of this chapter in the discussion of the introductory motto, and to which we shall return in the discussion of the *Pléiade's* notion of *originality*.

framework, which, in turn, was masterfully elaborated in the poetry of the *Pléiade* (Flescher 1972: 177). The twelve-syllable alexandrine reached its zenith, codified later by the classicists, in the middle of the seventeenth century, and the syllabic metre gradually came to be supported by syntactic patterns, too (cf. Flescher 1972: 177-179). Given their commitment to the remodelling of French verse based on poetic works of Antiquity, a major concern for poets of the *Pléiade* was to accommodate the non-rhyming quantitative verse of Ancient Greece and Rome in the syllabic, rhyming pattern of French. To this end, ways of imitating quantitative verse in a syllable counting pattern were developed, and a preference for overflow (*enjambement*), based on Greek and Latin models, came into fashion (Elwert 1965: 72; Flescher 1972: 179; Grammont 1930: 21). Thus, two fundamentally different types of verse (syllable counting with rhyming patterns v. quantitative metre) came into contact with each other through translation, which was a prerequisite and a corner-stone of the poetic stance of the *Pléiade*.¹³³ The possibilities of reconciling these two types of verse, in turn, brought about a new layer of awareness of what French verse was like. In the broader sense, there was a renewed interest in, and fascination with, the kind of poetic patterns that the phonological and morphological features of French were capable of accommodating. As a result, while even such attempts as the adoption of an archaic or a Southern pronunciation prevailed to allow for multiple rhyming possibilities (e.g. in the *rimes gasconnes*, in which high and mid-front rounded vowels were not distinguished, e.g. *-deur* rhymed with *-dur*; cf. Aquien 1990: 53), some members of the *Pléiade* pulled French verse in precisely the opposite direction.

¹³³ Peletier was hardly the first to promote the issue of the vernacular in Renaissance France. His work is the product of an era which, as a result of political consolidation under Francis I, can be characterised by the growing importance of the vernacular. The relatively large number of translations into French (362 texts between 1475 and 1540; Norton 1994: 180) and a vernacular-language reader, *Le livre de l'institution du prince* (1517) written by Guillaume Budé for Francis (Zemon Davies 1994: 136), are two examples of this. The use of the vernacular was politically encouraged, through not only the 1539 Edict establishing French as a language of jurisdiction but also generous – and politically ambitious – royal patronage to the arts, and in particular vernacular-language literature. The vogue of vernacular-language translation triggers the compiling and publication of the first Latin-French and French Latin dictionaries in the 1530s. The latter, the 1539 *Dictionnaire français-latin* becomes the ancestor of the first French descriptive dictionaries. A specialised vocabulary of technical and literary terms is gradually developed in the various editions of these first dictionaries, which from the late sixteenth century include references to the vocabulary of the *Pléiade* as well as normative remarks on the use of lexis (Wooldridge 1994: 178-179).

In sharp contrast with the *Rhétoriciens'* mannered experiments with rhyme, which tested the poetic potential of French in terms of quality of sound, attempts to write quantitative verse were in vogue for a short period of time during the French Renaissance. Such attempts go back to the late fifteenth century, when one Michel de Bouteauville, the vicar of a country parish near Nantes, endeavoured to prove that Latin meters could be imitated in French in his 1497 *Art de métrifier françois* (see Elwert 1965: 24; Kastner 1903: 295). A large number of Renaissance poets, in their enthusiasm for antiquity, followed suit in the next century, and treatise after treatise¹³⁴ appeared on the subject between the 1550s and the 1570s (for a comprehensive list and discussion see, e.g., Elwert 1965: 24-27; Kastner 1903: 296). But the commitment to this technique – and to the idea of French as a language *capable of* embodying quantitative verse – is best illustrated by some of Jean-Antoine de Baïf's (1532–1589) poetic output. Similarly to some of his predecessors, he assigned length to French syllables in a purely theoretical and somewhat arbitrary manner. This arbitrariness is mostly due to language-internal reasons. The vowel system of French, unlike that of Latin and Greek, lacks the long v. short opposition which is independent of the phonemic environment. Furthermore, the phonemic opposition between long and short vowels in French was not only weak and unstable (Abondolo 2001: 209) but the number of syllables which could be perceived as long is (and was already in the sixteenth century) also insufficient to form the basis of a metric pattern that is based on the alternation of long and short syllables. In addition, it was impossible to create a coherent and systematic correspondence between long and stressed and short and unstressed syllables, which would have made the imitation of the pattern found in quantitative feet possible through a matching pattern of alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables. The failure to create such systematic correspondences between the two systems was, again, due to language-internal reasons. In Italian and German such correspondences were successfully created because of the multiple

¹³⁴ The author of one such treatise, Jacques de la Taille, admits clearly to the fact of intellectual competition beyond his poetic ambition: in his 1562 *La manière de faire des vers en françois, comme en grec et en latin*, unpublished until 1973, he writes that by explaining the rules of composing quantitative verse he intends not only to guide but also to render the road to Parnassus more inaccessible to those who write rhyming verse. It is easy to recognise in this admission the gesture of literary defensiveness which was mentioned earlier in this chapter in connection with Occitan poets.

possibilities within the line to place the stress (which is fixed lexically but not phonologically), while French stress is fixed on the last full vowel in each word, and no more than two syllables carry stress within a line. It was impossible to match the pattern of alternation of long and short syllables in quantitative feet with an alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables in a French line *and* maintain the same pattern. Hence, either the pattern had to be violated or French word stress rules had to be reshuffled considerably according to individual poets' varying practices of assigning length to stressed and unstressed syllables (Elwert 1965: 25). Alongside language-internal factors, which account for the failure of quantitative verse in French, there were language-external ones as well. Even if the alternation of syllables, which were classified in individual poets' practice as long and short, was to be arranged into a pattern similar to that of quantitative verse, this new model would have failed to satisfy the cultural expectations towards texts which speakers of French conceived as verse. Poetic patterns based on the systematic replacement of long and short syllables with stressed and unstressed ones in Italian and German were recognisable as verse; given that de Baïf's and his followers' assignment of length to syllables was a theoretical artifice, this was hardly a possibility in French.

De Baïf believed that to best grasp how French syllable length works, one had to rely on the reformed orthography, invented by Ramus, which was a phonetic spelling system¹³⁵. De Baïf, however, not only wished to completely recast French prosody in order to accommodate metric verse, he also founded, with the musician and composer Thibault de Courville (d. 1581), a Royal Academy whose purpose was – according to their petition to the King – “de renouveler l'ancienne façon de composer vers mesurés pour y accommoder le chant pareillement mesuré selon l'art métrique”¹³⁶. In other words, they intended to renew the ancients' technique of composing quantitative verse in such a way that even music, whose metre follows that of the verses, can be made to

¹³⁵ The idea goes back to de la Taille (see in the previous footnote) according to Kastner (1903: 299). Jacques Peletier du Mans also designed a new spelling system for French, but, according to the preface in his 1545 translation of Horace's *Ars poetica*, cited at the beginning of this chapter, his aim was to bring French orthography closer to contemporary pronunciation. In the preface, he draws an interesting parallel between thought and speech, on the one hand, and, on the other, speech and writing.

¹³⁶ Citation also by Kastner (1903: 298) from Becq de Fouquièrre's *Poésies Choisies de J. A. de Baïf*, but he also states that the ultimate source is Bulaeus's *Historia universitatis parisiensis* (1665–1673).

accord with the text. In this instance, the academicians-to-be aim to replace, clearly and avowedly, the medieval tradition – in which, as we saw, music was also a part and parcel of lyric genres – with the reinvention of lyric genres from antiquity (see also Helgeson 2011: 203). To assign quantity to French syllables remained an exciting theoretical pursuit, at best, and resulted in poetic works that were no less forced than earlier pursuits to perfect rhyme.

French quantitative verse was met, unsurprisingly, with little success among audiences. Étienne Pasquier (1529–1615), a lawyer and man of letters, provides an insightful explanation for this failure: “La douceur de la rime s'est tellement insinuée en nos esprits que quelques-uns estimèrent, que pour (rendre) telle manière de vers agréables, il y falloit encore ajouter par supplement la rime au bout des mots” (Pasquier’s 1796 *Recherches de la France*; cited in Kastner 1903: 300). According to this assessment, “the gentleness of rhyme” was so deeply imprinted on the French spirit that “in order to render [quantitative] verse agreeable, rhyme had to be added to the end of the words” (my translation). By using “our spirits” (instead of, say, “our verse”) Pasquier seems to recognise the cultural significance of linguistic phenomena deployed in poetic language. It was noted earlier in this chapter that rhyme was essential in solidifying the relatively weak framework of syllabic verse. As such, it is a feature of French poetry which emerged because of language-internal, typological reasons. At the same time, by the mid-sixteenth century, French rhyming verse had a tradition of several hundred years; so, rhyme – similarly to the *e caduc* discussed earlier – was a culturally codified expectation for poetic texts. Therefore, while quantitative verse was impracticable in French for language-typological as well as language-external reasons, rhyming verse was both a language-internal possibility and a cultural expectation by the sixteenth century.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ In this light, experiments with types of verse and patterns of sounds (rhyme) of varying complexity are not only exercises in uncovering language-internal features of a particular language or language variety, as it has been argued so far, but also ways of negotiating cultural possibilities which are available for speakers of a language in which the culture in question is embodied. When French patterns of versification shifted from a tendency to rhyme excessively to a refinement of syllabicity and a control on excesses of rhyme in order to better approximate Ancient Greek and Latin models, this was also a (successful) experiment for French culture to realign itself with a broadly understood European culture, rooted in Ancient Greco-Roman culture, instead of remaining within the confines of native traditions (cf. Austerlitz’s (1988)

In the present consideration of the part language-internal factors have historically played in shaping attitudes towards language, the following inferences can be drawn from the discussion so far. In the background of the poetic experiments discussed above, a key question started to crystallise. While searching for new, unpaved roads in the gratification of their poetic self – in competition with their Italian, Occitan, Ancient Greek and Latin counterparts – poets of the French Renaissance came up against the obstacle of *what can and cannot be done* in French: the limitations to the poetic possibilities that their language allows. What is symptomatic of periods of rapid linguistic and social change¹³⁸ – as we saw in Dante’s Italy and in Renaissance France, too – is a palpable fascination with the nature of language, namely a desire to experiment, to see what works best in a particular language. In the process, poets and other *littérateurs* arrive at – or endeavour to arrive at – some kind of “best practice” in linguistic expression, particularly in the writing of literary texts, and, as in the French Renaissance, poetry. This process, or rather posture, which is preoccupied with the search for what a language’s poetic profile *is* or *can be* like, appears to be less self-conscious in medieval and early humanist thought than the far more recent technical terms *standardisation* and *establishing a norm* might suggest. Experiments with the poetic profile of a language are akin to, yet different processes from what is usually assumed in the codification of a language variety (e.g. dictionary and grammar writing, legally establishing a language variety as an official language of an administrative unit, etc.). It was argued earlier that both activities – poetic experimentation and grammar writing – have to do with accommodating a certain cultural practice, and with it a certain norm or habit. Such practices – especially in the case of the languages of Eastern Europe but also French during the Renaissance – are often borrowed from languages and cultural practices which are seen as prestigious during the period when the cultural borrowing takes place.

It is worthy of note that the humanist idea of creating something new (a form of French or a way of writing poetry) inevitably involved the discovery, and adoption as a

definition of *culture*, *myth*, *play*, and *art* summarised in the Introduction, as well as in Abondolo 2001: 12).

¹³⁸ Let us remind ourselves here that linguistic change presupposes social change in the Labovian sense.

model, of something old. Similarly to the way in which Dante's identification of a distinguished language variety is two-fold (by differentiation and by self-sameness) in *De vulgari eloquentia*, *originality* also bears a certain ambiguity. *Original* denotes, among works of human creativity, on the one hand something which is the first instance of its kind, and as such often relatively old, and on the other hand something which is innovative, something that challenges the existing norm, and as such often relatively recent (cf. Williams 2014: 226-227). In the *De vulgari eloquentia* the author's self-conscious stance is brought about by his twofold identification¹³⁹ of a vernacular as an overarching language variety suited for literary and scholarly production. The self-conscious stance in the humanist attitude to language appears to involve the interplay between the two, seemingly paradoxical, understandings of *originality*: originality by imitation, and adaptation, of models from the past, on the one hand, and, on the other, originality by performing this kind of imitation for the first time (cf. also Footnote 132 on contemporary understandings of *invention*). This is where the innovative gesture of the *Pléiade* lies in their attitude to language. The paradox, which was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter with regards to Renaissance ideas about language, and which is inherent in the notion of originality, is resolved by the very fact that the imitation of the pre-existing poetic tradition takes place in the vernacular. This, on the one hand, creates the illusion of sameness and continuity, insofar as an original text and its translations are accepted and believed to be identical with, or equivalent to, each other (cf. Hermans 2007: 94-102). On the other hand, the writing of new lyric poetry based on the "original", ancient precursors of the genre, meant a fundamental difference, namely, that the poetry of the *Pléiade* – whether it was translation, paraphrase, or original compositions – was in *French*, thus, in all of its intricately specific detail, non-identical with the Ancient Greek, Latin, or Italian models.

The idea that the act of translation in itself excludes the possibility of copying, or borrowing from, one's models dates back, at least, to Quintilian (*Institutio Oratoria* 10.5; Butler 1922: 114-115; see also Footnote 130 in this chapter). According to him, translation allows the greatest liberty to the writer in his selection of language elements because in translation words of Latin, and not of the Greek original, are used. Such liberty is

¹³⁹ i.e. identifying by differentiating, thus singling out, and by naming, thus unifying.

checked by the sameness of the form of expression in paraphrasing Latin texts (in Latin). Thus, translation places a heightened importance on the form of expression. It raises awareness of the intricate specificity of language in different ways from writing texts, however experimental, which build only on native traditions. In this light, the issue of the vernacular, which was intertwined with the promotion of national literature and early nationalist politics (Zemon Davies 1994: 136), came in handy for Renaissance poets, writers, and for emblematic figures of the *Pléiade*, when seeking to assert their primacy in poetry.

It was discussed at the beginning of this chapter that among members of the *Pléiade*, Peletier du Mans had a peculiar place: his are some of the first translations of Horatian odes into French (namely, three odes in his 1547 *Cœuvres poetiques*); his first literary publication, which was preceded by studies in mathematics and medicine, the 1541 *Art poétique d'Horace*, is the very first translation of Horace's *Ars poetica* into French. Although the polymath counted Pierre de Ronsard among his friends (and initially disciples), he always maintained a degree of independence from the *Pléiade*. An example of this is his "singular inclination to rhyme superstitiously" (Monferran 2006: 519), similarly to generations of poets preceding Peletier's time. His passion for rhyme, however, was coupled with a fascination with metre: he renders Horace's quantitative verse with matching strophic arrangements in French by replacing quantitative verse with alexandrines or six-syllabic lines, but without attempting the impossible, that is, the writing of quantitative verse in French. Thus, he avoids the pitfalls of having to assign length to French syllables, which was attempted by de Baïf and others, as we have seen, to no acclaim. This metric mimesis, and its theoretical backing in both Peletier's preface to his translation of the *Ars poetica* (1541) and in his own *Art poétique* (1555), is at the very heart of Peletier's main contribution to humanist thought and poetics. Conveying Horace's texts in French involves faithful translation, the substitution of one language for another, and, subsequently, of one kind of poetic technique (syllable counting) for another (quantitative verse). This exercise, in turn, is curbed, for Horace and his humanist followers, by the *proprietas* of language: the *property* and *peculiarity* of a language decides what is most *appropriate* in the language in question (cf. Norton 1994: 181).

The exercise of philologically informed translation draws attention to the differences between the source and target language, prompting writers and poets to question the properties (phonological, morphological, syntactic features, lexical and semantic characteristics) of the language in which they work. Both *properties* (which can be understood as the features in which a language is most like itself, which is its identity through self-sameness) and *peculiarities* (which is the other side of the coin: language features which point to the most conspicuous differences of a language from another; the language's identity through difference) of a language are paramount in translation. For Peletier, in Glyn P. Norton's (1994: 182) words "the more the translation and vernacular language try to restore the original text, the more they commit themselves to expressing their own identity and estrangement from the original". Understanding the properties and peculiarities of a language was an intriguing intellectual pursuit, as we saw, at the time of the rise of vernacular-language literature. In this phase of linguistic culture, inherent regularities of an emerging vernacular were uncovered and upheld through writing poetry (and later grammars) in the language variety in question. Translation, and accommodation in the vernacular of a culture that was seen as superior to the translator's native culture, brings about a new tier of language attitudes: that of propriety and appropriateness. When applied to language, these values are originally to be understood in comparative terms: Peletier, in his preface to the translation of the *Ars poetica*, calls for the "enrichment" of the vernacular through contact with Latin.¹⁴⁰ Through this exercise, features of a vernacular, which may or may not be a politically and culturally well-established language variety, are put to the test of translation. This kind of reasoning about the enhancement of a vernacular literary tradition through emulation of prestigious, foreign-language models is repeated some two centuries later in Eastern Europe, as was discussed in Chapter 2. Such periods of intense cultural borrowing are characterised by the question of the comparative appropriateness of the target language in translation. For instance, the suitability of one poetic technique to replace another – depending on what works best, what is most appropriate in the target language – is one such dilemma. The discourse of appropriateness is then extended to

¹⁴⁰ Latin itself, in turn, set the example for this kind of "enrichment" by the modelling of a new Latin poetics based on the Greek tradition, as, for instance, the earlier mention of Quintilian's recommendations illustrates.

the language as a whole: the target language has to stand the test of translation. Whether a particular language is able to function as a medium of translation for prestigious models becomes a central question in theoretical deliberations about the worthiness and value of the language, similarly to the way in which the possibility of description and of writing poetry in a vernacular were contributing factors to the development of value-laden postures towards language.

3.6 Summary and outlook

Poetic experiments, when looked at from a cultural perspective, are instances of *play* in the Austerlitzian (1988) sense (cf. Introduction and above). Such experiments – and all inventive use of language – challenge *myth*, which, when applied to language, is to be understood as sets of rules (of grammar or versification, for instance) and values (those related to proper usage or to the “correct” treatment of the *e caduc* for example), which users of language (speakers or poets) believe to be universally applicable to their language, and which thus underpin their linguistic behaviour. In the poetic practices discussed with regards to Occitan and early French lyric verse in this chapter, the question for poets was not so much what a normative – and, as such, potentially imposed – variety of, say, Occitan or French could be; such prescriptive postures are associated mostly with the establishment and activities of academies during the Enlightenment (see Chapter 2) and with theoretical polemics about verse.¹⁴¹ What is at stake here is rather a search for the core features of language, in other words, for what Occitan or French *is* like, what is really French about French (cf. Sherwood 2002; Czigány 1974 on Hungarian). In the theoretical framework outlined above, this question is an enquiry about culture as much as it is about language; more precisely, this is a culturally motivated enquiry into the nature of language. It is this very question which is at the heart of The *Grand Rhétoriciens*’ and later the *Pléiade*’s poetic escapades. A shared feature of these rivalling tendencies is that they represent two opposing responses, as far as poetry goes, to an intellectual anxiety as to what a highly learned, poetic variety of French is, or rather *could be* like, in view of the phonological and morphological profile of

¹⁴¹ This was also Dante’s key question in the *De vulgari eloquentia*, as we have seen.

the language, which was different from that of Latin, with which fixed rules of versification were associated *par excellence*. A noteworthy difference between these competing responses, however, is to be found in the poetic and intellectual tradition to which representatives of the two trends looked when probing the limits of how far French could be stretched to accommodate one poetic tradition or the other.

The *Rhétoriciens* experimented with vernacular-language material based on native cultural traditions of verse; poets of the *Pléiade's* generation looked to poetic models which were embodied in languages whose typological features – thus, possibilities for poetic expression – were fundamentally different from their own. Hence, a new question emerged alongside the one concerning the features of the vernacular which can be revealed through – and put to use in – the regularity of pattern in poetic texts. This new question involved a contrastive dimension: what are those features of the vernacular that can be put to use in the imitation of a poetic pattern which originated from a language-and-culture that was seen as superior to the vernacular? In other words, is the vernacular suitable (“good enough”) for the imitation of literary works and poetic practices that came to be understood as superior to native traditions? There is an interesting circularity to this question: we have seen that early vernacular-language poets endeavoured to uphold the regularity of pattern in their verse to prove that the poetic potential of their native language was not inferior to that of Latin. By the time of the *Pléiade*, the inherent regularity of the vernacular, and its potential to be forged into poetic patterns, was a given. The contrastive dimension, resulting from a poetic stance that was based on the imitation, and translation, of idealised models, yielded an increasingly conscious approach to poetic norms, and brought about an increasingly normative (prescriptive and proscriptive) attitude to poetic form. This prescriptive posture represented a new layer in attitudes towards language in general.

4 Subvert or convert: speech, personality, and individuals' responses to normative linguistic cultures

"What wrong with it?" – Galahad ask. "Is English we speaking."¹⁴²

"Qui t'es toi, vieux croulant, pour decider ce qu'on met après les mots, d'abord?"¹⁴³

In this, the last chapter I am interested in exploring the intersection between norm, the individual, and the individual's attitude towards those norms which regulate and constrain his or her repertoire of linguistic self-expression, whether in poetry or in everyday speech. Language attitudes will be discussed with regards to strategies that individuals use to display, defend, or negotiate the differences between their linguistic behaviour and what they think of as a normative variety of language. This chapter consists of three case studies which interconnect with each other but which also recapitulate, illustrate, and expand on some of the themes covered in the previous chapters. Each of the three case studies takes a text (or texts) as a starting point for the analysis of language attitudes: a poetic text, two twentieth-century prose extracts, expository prose from language-cultivation handbooks, and snippets of interaction from language classes. These texts illustrate a variety of discourses, including the self-referentiality of poetic texts, narratives and dialogues which centre on the way in which individuals are affected by collective perceptions concerning their linguistic behaviour, and language-classroom discourse in which heritage speakers confront the normative variety of contemporary standard Hungarian.

The analytical principle in the three case studies which explore excerpts from literary works (in sections 4.2, 4.2, and 4.3) is to adopt a view of literature as "a use of language" (cf. Fowler 1971: 36), and the three excerpts are treated as instances of individual language use. The case studies are based on the close reading of texts, a method which Johnstone (1996) and Becker (1982) recommend for the study of language

¹⁴² This epigraph is cited from the 2006 edition of Sam Selvon's novel, *The Lonely Londoners*, which was first published in 1956 by Alan Wingate (Selvon 2006: 82). The passage from which the motto is cited is discussed in section 4.2 in this chapter.

¹⁴³ Motto cited from Nicolas Ancion's short story entitled *Bruxelles insurrection*, which appeared in his 2010 collection of short prose pieces, *Nous sommes tous des playmobiles*; (Ancion 2010: 50-51). For a detailed discussion see section 4.3 in this chapter.

from the perspective of the individual in a framework of “modern philology”. According to this framework – which is different in aim from traditional philology insofar as it is primarily linguistic, rather than textual-critical – *explication de texte*, or close reading, and translation are two different approaches to interpretation of texts. As in all forms of interpretation, close reading is always tentative, a gradual approximation of what a text means and how it comes to mean that (cf. Introduction and Johnstone: 1996: 184). Interpretation, or explication, of texts thus involves a clear focus on the text in the analysis, which presents a series of various kinds of approximations of the text. Interpretation thus involves the unpacking of the relationships of the text to other texts within a variety of contexts: the understanding of the text from historical, cultural, linguistic, and individual perspectives.

In order to analyse the texts presented in this chapter in the theoretical framework outlined above, I shall first pick up a thread from the previous chapter by offering a different kind of close reading (yet another kind of approximation) of the first two stanzas of Jacques Peletier du Mans’s ode *À un poète qui n’écrivait qu’en latin*, which served as a starting point to the discussion in Chapter 3. Previously, this poetic text was interpreted through the systematic consideration of its various contexts: its immediate context within Peletier’s 1547 *Œuvres poétiques*, his 1541 translation of Horace’s *Ars poetica*, and his other works; the relationship of the poem to theoretical works, such as Du Bellay’s *Deffense et illustration* and Peletier’s own preface to *L’art poétique d’Horace*; the relationship of the text to historically related texts, such as poetic works written in Occitan and French in the late medieval period and the Renaissance; the context of the texts’ medium: the typological features of French and French-language poetry; the sociolinguistic situation of French, the northern Gallo-Romance dialect in which the text was written; the text’s embeddedness in contemporary developments of the lyric genre and its relatedness to poetic norm. In the first part of this chapter I now scrutinise the interrelatedness of units within the two stanzas, thus contributing to an understanding of how Peletier’s poetic technique in this text reflects his individual voice and position among his contemporaries.

4.1 Poetic norm and the individual

We have seen that Jacques Peletier du Mans was a quiet but influential innovator in the century which sealed the status of the French vernacular both as an official language and in literary culture. Even Pierre de Ronsard recognised him, along with Joachim du Bellay, as the only companions worthy of himself in his quest to conquer uncharted territories for French lyric poetry. This oft-cited self-conscious statement of Ronsard's, concerning his own poetic route in the preface to his 1550 *Les Quatre premiers livres des odes*, is a response to du Bellay's *Deffense et illustration* published a year earlier (1549). As was pointed out earlier, both works borrowed heavily from Peletier's programmatic works: his translation of Horace's *Ars poetica* (1541) and his own *Ceuvres poétiques* (1547). I shall now turn to the analysis of the two octosyllabic stanzas by Peletier, cited at the beginning of Chapter 3, which are a dense and concise summary of his and the *Pléiade's* poetic programme formulated, rather appropriately, in verse.

The humour, charm, and call for a challenge in Peletier's ode *À un poète qui n'écrivait qu'en Latin* dwells in the paradox suggested by the humanists' understanding of originality (discussed in Chapter 3). In the second and third lines, the challenge is spelt out: "[...] tâche à la mettre en valeur / Afin de la rendre éternelle"; the task is, therefore, to "raise" the value of the mother tongue in order to make it eternal.¹⁴⁴ Line 4 provides the recipe: do as the ancients did with their[s] [language] ("Comme les vieux ont fait la leur"). The rhyming words appear to support the condensed, programmatic formulation of the task: key to the vernacular's *eternal* glow is its *value* which, in turn, is to be understood in terms of the culturally constructed framework of reference to *la leur*, the language of celebrated authors of antiquity, which had, indeed, survived up to Peletier's

¹⁴⁴ *Value* is the key term here: in the French, there is no question of "raising"; *mettre en valeur* is 'to make [it] valuable, make [it] worth'. *Value*, similarly to some other keywords discussed in Chapters 1 and 3 (cf. for instance *purity*, *freedom*, and *originality*) has a certain ambiguity. Although it collocates with both of the adjectives *positive* and *negative*, which would suggest that *value* on its own is neutral (value-free), things can *increase* or *decrease in value* (cf. *the value of something*, which can also *increase* or *decrease*), which suggests that value is an inherent quality of things, something extant that is subject to change. It is a quality of, or rather *in*, things which can be quantified: it can go up, down, and may even disappear, stop existing; cf. *it has no value*; *it has lost its value*. The verb *value*, as in *I value your contribution*, has only positive connotations. These, especially the latter, collocations suggest that value is good, rather than neutral; if *value* is a quality, which is good to have, this suggests a metaphor VALUE is GOOD; cf. the early twenty first century use of *valorize* 'raise the value'.

time. The value of the *langue maternelle*, therefore, is to be understood here not merely, and not primarily, in terms of language functions, such as its use in official registers or literature. The question here is about the kind of literature and intellectual tradition which the vernacular is capable of embodying, or rather, which poets are capable of accommodating, through their invention and art, in the vernacular.

Table 9 shows two *possible* scansions of the two stanzas; the alternation pattern of stressed and unstressed syllables in the octosyllabic lines, which are often described in the secondary literature as the “preferred form of verse”¹⁴⁵ in French (cf. Aquien 1990: 27; Elwert 1965: 122-123), is indicated here with the following symbols: lower case <u> for unstressed and hyphen <-> for stressed syllables:

| Table 9: | Scansion A | Scansion B |
|--|---------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 J'écris en langue maternelle | u - u - u u u - (0) | u - u - u u u - 0 1 |
| 2 Et tâche à la mettre en valeur. | u - u u - u u - x | u - u u - u u - x 2 |
| 3 Afin de la rendre éternelle | u - u u - u u - (0) | u - u u - u u - 0 3 |
| 4 Comme les vieux ont fait la leur; | u u u - u - u - x | u u u - u - u - x 4 |
| 5 Et soutiens que c'est grand malheur | u u - u u - u - x | u u - u u - u - x 5 |
| 6 Que son propre bien mépriser | u u - u - u u - x | u u - u - u u - x 6 |
| 7 Pour l'autrui tant favoriser. | u u - - u u u - x | u u - - u u u - x 7 |
| 8 Si les Grecs sont si fort fameux, | u u - u u - u - x | u u - u u - u - x 8 |
| 9 Si les Latins sont aussi tels, | u u u - u u - - x | u u u - u u - - x 9 |
| 10 Pourquoi ne faisons-nous comme eux, | u - u u u - u - x | u - u u u - u - x 10 |
| 11 Pour être comme eux immortels? | u - u u - u u - x | u - u u - u u - x 11 |
| 12 Toi qui si fort exercé t'es | - u u - u u - ? x | - u u - u u - ? x 12 |
| 13 Et qui en latin écris tant, | u - u u - u u - x | u - u u - u u - x 13 |
| 14 Qu'es-tu sinon qu'un imitant? | u - u - u u u - x | u - u - u u u - x 14 |

The two scansions show that it is possible to hear these fourteen lines as organised not only by the number of syllables – which is the dominant organising principle of French verse, and which is illustrated in Scansion B – but also by stress (illustrated in Scansion A). In A, my scansion is based on phrase stress and focuses on the pattern along the syntagmatic plane, which emerges from the alternation of stressed

¹⁴⁵ Octosyllabic lines require no caesura and their length is ideal (not too short) for constituting syntactic and semantic units which are manageable. These factors may explain their frequency and popularity in French verse until the middle of the sixteenth century (so, exactly Jacques Peletier's time), and later also in chansons by George Brassens and Jacques Brel (Aquien 1990: 27-28).

and unstressed syllables within each line, without taking into account the fact that stress may be stronger or weaker (cf. Abondolo 2001: 175; Elwert 1965: 22, cited in Footnote 146 below) depending on the morphological environment of the stressed syllable, as well as the syntactical or line-internal position of the word. Thus, my analysis centres on alternation type instead of either prominence (i.e. the relative weight of the stressed syllables) or on the number of phonological elements that are counted (which, as we saw in Chapter 3, is the single most important factor in verse whose metric typology is predominantly syllabic, like that of French; cf. Abondolo 2001: 174). When scanned according to this principle, each line, apart from line 12, consists of five unstressed and three stressed syllables. Lines 2, 3, 11, and 13 (encircled with dotted lines) have exactly the same line-internal pattern, in which an iamboid¹⁴⁶ disyllabic string is followed by two anapest-like units. What makes the repetition of the line-internal rhythm particularly interesting in lines 2 and 3 is that in these lines the repetition of the stress pattern is counterpointed by the difference in rhyme species: on the paradigmatic plane, line 2 patterns with line 4, which both end in masculine rhymes, while line 3 patterns with line 1: these are the only feminine rhymes in the poem. (Line 12 is problematic in this respect, a point to which we shall return.) The line-internal stress pattern of line 1, on the other hand, is repeated in line 14: a line which, again, ends in a masculine rhyme. The overlapping rhythmical pattern in lines 2 and 3, which is juxtaposed by the alternation of rhyme species (*rime croisée* according to French terminology) across the first four lines, creates a strong cohesion between the first three lines of the poem. The cohesion suggested by formal (rhythmical and rhyming) elements supports a discursive cohesion across these three lines: the programmatic formulation of the Renaissance poet's self-assigned task, which was discussed earlier, is condensed in these three lines. The explicit or implied 1SG agents in these lines set the assignment of showing the mother tongue's worth by writing poetry in it to none else but the poetic persona speaking in the poem.

¹⁴⁶ I use *iamboid* here rather than *iambic* to signal that these are not quantitative feet but their best approximations (and translations) in French. Elwert (1965: 22) pointed out that “[a] tendency towards the regular iambic metre [was] undeniable in archaic Romance verse [...] but this is only a tendency and nothing more given that the stressed beats are of different intensity and the regularity in their alternation is often deliberately interrupted [...]”. Aquien (1990: 27) also notes that the octosyllabic line grew out of Latin iambic “foot”. The same explanation holds for my use of the term *anapest-like*.

The first three lines are thus the thesis, to which line 4, which has a different syllable-alternation pattern but which responds to the masculine rhyme in line 2, provides the antithesis: the “recipe” according to which the self-assigned poetic task should be carried out. The remaining three lines in the stanza, then, are the synthesis: they explain, as was pointed out at the beginning of Chapter 3, that the French language is in a bad way because of French poets’ preference for foreign models (*l’autrui*) at the expense of “their own” (*son propre*). The first stanza as a whole is the exposition, and the second stanza elaborates on these points before the prescriptive reiteration of the task, in 2SG, to which we shall return shortly.

There is yet another close match between the line-internal rhythmic patterns in lines 5, 6, and 8 (encircled by a continuous line): they consist of one iamboid and two anapest-like sequences. The alternation pattern in line 5 is repeated in line 8: in both of these lines the two anapest-like strings are followed by an iamboid sequence. Line 6 differs from these inasmuch as the iamboid sequence is surrounded, rather than preceded, by the two anapest-like strings. The seemingly strict (or less free) alternation patterns within lines 2, 3, 11, and 13, on the one hand, and within lines 5, 6, and 8, on the other, are interspersed by instances of freer, more flexible sequences in lines 4, 7, 9, and 10, which could be sketched as follows (w: weak and S: strong indicate the prominence type of the syllable):

| | |
|---------|------------------------|
| line 4 | w w w S w S w S |
| line 9 | w w w S w w S S |
| line 7 | w w S S w w w S |
| line 10 | w S w w w S w S |

In lines 4 and 10, the sequence *wwwS* is either followed (in 4) or surrounded (in 10) by an iamboid sequence, so, the iambic tendency characterising the poem – and octosyllabic verse in general – is sustained. Lines 9 and 7 seem to be metrical inversions of each other (see the sequences highlighted against a grey background), but the fact that two stressed syllables follow each other, according to the scansion, make the analysis of these lines problematic. The alternation pattern in these two lines seems to challenge the possibility of scanning the syllabic lines as if they were also organised by stress. However, the fact that the scansion involving all the tonic syllables breaks down in these two lines hardly questions the validity of the analysis so far. The line-internal alternation patterns of

stressed and unstressed syllables still show a high degree of regularity even when examined only along the syntagmatic (line-internal) plane.

Scansion B provides an overview of the rhythmical matrix of the two stanzas along the paradigmatic axis. In an octosyllabic line, according to the rules of French versification, the number of prominent stresses is usually limited to two but the number of stressed syllables may go up to three (Elwert 1965: 123). This second type of analysis is aligned with the traditional interpretation of stress in line-internal sequences in French verse: the two tonic syllables, on which the stress would fall within each line, are indicated against a grey background. To the right of the dark vertical lines, in scansion B, we find the two line-internal stressed syllables whose placement within the line and intensity (perceptive prominence compared to other syllables) varies. In French verse the *ordre* is provided by the stress being fixed on the last full (i.e., non-schwa) vowel; this is the constant element in the pattern of alternation: the two stanzas under discussion exemplify this practice. It is worth noting that line 12, again, potentially deviates from this pattern. A second stress is assigned to a syllable in each line, line-internally, but the position of this line-internal stress is not fixed in the relatively short, eight-syllable lines (unlike in longer lines which include a caesura, such as the alexandrine). The two stressed syllables within the line thus provide instances of a fixed (the last tonic vowel) and a relatively free (the other stressed syllable within the line) alternation pattern (cf. Abondolo 2001: 175). A further, third syllable which carries stress (as much as its perceptive prominence, which is relative to that of other syllables, allows) is distributed with absolute freedom within the line (Elwert 1965: 22). Scansion B attempts to diagram the placement of the line-internal stressed syllables, whose relatively free movement and varied intensity in octosyllabic lines provides the possibility for *aventure* in French verse.¹⁴⁷ The dark, vertical lines, which run through the paradigmatic axis in the matrix, capture visually the movement of stress from line to line, while the grey background indicates syllables whose auditory prominence is greater, in my reading, than that of the other stressed syllables. From this complex but regular matrix it is easy to see why

¹⁴⁷ *Ordre* and *aventure* are metaphors borrowed from Apollinaire's *La jolie rousse* (cf. Abondolo 2001).

Elwert (1965: 115) states that “the movement of stressed syllables within the line and their variation in intensity [are the factors which] give French verse its aesthetic charm”.

Interestingly, in lines 5, 6, and 7 – which, it was suggested earlier, provide a synthesis to the first four lines of the poem – the first prominent stress falls on the same syllables, the third. Additionally, the words that contain the stressed syllable are (*son*) *propre* ‘one’s own’ and *autrui* ‘the others’, in line 6 and line 7, respectively, providing a sharp contrast between the keywords mentioned earlier in this analysis. In the second stanza, the movement of the two stressed syllables shows an even more regular pattern than in the first one: they seem to run almost parallel with each other in the vertical arrangement of the matrix.

As expected from the iambic tendency of alternation across the di- and trisyllabic sequences within the lines, the first syllable in the lines is always unstressed. There is only one deviation from this pattern, in line 12, whose unusual stress pattern was mentioned above. The line-initial 2SG tonic pronoun, *toi*, is always stressed, so, the stress falls on the first syllable. The status of the last syllable in this line is uncertain, as is indicated by the question mark in the analysis: according to prosodic rules of French verse, the stress, which is fixed on the last full syllable in each line, should fall on this syllable. But the 2SG auxiliary verb *es* never carries stress in everyday speech, and stressing it in verse would sound mannered and artificial. Furthermore, the penultimate syllable (in *exercé*) contains a tonic vowel and is stressed. Having two subsequent stressed syllables at the end of the line would, again, violate rules of French prosody. The scansion of this line (– u u – u u – ? ×), especially if the last syllable is unstressed, shows a trochaic pattern, which appears to be a misfit in the iamboic matrix of the poem. If we consider this problematic line in view of its position in the matrix, we notice that the 2SG tonic pronoun *toi*, the first stressed syllable in line 12, marks an important change in the discourse. The mostly first-person explicit or implied agents of the first 11 lines (1SG in lines 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7; 1PL in lines 10 and 11; 3PL in lines 4, 8 and 9) here change to second person. The prominence of the first stressed syllable, which falls on *toi* in line 12, is underpinned by the problematic last syllable (*t’es*) in the same line, and by the first stressed syllable in the last line, which also falls on a 2SG personal pronoun (*tu*). The discourse which has been predominantly descriptive (lines 1-7) or suggestive (lines

8-11) so far, switches at the beginning of line 12 to a prescriptive – provocative and mocking – voice. This is where “the poet who wrote only in Latin” is addressed directly for the first time in the poem, and is shamed for neglecting the responsibilities involved in composing poetry: the “invention” of the ancient Greek and Latin lyric tradition in the “mother tongue”.

The octosyllabic verse is considered to be the oldest type of metre in French. From its first appearance in the tenth century, it had remained the most frequent line type throughout the Middle Ages, until exactly Peletier’s time, the mid-sixteenth century, when, as a result of the *Pléiade*’s preference for the alexandrine, it gave way to twelve-syllabic verse (Aquié 1990: 27; Elwert 1965: 122). Interestingly, however, Ronsard, and later also Malherbe, reserve the use of octosyllabic lines for one particular lyric genre: the ode (Elwert 1965: 123), which is the genre that describes best Peletier’s part incentivising, part programmatic poem “To the poet who wrote only in Latin”. It is tempting to associate Peletier’s choice of the octosyllabic verse with the dominant lyric genre of the times preceding his own, on the one hand, but, on the other, also with the preference for this type of line in odes in the generation immediately following Peletier’s. While he was grounded in the poetic practices of early humanism, which is also illustrated by his preference for relatively long rhyme strings (cf. Monferran 2006: 519, cited in Chapter 3, Section 3.5), Peletier’s poetic programme – and example – set the scene for members of the *Pléiade*, who followed in Horace’s footsteps based, at least in part, on his translations.

Alongside its suprasegmental matrix, the segmental patterning of the poem also deserves some attention. As we have seen (Chapter 3), rhyming and various rhyme types have a particular importance in the culture of French versification. Established French rhyme types represent a relatively closed system with a tight phonemic and phonetic match between rhyming strings (e.g. because of the phonemic opposition [œ]:[ø], and the non-match of the final consonant (*r* : zero) the rhyming of *leur* and *eux* is prohibited in the French tradition)¹⁴⁸ and with rhyme strings which span relatively short

¹⁴⁸ Elwert (1965: 97) explains: “[m]odern French still requires a perfect vocalic harmony [*l’harmonie vocalique*: here ‘homophony of vowels’ and not ‘vowel harmony’ – E.T.] in rhymes. Vowels have to agree in degree of tongue height (*timbre*) regardless of orthography” [my translation] and gives the following example: “[u]ne critique de Corneille par Voltaire nous donne la prevue de cette

stretches of text (usually not longer than the last syllable) (cf. Abondolo 2001: 208-211; Elwert 1965: 97).

A cursory inspection of the rhyming words in the two stanzas suggests that Peletier’s poem is a little masterpiece which sums up, as well as illustrates in practice, the poetic programme of the *Pléiade*. In particular, it is a perfect – although somewhat tongue-in-cheek – illustration of how one of the main poetic principles of the time, namely, that of achieving a perfect balance between “sound and sense”, cited earlier, can be put to practice in French. It has been pointed out that Peletier’s tendency to use relatively long rhyme strings is reminiscent of the *Grands Rhétoriciens*’ poetic practices. But Peletier’s verse also points ahead of his time inasmuch as his rhymes enhance the semantic cohesion within and across the two stanzas and rhythm is aligned with meaning and syntax. Thus, rhythm and sound repetition are used in support of the intended meaning of the text rather than for the sake of experimentation with possible patterns of homophony.

Table 10: Rhyming strings

| A | B | C (6-7) D (13-14) |
|-------------|-----------|----------------------|
| maternelle | | |
| | valeur | |
| éternelle | | |
| | la leur | |
| | malheur | |
| | | mépriser |
| | | favoriser |
| | fameux | |
| aussi tells | | |
| | comme eux | |
| immortels | | |
| t’es | | |
| | | écris tant |
| | | imitant |

Table 11: Vowel patterns

| | A | B | C (6-7) D (13-14) |
|----|------------|-------|----------------------|
| 1 | _a_ε_ε_(ə) | | |
| 2 | | _a_œ_ | |
| 3 | e_ε_ε_(ə) | | |
| 4 | | _a_œ_ | |
| 5 | | _a_œ_ | |
| 6 | | | _e_i_e |
| 7 | | | _a_ɔ_i_e |
| 8 | | _a_ø | |
| 9 | o_i_ε_ | | |
| 10 | | _ɔ_ø | |
| 11 | i_ɔ_ε_ | | |
| 12 | _ε | | |
| 13 | | | e_i_õ |
| 14 | | | i_i_õ |

First I shall look at the vowel patterns in the rhyming strings, accounting also for those instances of vowel repetition which would be dismissed according to rules of rhyming in French. Table 10 on the left shows the line-end rhyming strings in

sensibilité au timbre de la voyelle; c’est que Corneille avait fait rimer *tu sais* avec *essais*, donc [e] fermé avec [ɛ] ouvert, ce qui choqua Voltaire.”

orthography, and Table 11 on the right shows the patterning of the vowels in these strings in transcription (transcribed with twenty first-century ears). It is imperative to point out that in this analysis my primary concern and method are not that of classifying the rhyme types and tokens according to rules of French poetics. According to the French classification of rhymes, the rhyming strings listed in A1 and A3, for instance, rhyme with each other but they do not constitute a rhyme with A9 and A11, which, again rhyme with each other. The former (A1 and A3) are feminine, while the latter (A9 and A11) are masculine rhymes. A12 does not rhyme with either of these pairs according to French classifications of rhyme types: in A12 there is no line-end consonant¹⁴⁹ which could match that of A9 and A11, so, a potential pairing of A12 with A9 and A11 would fail to satisfy the minimal requirement necessary for a rhyme to be classified as rich. In other words, only two sounds are identical across the three lines, whereas for rich rhyme the identity of three sounds is a requirement according to the current, post-Romantic principles of classification (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.5). For the rhyme to be sufficient, the identity of two phones in the rhyme strings is satisfactory, but there are three of such elements, [tɛl], in A9 and A11, matched only by two, [tɛ] in A12, which lacks the stem-final consonantal element [l]. By mid-sixteenth-century standards, the stem-final consonant had to be included in the rhyme for it to count as sufficient (if the homophony between two strings consisted of only one sound, the tonic vowel, the rhyme was considered poor). At the same time, as the position of the stem-final consonants and the *e caduc* wavered in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, rhymes which included the *consonne d'appui* and the vowel that followed it (which meant that only two sounds were identical) counted as rich. Once again, the circularity of definitions is particularly unhelpful here (cf. Chapter 3) but we shall return to this point later, in the discussion of B8 and B10 below. Regardless of rules of versification, however, the repetition in all three lines (A9, A11, A12) of the phonic segments [t] and [ɛ] in line-end positions is clear, and audibly perceptible to all audiences. Similarly, B2, B4, and B5 (*valeur, la leur, malheur*) rhyme with each other, and so do B8 and B10 (*fameux, comme eux*), but these two sets of rhyme strings (B2, B4, B5 v. B8, B10) would not constitute a series of rhymes across the two stanzas. Leaving rules of French versification aside, however, we notice

¹⁴⁹ The orthography of <es> is misleading.

that in the first (B2, B4, and B5) and the second (B8 and B10) sets listed under column B, there is only one degree of difference in tongue-height between the line-end vowels, which are both front rounded non-high vowels, [œ] and [ø]. Additionally, in B2, B4, B5, and B8 the atonic vowel in the penultimate syllable, [a], is also identical in these four rhyme strings. In set B, the rhyme consists of, or is included as the second syllable, in disyllabic strings, which are shorter than most strings in the rest of the text. In set A, the last full vowels in the line are identical throughout – even if these two sets (A1 and A3 v. A9 and A11) would constitute different rhyme species (masculine and feminine) in French poetics – because the *e caduc* in the feminine rhymes (A1 and A3) was no longer audible by the fifteenth century.¹⁵⁰

The above reasoning is not to deny that despite the reduction of the stem-final schwa, [ə], the rhyming strings in A1 and A3 would be perceived differently from A9 and A11 by French poets and their audiences. On the contrary, as we have seen in the discussion of the poetic rules concerning the *e caduc*, even after the language underwent fundamental phonological changes, a sense of awareness remained of the once different phonetic characteristics of the feminine and masculine rhymes in question. The sensation of difference between these two rhyme types – which is supported by phonetic reality only in certain circumstances; e.g. the lengthening effect discussed in Footnote 150 – is sustained due to a subliminal awareness, on the part of audiences, of a previous stage of the language. This awareness, in turn, is sustained by the way in which the phonological make-up of the language at an earlier stage is put to use in poetry. The classification of rhymes into masculine and feminine types, similarly to other poetic practices which involve the *e caduc*, is a core *cultural* feature of French poetry, and learned traditions contribute to its maintenance. Although in certain phonological environments, in particular in post-vocalic position, the stem-final *e caduc* may have a lengthening effect on the preceding vowel, this lengthening effect is not applicable in the feminine rhymes (constituted by *éternelle* and *maternelle*) in question. Generally speaking, to write verse

¹⁵⁰ It was discussed in Chapter 3 that in certain phonemic environments the *e caduc* may have a lengthening effect on the vowel in the syllable that precedes it; this lengthening is maintained partly by rules of prosody and versification; in yet other instances it is a subtle phonetic reality, perceptible to the ear, especially in certain regional dialects (Harris 2001: 27); e.g. in final vowel in *la vie* ‘life’ may be pronounced longer, as [vi:], especially in certain regional dialects, than in *je vis* ‘I live’ [vi].

according to a classification of rhyme types which is only partially supported by the phonological reality of language also points to the fact that poetics, and the quest for the features of good poetry, are highly learned, intellectual pursuits, while language use – and the phonological changes that result from it – is a mostly non-conscious human activity. The insistence on sustaining a difference, based on a previous stage of language, between phonological segments reminds one of the points made earlier in Chapter 3 about the Renaissance poets' search for the essence of French, and for the language features which constitute the "Frenchness" of French poetry to power users of the language.

My point here is to show that the parallelism and repetition in the vowel pattern of the line-end rhymes is more complex than a simple classification of these strings according to the consciously formulated rules of French poetics would allow us to see. Further examples of this complexity are the repetition of the atonic vowel in the penultimate syllable in *éternelle* and *maternelle* in A1 and A3; in *valeur*, *la leur*, *malheur*, and *fameux* in B2, B4, B5, and B8; in *mépriser* and *favoriser* in C6 and C7, and in *écrit tant* and *imitant* in D13 and D14. According to the rules of French poetics most of these strings would be classified as double rhymes or *léonines* (Kastner 1903: 55). The rules of rhyming, however, would fail to account for the inverted repetition of the vowels (which are either identical, [i], or differ only in one feature, in one degree of tongue-height [o]:[ɔ]) in the second and third to last syllables in A9 and A11 (*aussi* tells [osɪtɛl] v. *immortels* [imɔrtɛl]). The inverted repetition of identical or similar vowels in the last example (A9 and A11), is not considered to form part of the rhyme strings. Neither does the rhyme string include the penultimate syllable and the atonic vowel in B8: *fameux* [famø] and *comme eux* [komø] in B8 and B10, respectively, constitute only mono-syllabic rhymes with each other, based only on the identity of sound in the last syllable. The repetition of [a] in the penultimate syllable of *fameux*, however, patterns with the vowel in the penultimate syllables of the rhyming words in B2, B4, and B5, which, again, constitute double rhymes with each other (see above). It was mentioned earlier that in set B, the tonic vowels also pattern with each other loosely because there is only one degree of difference in tongue-height between them. The regular repetition of identical, or very similar, vowels in the same position – and in emphatic positions towards the end

of the line – in the second stanza echoes and reinforces the patterns of homophony already familiar from previous lines and from the first stanza. These auditory allusions and cross-references enhance the self-referentiality of the text, and assist listeners and readers in recalling the keywords from previous parts, thus contributing to the overall cohesion of the poem.

The complex network of vowel repetitions gives the first two stanzas of the poem an almost symmetrical matrix, with only B5 and A12 breaking away from the pattern. It is interesting to note that the rhyme marked here as A12 closes line 12, a line whose unusual rhythmic pattern, and its role in signalling the change of discourse, was discussed above. This line also contains a syntactic inversion: the reflexive pronoun *te* and the 2SG auxiliary verb *es* follow, rather than precede, the past participle of the lexical verb, *exercé*; the subject pronoun *toi* features at the beginning of the line and only in tonic form: *Toi qui si fort exercé t'es*. This inversion comes as a surprise after the firm syntactic and lexical parallelism in lines 8 and 9, and, to a lesser degree, in lines 10 and 11. This could be sketched in the following way:

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-----------|-------|--------|
| line 8 | si | les | grecs | sont | si | fort | fameux |
| line 9 | si | les | latins | sont | aussi | | tells |
| line 10 | pour- | -quoi | ne | faisons | nous | comme | eux |
| line 11 | pour | être | comme | eux | immortels | | |

The first two lines (8 and 9) are almost identical syntactically; the only difference is the addition of the adverb *si* in line 8, in which an additional syllable was needed. Lexically, the copula subject and the copula complement vary, but even these are instances of lexical (*Greecs / Latins*) and semantic (*si fort fameux / aussi tells*) parallelism. Let us note that the adverb which constitutes the additional syllable in line 8, *si*, also prepares the ground, phonetically, for *aussi* [osi], whose last syllable echoes [si] from the previous line, while the vowel in *fort*, [ɔ], is closely matched by the vowel [o] in the first syllable in *aussi* [osi]. We have seen an example of a similar inverted vowel repetition, involving the same mid-back vowels, between *aussi tells* and *immortels*, in A9 and A11. This repetition enhances the phonic cohesion between lines 8, 9, and 11, even if the sequence *si fort* remains outside of the rhyming string in line 8, which rhymes not with line 9 or 11 but

line 10 (*fameux* in line 8 with *comme eux* in line 10). To return to syntactic and lexical parallelism in the first four lines of the second stanza, the parallelism between the third and fourth lines is less obvious: the line-initial repetition of *pour* – first as the first constituent of the question word *pourquoi* ‘why’, second as a purposive conjunction before the copula *être* ‘in order to be(come)’ – is rather a lucky grammatical coincidence (it is precisely “luck” like this that poets always seem to be having). The subject in the third line (*nous* ‘we’), however, provides a counterpoint, an anti-thesis, to the subjects (*Grecs, Latins*) of the first two lines, which is resolved in the fourth line: no new subject is introduced in this clause, but there is a new copula complement: *immortels* (‘immortal’), which, in turn, was missing from the previous line. The exact repetition of the comparative adverbial clause (*comme eux* ‘just like them’), which in the third line in the second stanza (numbered 10 above) semantically alludes to the copula complements of the first two lines (numbered 8 and 9), reinforces the cohesion between both the copula subjects and the copula complements of the other three lines. It follows from the above reasoning that sound repetition patterns, which are not necessarily accounted for in the sequences which constitute the rhyming strings, together with instances of syntactic and lexical repetition, contribute to interlocking patterns in lines 8, 9, 10, and 11, which thus represent a closely-knit unit within the second stanza. Furthermore, these four lines replicate the division in the first stanza between thesis (lines 8 and 9 in the second stanza), antithesis (line 10), and synthesis (line 11). The cohesion in these four lines, which is woven out of phonetic, lexical, semantic, and syntactic parallelism, prepares the listener (or reader) for the shift in the discourse in the next line (line 12), which is also signalled, as we have seen, by the change in the metrical pattern in line 12.

The consonant patterning in the rhyming words further supports the observations that have been made about vowel repetition. Again, it has to be underlined that the focus of my analysis here is the kind of repetition which is beyond the rules governing rhyming technique in French. Perhaps, from the point of view of creative awareness, the phonological patterning under discussion works also somewhat below the level of poetic consciousness (cf. Jakobson 1985a), although Peletier was a prototype of Renaissance learnedness, and as such well trained in the craft of finding rhyming words according to the expectations of contemporary taste.

Table 12: Sound repetition in rhyme strings A

| | | | | | | | | | | double | | | | rich | full/sufficient | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|--|--|-----|--------|---|---|---|------|-----------------|---|---|---|-----|-----|
| m | a | t | ε | ʁ | n | | | | (ə) | A1 | m | a | t | ε | ʁ | n | ε | l | (ə) | A1 |
| | e | | | | | | | | | A3 | | e | t | ε | ʁ | n | ε | l | (ə) | A3 |
| | i | m | ɔ | | | | | | | A9 | | i | m | ɔ | ʁ | t | ε | l | | A9 |
| | | o | s | i | t | | | | | A11 | | | o | s | i | t | ε | l | | A11 |
| | | | | | | | | | | A12 | | | | | | t | ε | | | A12 |

Table 12 illustrates the sound pattern in the rhyming strings that were listed under column A above. On the right-hand side the sounds are arranged and colour-coded so that it is obvious which strings count as sufficient (or full) rhyme (shown against the darkest background), rich rhyme (shown in medium-grey), and double or superfluous rhymes (shown in the lightest colour). Sufficient rhymes include in the string the last, tonic vowel of the word and the consonant that follows it, if there is one. If there is no stem-final consonant, a sufficient rhyme was considered to be, essentially, an assonance (a “rhyme” in which only the vowels match) until the early twentieth century (see Elwert’s criticism on Grammont’s and Kastner’s terminology in Chapter 3); according to modern classification, sufficient rhyme and assonance are different because the former involves the homophony of at least two sounds while the latter only the homophony of one sound, the vowel. In rich rhymes the homophony extends in the rhyming string to the *consonne d’appui*, to the consonant that precedes the tonic vowel. Finally, if the vowel preceding the accented vowel, and every other sound preceding it, is also identical, the rhyme type is classified as double or superfluous. From the time when the preference for assonance was replaced by full rhyme (around the twelfth century) until the beginning of the fifteenth century, rich rhyme was the exception. It is due to the insistence and experimental fever of the *Rhétoriciens* that rich rhyme became the norm and took increasingly complex shapes until its decline from the middle of the sixteenth century, which was a result of Ronsard’s and du Bellay’s protestations (cf. Chapter 3). As we saw earlier, they called for the rationalization of formal experiments with rhyme, and advocated rich rhyme only if its deployment yielded lines in which there was semantic coherence both between the rhyming words and within the line. In other words, the figureheads of the *Pléiade*, unlike many of their predecessors, called for both paradigmatic and syntagmatic cohesion, and not only in sound but also in sense. In

this light, Peletier's intermediate position as a forerunner of the *Pléiade's* ideas is reflected in the fact that he employs rhyme strings which – not only in set A but also in most other sets in the two stanzas under discussion – stretch beyond the phonological requirements of even rich rhymes but he also remains mindful of the balance between “sound and sense”.

Rhymes such as *maternelle/éternelle* (A1 and A3) and *mépriser/favoriser* (C6 and C7) are morphological rhymes in which the same adjective or verb types feature in the same form (here the feminine singular of the adjectives and the infinitive of the verbs ending in *-er*: a common verb type in French). This type of rhyme has many tokens and therefore sounds potentially banal: the reason why it went increasingly out of fashion after the Middle Ages, finally to be proscribed shortly after Peletier's time, unless there was a semantic tension between the words which contained the rhyme (Elwert 1965: 87; Grammont 1930: 33-38). Attention to meaning meant that banal rhymes – which were too easy to achieve because of language-internal, morphological typological, reasons – had to be counterpointed by a difference in meaning between the words that contained the rhyme but, again, words with opposite meaning were considered a poor solution. In this respect, *mépriser* and *favoriser* hardly qualify as good rhymes; we shall return to this point later.

The arrangement on the left-hand side of Table 12 shows the consonant and vowel patterns independently from classifications in French poetics. This arrangement highlights the fact that in the rhyming strings grouped originally under set A in Table 10-11 apical consonants (unvoiced plosive, unvoiced fricative, nasal, and approximant) and nasals (bilabial and apical) predominate. It is these instances of repetition which are shown against a darker background in the left-hand table. We saw earlier that there were overlaps in the vowel pattern of the various rhyming strings, too. Thus, although not all the strings listed under A rhyme with each other according to the rules French poetics, the pattern of sound repetition still links up and cross-references these line-end strings with each other.

Table 13 below summarises the consonant and vowel patterns of the rhyming strings listed under B above. The right-hand column gives the rhyme type according to the rules of classification. B2, B4, and B5 are of the same classification type: they involve

not only the tonic vowel and the *consonne d'appui* but also the vowel from the penultimate syllable. Two disyllabic nouns (*valeur/malheur*) rhyme with a noun phrase which consists of the definite article (*la*) and the 3PL possessive pronoun (*leur*). In these disyllabic strings only the first consonants differ ([v], [l], and [m]). The effect produced by this rhyming set is stronger than within the sets in A1-A3 and C, as the rhymes are neither a grammatical necessity nor an etymological coincidence here. The mismatch between morpheme and lexical boundaries also enhance this effect.

Table 13: Sound repetition in rhyme strings B

| | | | | |
|---|---|-------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| v | | | B2 | double or superfluous rhyme |
| l | a | l œ ʁ | B4 | |
| m | | | B5 | |
| | | | | |
| f | a | m ø | B8 | rich rhyme |
| k | ɔ | | B10 | |

The second set under B (B8 and B10) consists of a rich rhyme (by Renaissance standards, when, unlike in the current classification, the homophony of two sounds satisfied the condition of rich rhyme as long as the *consonne d'appui* was included; cf. the discussion in Chapter 3 and above) between a pair of lines. This stretches only to the line-end vowel and the preceding consonant, as there is no final consonant in these lines. The rounded mid-vowel in this rhyme, [ø], is only a degree higher than in the previous one, [œ], as was discussed earlier. The fact that the front vowel, [a], preceding the *consonne d'appui* in B8 is identical to the one in B2, B4, and B5, and that the back vowel in B10, [ɔ] is only a degree higher than the front vowel in B8 may still contribute to the listeners' recalling of the key words from the first stanza. The consonants, other than the identical ones, do not form as clear a pattern in these strings (which are shorter) as in set A but there are two labio-dental fricatives ([v] and [f]), which were absent from A, a velar plosive ([k]), and the postvelar fricative¹⁵¹ is repeated three times, while the bilabial nasal ([m]) also occurs twice but in different positions, and distributed across the two

¹⁵¹ The phoneme in question, which is etymologically the /r/ phoneme, is treated here as a postvelar fricative because currently this is its most wide-spread realisation, at least in northern French, although a uvular trill is also frequent, and an alveolar trill still occurs, particularly in the south (Harris 2001b: 231). In Peletier's time it is likely to have been a dental or alveolar trill, [r] (cf. Haden: 1955).

stanzas, so, it contributes little to bidding these rhyming sets (B2, B4, and B5, on the one hand, and B8 and B10 on the other) together.

Table 14: Sound repetition in set C

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| m | e | p | ɸ | i | z | e | C6 |
| f | a | v | | | | | C7 |

Table 15: Sound repetition in set D

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|
| e | k | ɸ | i | t | õ | D13 |
| | i | m | | | | D14 |

Both of the rhyming pairs under C and D consist of double rhymes. C, as pointed out above, is a grammatical rhyme: the infinitive suffix *-er* [e] is preceded by a *consonne d'appui*, [z], which in turn is preceded by the vowel [i] and the postvelar fricative [ɸ], also identical in both strings. What makes this rhyme exciting is the semantic tension between the two verbs with opposite meaning (*mépriser* ‘despise, look down upon’ and *favoriser* ‘favour, prefer’) which is counterpointed by their close phonetic and morphological resemblance. The homonymy of the [ɸiz] segments is an etymological coincidence: *mépriser* < *mépris*, which is the nominalised past participle of *méprendre* (cf. the base *-pris-* also in the 1SG and 3SG of the perfect), the form is attested from the twelfth century; *favoriser* < Latin *favor* (NOM), *favōris* (GEN) ‘favour, support’, the form is attested only from the fourteenth century (Picoche 2002: 456; *s.v.*, “prendre”; and 233-234; *s.v.*, “faveur”). It is worth recalling that *mépriser* and *favoriser* close lines 6 and 7, in which the line-internal stress falls on the words (*son*) *propre* (line 6) and *autrui* (line 7); thus, while *mépriser* and *favoriser* are associated through sound repetition along the paradigmatic axis, line-internally they respond to the stress on (*son*) *propre* and *autrui*, respectively. The double rhyme in the pair listed under D is even more exact as the morpheme (and lexical) boundaries across the rhyming strings do not align (just like in B2 and B5 v. B4 above) and the lexemes involved belong to different word classes: *écritant*: *écr|i-s tant*: *écrire* ‘write’-2SG (V) *tant* ‘much’ (ADV) v. *imitant*: *im|it=ant*: *imiter*-er ‘imitate’=PRES.PART (ADJ).¹⁵²

The last example, and the analysis so far, support the earlier suggestion that Peletier’s rhymes reflect his position as one of the forerunners of the *Pléiade*’s poetics, while his own poetry was, at least as far as his rhyming techniques are concerned, also

¹⁵² In the segmentation | marks the beginning of the rhyming segment, the hyphen and the equation mark the inflectional and derivational morpheme boundaries, respectively (the latter is applied throughout this thesis).

grounded in the tradition immediately preceding his own time. The rhyme strings in the two stanzas under discussion are relatively long – they usually stretch over more than one syllable – but their refinement in terms of the classes of words and the types of morphemes which rhyme points ahead of Peletier’s time. He avoids line-internal rhymes – which were later completely banned by the *Pléiade* (Elwert 1965: 110) – and line-end rhymes are employed in support of the semantic coherence of the two stanzas rather than for the sake of experiments with possible patterns of homophony. This combination of techniques – as far as the limitations of an analysis which includes only a short body of text, two stanzas, allow speculating – constitutes, at least in part, the linguistic and poetic fabric of Peletier’s individual voice among members of his generation.

In the next, the last, part of the analysis of *À un poète qui n’écrivait qu’en latin* we shall explore more closely the semantic cohesion in the two stanzas, which the formal elements discussed so far index. The semantic allusions and cross-referencing between the rhyming strings are revealing: *fameux/comme eux* (‘famous/like them’), and *aussi tels/immortels* (‘just like that/immortal’) is a condensed formulation in verse of Ronsard’s oft-quoted stance (see also earlier in Chapter 3, p. 164, and Footnote 129), namely “combien davantage doit on *vanter* le coureur, qui galopant librement par les c[a]mpagnes *Attiques*, et *Romaines* osa tracer un *sentier inconnu* pour aller à l’*immortalité*” [emphasis mine; cited in Ahmed 1987: 587]. The repetition in sound pattern which seems to tease out a causal relationship between the referents of the rhyming words within the two stanzas is criss-crossed by semantic parallelism across the stanzas: *éternelle* and *immortels* not only have a very similar phonological pattern but are also kin concepts – dating back to Classical Latin (cf. Ernout & Meillet 1939, s.v.s., “*æuum*” and “*māter*”) – in the medieval and post-medieval world view: eternal existence is gained through immortality, that is, through overcoming death (the morphological make-up of *im-mort-el* is transparent). It was argued earlier that the line-end strings *la leur* and *comme eux* are closer to each other phonetically and acoustically than their treatment in French versification (i.e. two different degrees of the front rounded mid-vowels cannot rhyme) would suggest. Both of these strings include a pronoun (3PL possessive and tonic pronoun, respectively): *leur* ‘their[s]’ and *eux* ‘them’, both of which have either the languages of antiquity or their speakers, specifically, acclaimed poets, as referents. As we

saw earlier, *comme eux* rhymes with *fameux* which, in turn, is semantically repeated in the next line: *aussi tels* (the referent of the adjectival pronoun *tels* 'like that' is *fameux* 'famous'), and *aussi tels* echoes both *éternelle* from the previous stanza and *immortels* two lines below. The semantic pattern which emerges from the complex matrix of sound repetitions in the poem thus reinforces the message, which brought to bear on the particular brand of poetic originality which characterised the *Pléiade's* aesthetic commitments (see in more detail at the beginning of this chapter and especially Chapter 3). What is more, through the line-end rhymes and semantic parallelism between words that pattern with each other acoustically, in the two stanzas under discussion, Peletier seems to construct – or perhaps respond to – a moral microcosm which reflects that of his time, and which is elaborated, for instance, in Petrarch's monumental poem, *Trionfi* 'The Great Triumphs', in which death is overcome by fame, fame by time, and time by eternity (on Petrarch's reception and influence in Francis I.'s court see, e.g. Vickers 1994: 150). For the Renaissance poet in France, a key to success in achieving fame was fighting for the cause of the "mother tongue", and the rise of vernacular-language poetry a few centuries before their time provided a playground to further refinement of both poetic language itself and their ideas about it.

It has been noted that rhymes such as *maternelle/éternelle* – as well as their phonological similarity to *immortels* – come easily in French because the French lexicon is rich in rhyme tokens for most rhyme types. Further, Peletier and his contemporaries were well-versed in composing in the most intricate forms of French poetry at the time. Still, it is a witty pursuit to pair up these semantic parallels with the sound patterning of the poem. We saw that these complex patterns have different layers. First, they are due to Peletier's masterful application of rhythmic patterns and rhyme types and tokens, many of which were, and still are, well-established in French poetics, while others were, in the sixteenth century, in the process of being introduced, and later codified, among the rules of French verse. Second, phonological and morphological patterns that eschew the poetically codified rhythm and rhyme schemes can be discerned in the poem. The subtleties of this underlying pattern provide a less obvious layer of cohesion within the text, and, when it comes to rhyming, between the keywords of the poem. The second layer represents a less conscious attitude in the creative poetic process as well, inasmuch

as it is partly due to the primary phonological and morphological features of language instead of a learned deployment of rhythmic rhyming principles, which, by their very nature, are secondary and normative. The third layer is closely intertwined with the second: it includes those features of the pattern which are the result of grammatical similarity or agreement, or which can be explained with the help of etymological chance convergence, and some of which are merely coincidental. From the point of view of poetic composition, the latter are the least obvious, and belong to the realm of language-internal features rather than poetics. The third layer has to do with the liberties and restrictions that language, rather than rules of poetics, impose on the poet (see the notion of *proprietas*, the “properties and peculiarities” v. the “appropriateness” of language discussed at the end of Chapter 3, p. 173). In Jakobsonian (1959 [1966]: 235-236) terms, the third layer corresponds to what *must* be, rather than what *may* be, conveyed in a language.

The first layer is that of complex poetic rules in the above analysis. Such rules, as we have seen, are set against the background of language-internal but also language-external, cultural changes, which, in turn, are reflections of a shift in – often inexplicit – values according to which a culture redefines itself. The preference for ancient lyric poetry as opposed to medieval native poetic traditions is one such value in the analysis in Chapter 3. Whether to use syllable counting verse or try to assign length to French syllables and write quantitative verse is another example. From the individual’s perspective, this layer represents the most self-conscious posture, and attitudes belonging here often serve to promote the interests of a group of intellectuals or individuals. As we saw, for Ronsard, for instance, writing vernacular-language poetry in the newly adopted lyric genres was a way of inventing a poetic self and claiming primacy for himself in poetry among his contemporaries. It was also suggested above that Jacques Peletier’s peculiar position in the *Pléiade* is reflected in his individual treatment of poetic norm, which was considerably rethought during his time.

In the above analysis, the second layer focused on language features whose deployment in creative poetic activity may be less conscious than that of intellectually constructed, abstract rules of versification. It was noted earlier that the formulation of abstract rules – whether by poets or prescriptivists – is often provoked by language

change, which is beyond the control of the individual. At this level of analysis, explicitly formulated abstract rules were contrasted with the poetic potential of language. What is at stake here are language features that poets or writers identify and put to use – consciously or coincidentally – in the process of writing. For instance, *maternelle*, *éternelle*, and *immortel* are bound together by a pattern of sound repetition, which contributes to a phonological allusion – and therefore strengthens the semantic cohesion – between them, although *immortel* falls outside of the rhyming couplet and would not constitute a rhyme with *maternelle* and *éternelle* according to poetic conventions. This is the level of awareness that is hardest to pin down and that escapes attempts of a solid definition most easily. This is perhaps where the activity of poets shows most similarities to that of descriptive grammarians, inasmuch as both types of activity are concerned with discovering language elements and arranging them systematically in order to make features of language – which are normally beyond language users’ awareness – explicit. The guiding principles of arrangement can be formulated as abstractions, here, too, but – in grammar writing just as in poetry – they depend at least as much on cultural factors (e.g. conventions of language description and poetic composition) as on factors that are determined by the internal features of language (i.e. the kind of descriptive framework and poetic technique to which a certain language lends itself most easily; cf. Dixon 2010a: 182). This seemingly elusive layer also gives poets and writers space to manoeuvre in their quest for originality and individuality in literary composition.

The third layer in the analysis concluded that there are language-internal features which remain beyond the control of the poet and – also in everyday use of language – of the individual. These are the language features – and the poetic patterns resulting from them – which are non-negotiable.¹⁵³ In terms of awareness, this layer is the one of which users of language are the least aware, or, even if they (mostly grammarians) are, there is little that can be done about the features of language that were mentioned at this third level of analysis. These are etymological coincidences or typological features; for instance, gender agreement in French. Another example is the clearly audible difference

¹⁵³ This layer was explained earlier through Jakobson’s (1959 [1966]: 235-236) characterization of the difference between languages and their potential mutual translatability. The full quotation is as follows: “The true difference between languages is not in what may or may not be expressed but in what must or must not [sic!] be conveyed by the speakers”.

(or the lack thereof) between short and long vowels in French, and the problematic nature of the classification of syllables into short and long types, which renders quantitative verse impracticable. In terms of general attitudes to language, this layer has to do, for instance, with the decisions underlying purist activity which deems certain borrowed or newly coined words unacceptable, although the same purists would happily accept other – especially older – borrowings. Similarly, certain borrowings or newly coined words are accepted and used by groups of speakers or the entire speech community, while others never take root in the language. Individuals, however, may be unable to formulate why they prefer certain new lexical items and not others. This lack of awareness accounts for the kind of language *about* language which is at best naively innocent – as in the popular book title *Lose Your Accent in 28 Days* (Ravin: 2004) – at worst divisive. Examples include assumptions and opinions about language which are presented as universal truths although they are merely a product of individuals' beliefs. "I don't have an accent – everyone else does" is one such assumption. This is the blind spot which is a breeding ground for folk theories about ways of speaking and race, or about language, ethnicity, and nationalism. In the next case study we shall explore this latter point further.

4.2 Perceptions of sameness and difference in language, culture, and society

It was argued earlier in Chapter 3 that the potential of a language variety for koinetization is intertwined with the existence of a literary variety – a poetic rather than a political koine – which forms the basis of a type of standard, one to which everyday speech is compared, and which channels speakers' linguistic identity. This "channelling" involves two kinds of phases from the point of view of the individual. First, the recognition that there is a language variety which is different from the speaker's own, but which ties the speaker to a broader community, defined earlier (cf. Introduction and Chapter 3) as a speech community on the grounds that its members all believe that they speak "the same" language. Second, a willingness (or the lack thereof) on the part of speakers (and writers) to adapt their speech to accommodate features of the prestige variety, which corresponds to the language they believe they speak. The case studies on Peletier's individual voice in poetic language (Chapter 4.1 above) and on heritage

speakers' responses to the normative variety of Hungarian, as well as on the actions of Nicola Ancion's heroes – speakers of a regional variety of French – in *Bruxelles insurrection* (Chapter 4.3 below) illustrate the second posture: possible strategies speakers may adopt to assert their individuality through their use of language. The latter case study (in 4.3) in particular, involves an ironic display of speakers' lack of willingness to accommodate, and a desire to subvert, the prestige variety imposed on them by the traditions and institutions of a normative linguistic culture.

The present case study, (4.2), addresses the first component of individuals' attitude to a standard variety, namely, a possible response on the part of individuals when they recognise a tension between a standard variety and their own linguistic behaviour. This component involves an associative (and as such metonymic) relationship between a body of canonical texts (such as "literature", lyric genres, verbal art, epic tradition, etc.) and the language variety in which the texts are produced. Individual speakers' awareness of this language variety makes another associative relationship possible: an association between the individual speaker and other speakers, whose shared feature is that they agree in their belief of speaking "the same" language. The sameness and assumed homogeneity of this overarching language variety usually find their expression in a name for this variety which lacks qualifiers (e.g. *English* v. *American English* v. *Old English*, *Greek* v. *Modern Greek*, *French* v. *Canadian French*). If there are qualifiers, often they reflect not only regional and temporal discontinuities between language varieties but also discontinuities in various speakers' belief in the sameness of the labelled dialect and the dialect which they see as their own variety (e.g. *posh English* v. *working-class English*; *Hochdeutsch*, when used with reference to "standard German" and not the historical-regional variety; *tört magyarság* "broken Hungarian-ness", etc.). Mutual intelligibility of some degree between speakers usually comes into play in this associative relationship but intelligibility is far from being the only, or even the most important, criterion in the matter.¹⁵⁴ The tension, of which individuals become aware,

¹⁵⁴ The case of Serbo-Croat, now officially either Serbian and Croatian or Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Serbian (BCMS) is the best, oft-cited example of this point. Speakers along a continuum of mutually intelligible dialects disagree about the sameness of the language they are speaking: while few speakers would contest the mutual intelligibility of these language varieties, their lack of agreement regarding the speech community of which they consider themselves to be members is spectacularly displayed in ongoing polemics about the name of the language they

between a normative language variety and their own linguistic behaviour often corresponds to a mismatch between individual speakers' beliefs concerning the sameness of the language variety they speak. This involves situations in which, as in the case study discussed below, speakers – who believe their linguistic practices correspond more closely to the normative variety – question, or disapprove of, other speakers' linguistic practices, thus challenging their belief in belonging to the same speech community as speakers of the normative variety.

The case study to which we now turn is based on a passage from Sam Selvon's (1923–1994) seminal novel, *The lonely Londoners*, which appeared in 1956¹⁵⁵, and placed Selvon almost instantly as “one of the main figures in the Caribbean literary renaissance of the 1950s” (Nasta 1988: 10; for a thorough analysis of Selvon's dialectal style and fictional strategy, see Wyke 1991). Born in Trinidad to East Indian parents (and with a Scottish grandfather on his mother's side), Selvon left college at the age of fifteen, and, having worked as a journalist for five years after the Second World War, he relocated to London in 1950. Unlike his fellow Trinidadian writer, V. S. Naipaul (b. 1937), who arrived in Britain in the same year to study, Selvon was a representative of the “Windrush generation”:¹⁵⁶ one of the many Caribbean immigrants seeking employment who arrived in the UK after 1948. (Nasta 1988: 11). Selvon travelled on the same ship as the Barbadian novelist, George Lamming, who characterized the relationship between the migrant and the host communities during the early days of their life in Britain as follows:

“Can you imagine [...] waking up one morning and discovering a stranger asleep on the sofa of your living room? [...] On the one hand the sleeper on the sofa was [...] sure through imperial tutelage [...] he was at home, on the other, the native Englishman was completely mystified by this unknown interloper” (cited in Nasta 1988: 11).

The mention of “imperial tutelage” is key in this passage to the understanding of the language-related implications of the encounter between the migrant and host communities. We have seen in Chapter 3 that education plays a key role in sealing the

believe they speak; cf. Ćalić (Forthcoming).

¹⁵⁵ As indicated in Footnote 142 in this chapter, I have used the 2006 edition with a foreword by Susheila Nasta; see Selvon (2006) and Nasta (1988).

¹⁵⁶ The “Windrush generation” was named after the boat which, in 1948, brought large numbers of Caribbean immigrants to the UK, following the codification, in the same year, of the “open door” policy in the Nationality Act, which welcomed migrants into Britain.

position of a vernacular as an institutional and political koine, and, indirectly, in fostering speakers' awareness of, and belief in, a language they all "share" – at least as far as discourses concerning standard languages go. This language, for Selvon and his fellow migrants, was called *English*. A colonial English-language education tied Trinidadians and other Caribbeans to the processes of English-language literary culture; Selvon himself claimed to have been "colonized by English literature as a child", which had an influence on some of his early works (cf. Fabre 1988: 64). Attitudes towards the vernacular Trinidadian Creole v. "standard" English are largely characterised by the "high" v. "low" dichotomy to this day (Deuber 2014: 30-43). English, therefore, played a crucial role in Caribbean literacy and literary culture, in particular for those who, like Selvon, reached the level of literacy necessary to familiarise themselves with English literature. Caribbeans, whom the unassuming Englishmen found "asleep on the sofa", believed they were at home in the UK: they were British subjects, they spoke English, and their literacy was based on English language-and-culture.

The following excerpt from *The lonely Londoners* (Selvon 2006: 82) illustrates that the linguistic (and cultural) encounters between members of the host and migrant communities were characterised by a lack of agreement over the key terms of their coexistence, which replicates the mismatch of expectations between the anecdotal newcomer on the sofa and the native Englishman. The passage below describes the culmination point of a date between Henry Oliver, nicknamed Sir Galahad, a fairly recently arrived Trinidadian in London, and a "nice piece of skin", a white English girl working in the same factory as Galahad:

When the water was boiling he went to the cupboard and take out a packet of tea, and *he shake some down in the pot.*

Daisy look at him as if he mad.

"*Is that how you make tea?*" she ask.

"*Yes,*" Galahad say. "*No foolishness about it. Tea is tea – you just drop some in the kettle. If you want it strong, you drop plenty. If you want it weak, you drop little bit. And so you make a lovely cuppa.*"

He take the kettle off and rest it on a sheet of Daily Express on the ground. He bring two cups, a spoon, a bottle of milk and a packet of sugar.

"*Fix up,*" he say, handing Daisy a cup.

They sit down there sipping the tea and talking.

"*You get that raise the foreman was promising you?*" *Galahad ask, for something to say.*

"*What did you say? You know it will take me some time to understand everything you say. The way you West Indians speak!*"

"*What wrong with it?*" Galahad ask. "*Is English we speaking.*"

And so he coasting a little oldtalk until the tea finish, and afterwards he start to make one set of love to Daisy. [emphases mine]

The two “stories” which are told and discussed in this passage concern two cultural practices: making tea¹⁵⁷ and speaking English. The clauses I have italicized help teasing out a parallelism between the two parts of the passage in which the characters’ differing opinions about both matters (tea and English) are discussed. The exposition of the conflict in the narration involves, in both cases, a series of simple actions which Galahad performs, spontaneously and unassumingly: *he shake some down the pot* and *Galahad ask, for something to say*¹⁵⁸. The narration of these series of unassuming actions is followed by

¹⁵⁷ Practices concerning making and serving tea seem to have become something of a topos in the characterisation of contrasts between Caribbean and “native” English habits (cf. Mintz 1974). Zadie Smith is a British writer (born to Jamaican and English parents) who has been described as an heir to the narrative tradition which Selvon pioneered (Walters 2008: 5; Nasta 1988: 7) in *The lonely Londoners*. In her 2012 novel, *NW*, Keisha Blake, a first generation Jamaican girl in North West London, is keen on accommodating the practices related to tea which she witnessed in her friend’s, the Irish-born Leah Hanwell’s family home (Smith 2012: 153): “Keisha Blake was eager to replicate some of the conditions she had seen at the Hanwell’s. Cup, tea bag, then water, then – only then – milk. On a tea tray. Her mother was of the opinion that anyone who is in another person’s flat as often as Leah Hanwell was in the Blakes’ forgoes the right to be a guest and should simply be treated as a member of the family, with all dispensation and latitude that suggests. [...] “Mum, you got a tea tray?” – “Just take it in to her. Lord!”” In this passage, “mum” is a member of Selvon’s and the fictional character Galahad’s migrant generation, while Keisha was born in the UK. She later goes on to university, where she reinvents herself, changes her name to *Natalie*, becomes a barrister, and marries into a wealthy family. This reinvention of self is coupled with a change in the variety of English Keisha/Natalie speaks in the novel. I have not found any studies addressing the linguistic details of this change, but the last sentence of the novel is revealing in this respect. The reinvention of self in Keisha’s case gradually leads to her alienation both from her native and her adopted communities. Towards the end of the novel, she revisits the less fortunate parts of her native NW area in London not only in terms of space but also dialect. Following a series of strange encounters with some of the characters and practices from her childhood, Keisha/Natalie and her good friend Leah Hanwell, now adult women in their mid-late thirties, end up reporting a former classmate to the police. “Leah found the number online. Natalie dialed it. It was Keisha who did the talking. [...] “I got something to tell you, said Keisha Blake, *disguising her voice with her voice*”” (Smith 2012: 294; emphasis mine). The last sentence thus points to the intimate interconnectedness of individuality with the entire repertoire of language, including not only discursive patterns but morphology and syntax as well (and, of course voice quality and pronunciation, whose rendering in the written medium would deserve a detailed treatment of its own among attitudes to language).

¹⁵⁸ The exposition of the first dialogue, which is about the conflicting understandings of *tea*, narrates a series of actions performed in the process of making tea. The exposition of the second conflict, about *English*, narrates Galahad’s action which, in the second case, is to ask a performative question (cf. Austin 1962: 101). The actions which are narrated in both expositions, thus, signal the theme of the dialogues and of the conflicting opinions: the first dialogue foregrounds a set of cultural habits concerning *tea* by questioning a series of actions related to its preparation; the second dialogue is a meta-discourse about ways of using language.

an outburst of surprise or lack of understanding on the part of Daisy, formulated in the dialogue as interrogatives and an exclamation: *Is that how you make tea?* and *What did you say? The way you West Indians speak!* Daisy's reactions, although not necessarily intended as such, draw attention to, and put to question, the practices which Galahad spontaneously performs in the processes of making tea and speaking English. Daisy, thus – although her reactions are also unassuming and spontaneous from the point of view of her own interpretative framework – initiates a meta-discourse about the young Trinidadian's practices. In both dialogues, Daisy's utterances signal that something is "not quite right". In the first situation her question is a rhetorical one (she has just seen Galahad make tea the way he did), which has the illocutionary function of expressing surprise. So, the function of the question *Is that how you make tea?* is to signal "I am surprised at the way you make tea". In the second situation her question *What did you say?* signals yet another flaw in the conversation. Galahad has just asked a question whose function was "to ask a question" (cf. Footnote 158). So, in a communicative situation without the flaws which characterise Galahad's and Daisy's interaction one would expect Daisy's character to give an answer whose function is to signal her willingness to participate in the conversation, to engage in Galahad's endeavour of "coasting a little old talk". Instead, in the second dialogue, there is a genuine lack of understanding on the part of Daisy: here the function of her question is to ask for clarification, and only after a meta-linguistic comment (*You know it will take me some time to understand everything you say*) does she express her surprise at – and potential disapproval of – the way Galahad speaks, which is formulated as an exclamation (*The way you West Indians speak!*).

In sharp contrast to Daisy's reactions, which hint at the – from her perspective – unexpected nature of West Indian practices, Galahad's answers show no surprise. Although Daisy's comments, seemingly, ought to make Galahad conscious of the features of his spontaneous actions and speech performance – or at least of the way his performance is perceived by a member of the British host community – his reactions show not a hint of defensiveness. He refuses to step into the universe of Daisy's norms and to accommodate her perceptions. Instead of justifying or explaining *his ways of being* in the world (i.e. the way he does things, the way he speaks), Galahad responds by

broadening the interpretative framework within which Daisy operates. British habits concerning tea, often perceived as ceremonial, and as such either peculiar or enviable, by outsiders (cf. Footnote 157 in this chapter), are alluded to as *foolishness*. For Galahad, in essence, *tea is tea*, and there is no need for further ado about it. The way he reinterprets *tea* – a ‘hot beverage’ rather than a series of ceremonially performed actions – is similar to the way in which he proposes a new understanding of *English*. As long as *tea is* in essence *tea*, in Galahad’s interpretative framework one set of cultural habits involved in the making of this beverage are just as valid as another set of habits. The notion of English is likewise expanded to include a greater variety of ways in which one can “behave” in English. So, in both cases, from Galahad’s perspective, there is some kind of essence (“tea”, “English”) and there are various ways of doing things (making tea, speaking): different sets of cultural habits which are involved in the individual’s performance of tea-making and English-speaking. After the somewhat challenging question *What wrong with it?*, to which Galahad expects no answer or clarification, the performative function of his statement *is English we speaking* is to declare West Indian English to be *English*. By his very act of naming the West Indian variety *English*, he claims and asserts an extended scope for the term, compared to the kinds of speech it may have included in Daisy’s understanding. This is also underpinned by Galahad’s use of *we*, which is inclusive of both West Indians and the English, while Daisy uses *we* exclusively for the English.

To summarise, based on the perceptions prevailing in their native communities, Daisy’s and Galahad’s understanding of *tea* and *English* are rather different. Daisy is represented in the dialogues cited above as mystified by the practices which are considered both acceptable and usual for Galahad. In this respect, the short passage by Sam Selvon is a literary rendering of the same theme as the one addressed by George Lamming in his metaphoric anecdote about the bewildered Englishman and the interloper he finds on his sofa. Daisy, the native English girl, has a more rigid and narrower understanding of the norm: of the way things usually are and “should be”. In Daisy’s interpretative framework, the two of them belong to different communities of English speakers (“you West Indians”). For her, the variety Galahad speaks is disqualified from being called *English* without a qualifier (and it would be labelled,

perhaps, as *West Indian English* but, from this perspective, possibly also *strange* or *broken English* and with similar value-laden attributes). As is often the case, a speaker of the low-prestige variety, Galahad, shows a different kind of awareness of variation; hence, his understanding of *English* is more inclusive: Daisy's or anyone else's variety is as *English* for him, without qualifiers, as his own. Galahad's definitions are necessarily more permissive, and, although Daisy represents the norm with the higher prestige – both in language use and in cultural practices – it is Galahad who comes across as more comfortable in the two short dialogues. In the passage by Selvon, the universal applicability of Daisy's norms, which she seems to take for granted, is challenged by Galahad's more permissive redefinition of the terms and practices related to *tea* and *English*. The cited passage and the above reasoning, therefore, suggest that Nasta (1988: 12) has it right when she points out that “[t]he language that the “boys” [from Trinidad] bring with them – far more than the cardboard suitcases or tropical suits they arrive with at Waterloo – is a vital survival kit, a means to successfully accommodate them in the city”. As the Caribbean community in London has its own language and establishes its own terms of reference within the heart of the city, “English begins to be colonized in reverse” (Nasta 1988: 5).

The mismatch of expectations between the two communities (the native, English, and the migrant, Caribbean) is “translated” to the level of the medium of interaction in the passage under discussion.¹⁵⁹ The overlap which is only partial in Daisy's and Galahad's understanding of *English* reflects a mismatch between the two speakers'

¹⁵⁹ The dialogue between Daisy and Galahad is motivated by matters belonging to the content-substance corner of the Hjelmslevian grid (see Introduction) and stretches from there to cover all other parts of the diagram, most importantly, the parts that concern language. Migration, the host and the migrant communities' cultural practices, and the mismatch of their expectations – of which making tea is a specific instance – belong to the substance of content (like most things in the world). The part of the dialogue which is about English, while symptomatic of the two speakers' different socio-psychological and cultural notions, concerns mismatches in the form of expression: pronunciation, and the form of content: grammar and lexis of English. In fact, while speakers of British English, like Daisy, perceive the Trinidadians' form of expression as different from their own, it is the difference of the form of content – the different semantic mappings of *English*, *tea*, and also *British* in the two dialects – which brings about the mismatch between the two groups' expectations. Again, seemingly language-external (substance of content) matters appear to have their roots, at least partially, in language-internal (lexico-semantic) phenomena. We have no access, of course, to what Daisy, Galahad, Moses, or even Sam Selvon *thought* about English and Britishness. My reasoning in this section relies on what we can infer from what they *say*.

beliefs about the language they think they speak and the community they feel they belong to. The sense of the two communities' belonging together according to Galahad's expectations (just like for the anecdotal stranger on the sofa) is stronger than in Daisy's framework of interpretation. This is obvious from Galahad's blind optimism at the beginning of the novel, which is counterpointed by the disillusioned and resigned attitude of Moses Aloetta – an “experienced” Caribbean migrant in London. Moses explains to Galahad (Selvon 2006: 21) that there is a restaurant run by a Pole in Ipswich, where they would not serve them, Trinidadians, although “the Pole who have that restaurant, he ain't have no more right in this country than we. In fact, we is British subjects and he is only a foreigner, we have more right than any people from the damn continent to live and work in this country and enjoy what this country have [...]”. Thus, for a Caribbean migrant, their community was seen as part of what defines *Britain*, and they believed they spoke essentially “the same” language, English, as the British. But the Englishman's understanding of both *English* and *Britain* was hardly inclusive of the Caribbeans' language and their other cultural practices.¹⁶⁰

Michael Fabre (1979: 71-73) has pointed out that Selvon's work is located in the intersection of two cultural traditions: that of Trinidadian folk tales and the oral tradition of the calypso – whose “tone, style, and cultural values depend on a subversive use of irony and humour” (Pouchet Paquet 1979) – on the one hand, and, on the other, that of the nineteenth-century English novel. Additionally, Fabre argues, Selvon had to be

¹⁶⁰ While the Caribbeans establish their own frame of reference in the language and in the city, and thus “colonize English in reverse”, they also learn to see themselves through British eyes. According to Selvon's Moses trilogy – of which *The lonely Londoners* is the first part, and is followed by *Moses ascending* (1975) and *Moses migrating* (1983), reminiscent of Áron Tamási's Ábel trilogy – the fact that the migrants constantly come up against the mismatches between their own and the natives' interpretations of the two communities' belonging together leads to “futility, incoherence, repetition, and circularity beneath [their] surface preoccupations and activities” (Nasta 1988: 5). Moses's attempt to move up (in the concrete, spatial sense, from a basement flat to an attic, and metaphorically, in the social sense) is doomed to failure, similarly to his re-migration to Trinidad, where his experience is that of a tourist (Maes-Jelinek 2001: 159). Similarly, as Galahad in *The lonely Londoners* gradually learns to see himself through the natives' eyes, he comes to realise that he is *black*. The colour *Black*, subsequently, acquires an existence of its own, independent from Galahad's own perception of self, and he starts addressing and instructing the colour, in poignant and hilarious internal monologues, about how to behave. He “get so interested in this theory about Black that he went to tell Moses. “Is not we that the people don't like, he tell Moses, is the colour Black” (Selvon 2006: 77). The migrant community's frustration is managed through humour: through the creation of their own self-caricatures and the ironic representations of these fictional characters' failures (cf. Nasta 1988: 5).

mindful of the expectations of a “double audience”: local and foreign. Selvon had no Trinidadian precedents in literary prose genres to look to; with *The lonely Londoners*, and its use of dialect, he not only found his individual voice: he also initiated the great period of the Trinidadian novel. In his first published novel, *A brighter Sun* (1952) East Indians speak differently from the “Creolese” used by Black Caribbeans, the Chinese use yet another variety of English (Fabre 1988: 65), while the narrator takes on the position of the commentator, describing and explaining elements of the exotic natural and built environment and other *realia* in “standard” English. This narrative technique, according to Fabre (1979: 75) reflects “a conflict or tension between the opposite poles of folk and elite – of Trinidadian speech and forms, on the one hand, and of European usage, on the other”. Selvon’s literary quest after this, his first novel, involved bridging the gap between the narrative and linguistic strategies of these two groups, and in this respect, his expatriate existence in the UK was a creative catalyst in his writing. Here is how he described, to Michael Fabre (1988: 65-66), his changing attitude to language in the two novels:

In [*A brighter sun*], I tried to keep both of the [East Indian and Black Caribbean dialects] going but I was not consciously striving at the time towards a dialect-like quality speech. I just attempted to write the way people spoke out of a desire for verisimilitude, or realism. Some time later, [...] I worked deliberately on the question of rendering dialect. When I wrote the novel that became *The lonely Londoners*, I tried to recapture a certain quality in West Indian everyday life. [...] I had wonderful anecdotes and could put them in focus but I had difficulty starting the novel in straight English. The people I wanted to describe were entertaining people indeed, but I could not really move. At that stage I had written the narrative in English and most of the dialogues in dialect. Then I started both the narrative and dialogue in dialect and the novel just shot along. It was not difficult to understand because I modified the dialect, keeping the lilt and the rhythm, but somewhat transformed, bringing the lyrical passages closer to standard English. You don’t want to describe a London spring in dialect form; this is straight poetry.

At the heart of Selvon’s literary innovation lies, therefore, the fact that he was the first to make extensive use of dialect (Caribbean English) in both dialogue and narrative, a technique which he experimented with in *The lonely Londoners* for the first time.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ He is fully aware of his primacy in this genre. In his *A note on dialect* (Nasta 1988: 63) he says: “I think I can say without a trace of modesty that I was the first Caribbean writer to explore and employ dialect in a full-length novel where it was used both in narrative and dialogue. I was boldfaced enough to write a whole chapter in stream-of-consciousness style (I think that’s what it

Another key factor in the success of the new genre was the *kind of* dialect Selvon used. As the passage cited above reveals, this variety was the result of a self-conscious experimentation with language, the result of which is a kind of *Kunstsprache* which Selvon engineered in his search for an individual voice – for himself and for the characters that speak in the novel. According to his confession, it was impossible to do justice not only to his characters but – as the narration became more personal and the gap between the writer’s and the narrator’s voice grew smaller – also to the narrator, without restoring the authenticity of spoken language in a literary written variety (cf. Nasta 1988: 6-7). The experience of “not being able to move” without using a language variety that felt authentic, in turn, was brought about by Selvon’s extended stay in the “mother country”: his earlier, 1952 novel, for which many of his notes were taken while he was still living in Trinidad, did not prompt him to experiment extensively with the use of dialect, specifically not in the narration.

Selvon’s experimentation with dialect writing seems to have been motivated not only by the two textual traditions (English literary prose and Trinidadian verbal art) in which his work was grounded¹⁶² but also by a quest for individuality – his individual “voice” – in literature. According to Nasta (1988: 4), for Selvon, his position as a Trinidadian rather than an East Indian framed what he described as a “wider outlook on life and the world” but he also increasingly was of the view that the question of (linguistic and cultural) identity had to be faced on a private level: “it’s all well and good to appreciate what the world is like and what people are like, but, who the hell am I? And where do I fit into it, have I got roots, am I an Indian? Am I a Negro? ... What is a Trinidadian?¹⁶³ [...] After all, the island hasn’t got a great deal of history or civilisation

is called) without punctuation and seemingly disconnected, a style difficult enough for the average reader with “straight” English. [...] This short notice is not in defense of the use of dialect writing – I don’t think that’s necessary at all [...]” It is tempting to compare Selvon’s self-consciousness to that of early vernacular-language writers in Europe (cf. Chapter 3 on Occitan poets and even Ronsard’s claim to stepping on “virgin territory”). Interestingly, a potentially defensive attitude with regards to writing in the dialect for the first time seems to go hand in hand with this self-consciousness, just as it did in European vernacular-language literature many centuries before.

¹⁶² He was “well versed in the racy mock-heroic satire of the Port of Spain as well as the traditional forms of the colonial English canon”, as Nasta (1988: 9) puts it.

¹⁶³ As we shall see in the last case study (in section 4.3 of this chapter), similar questions are often in the background of heritage speakers’ motivation to learn their heritage language in a more

behind it [...]” (cited in Nasta 1988). From his early works as a writer, Selvon’s commitment was to show that “human beings from any part of the world think and experience the whole range of human emotions” alike, and in this quest he came up against the obstacle raised by standard English: how to represent a Trinidadian’s individuality if the language he speaks – in dialogue or in narration – is not “his own” but the variety of English “prescribed to non-British writers by paternalistic literary critics” (Fabre 1979: 78; cf. Birat 2009: 1; Fabre 1995: 153). Selvon’s response involved departing from using the normative variety of English and putting in place, instead, a variety which is closer to the norms that underpin Trinidadians’ linguistic behaviour, and bringing this variety – in Galahad’s words, for instance – under the umbrella term *English*, without further qualifiers. “No foolishness about it...”

Selvon’s remarks concerning identity are revealing about the fact that the question of language and individuality concerns that of civilisation (a.k.a. culture), too. According to these remarks, unlike India, the Caribbean islands lack a cultural history of “high” prestige, or a tradition in which individuals (speakers, writers) from that region could anchor themselves. Their possibility for high-prestige cultural anchorage, in the setting in which the plot of *The lonely Londoners* unfolds, lies primarily in English. But there are fundamental language-internal and cultural obstacles in the way of this possibility¹⁶⁴. The success of Selvon’s response lies in his innovation concerning the use of language in literary output, which, in turn, was fostered by the social- and intellectual-historical circumstances which characterised London’s Caribbean scene in the 1950s. During this period, people from all parts of the Caribbean met in London, which paved the way for a growing Caribbean consciousness. Intellectuals from the

formal setting outside of their home.

¹⁶⁴ These obstacles were discussed earlier in this section of Chapter 4, with regards to the passage from *The lonely Londoners* which served as a starting point. In the first instance, members of the migrant and of the host community do not share a framework of interpretation for key terms such as *English*, *British*, and various cultural practices. Even for the ever-optimistic Galahad, the colour Black gets in the way. As we have seen, even if the language-internal obstacles are overcome and a high degree of cultural adaptation has taken place – as in the case of Zadie Smith’s fictional character, Keisha Blake, or to a lesser degree, in the case of Selvon’s Moses Aloetta – this is likely to bring about a sense of alienation from both the “native” migrant community and the host community. The fact that these obstacles are both of a language-internal and cultural nature was explained through the Hjelmslevian model of language (form of expression, form of content) and cultural practices (substance of content).

English-speaking Caribbean were preoccupied with the possibility of finding a literary expression for an increasingly distinguishable Caribbean sensibility (Nasta 1988: 7). It should therefore come as no surprise that when Fabre (1988: 64-77) reminded Selvon of one of his critic's remarks, according to which "[*The lonely Londoners*] was written in a strange tongue, the language of the Trinidadian streets", Selvon replied by spelling out that "[this critique] was not accurate since [he] wrote in a modified dialect which could be understood by European readers, yet retain the flavour and essence of Trinidad speech".

Let us recall that Selvon was well aware of his primacy in creating a literary variety for Trinidadian English. The passage cited above from one of Michael Fabre's interviews (1988) with him ends with Selvon's assertion that "you don't want to describe a London spring in dialect form; this is straight poetry". Critics usually point out the significance of the language variety in which Selvon started writing after his relocation to London: "[it is a] dialect or what we should perhaps describe as a consciously chosen Caribbean literary English" (Nasta 1988: 10); his narrative style derives from an oral storytelling tradition (cf. Pouchet Paquet 1979 cited above), but his work "feed[s] on oral literature [...] without losing its identity as writing" (Ramchand 1985: 10; also cited in Haslam & Asbee 2012), whereby it "reinforces the challenge to conventions of literary language and form posed by the use of a modified Caribbean dialect, and facilitates the articulation of a voice – that of the black working-class immigrant – that had hitherto been largely denied recognition in literary fiction" (Haslam & Asbee 2012). These remarks on Selvon's literary prose all provide important insights into the interaction between oral and literary culture.

What we can add to these insights, in view of a panchronic approach to language attitudes, such as the analysis undertaken in this thesis (see especially Chapter 3), is that individual creative intervention into vernacular language varieties had characterised the history of most European languages which were to develop a variety of high cultural prestige. We have seen through the examples of, for instance, late-medieval Occitan, Renaissance French, and eighteenth-century Hungarian that oral or written texts which pinpoint the regularity, complexity, and poetic potential of a language contributed greatly to shifting the perception of a language variety from "low" – that is, usually,

spoken – to “high”. According to the HIGH is CONTROL metaphor, a language variety whose regularity and complexity is demonstrated through its potential for artistic expression becomes a suitable vehicle for embodying a culture of high prestige. In this light, the formulation “a voice – that of the black working-class immigrant – that had hitherto been largely denied recognition in literary fiction” seems to conflate the discourse of post-colonialism with individual writers’ and poets’ search for new possibilities in literary composition. This individual ambition often finds its source in oral or vernacular language varieties, especially when language-internal and social developments intersect to motivate the individual writer or poet in this direction. Basic human rights can be, and were, indeed, denied the groups (“black working-class immigrant”) the passage describes. Extending, metonymically, the presumed act of denial to a voice in literature is something of a fallacy (except for circumstances when censorship, for instance, gets in the way of publishing). By the associative use of *recognition* and *literary fiction*, the passage, perhaps unwillingly, reiterates the cultural perception according to which literacy and literary culture is “high” while oral traditions, which involve a lower level of control, are, indeed, “low”. It is precisely the literary output of writers such as Selvon that should motivate literary scholars and linguists alike to reflect on the ways in which this metaphor pervades our thinking about language, and to consider the analytical insights that can be gained when looking at high-prestige literary culture from the point of view of oral traditions, and not the other way around. In the next case study I shall explore this possibility in contexts provided by a regional variety of French – and its fictional speakers’ response to the imposed normative variety – on the one hand, and, on the other, by heritage speakers’ responses to features of contemporary standard Hungarian in a classroom setting.

4.3 The normative variety of language and individual responses: speakers of a French regional dialect, Hungarian heritage speakers

The case study on the dialogue between Sam Selvon's fictional characters, Daisy and Galahad, illustrated a situation in which an individual has built a linguistic identity by believing himself to be a speaker of a language which corresponds to a standard (or koine) – and which, for Galahad, was *English* – and is confronted with value-laden postures towards his dialect on the part of speakers of a variety with higher cultural and social prestige.¹⁶⁵ In the conversation between Daisy and Galahad, the latter's use of English is compared to, and evaluated against, a variety of English which is not Galahad's own, and which corresponds, according to Daisy's beliefs, to the standard variety. The two characters' confrontation of ideas about language sheds light on a feature of language ideologies concerning standards (cf. Milroy 2001), namely, that linguistic variation is imagined – by speakers like Daisy and in many speech communities – *in relation to* an imagined standard variety which is assumed to be homogeneous. In other words, such ideologies conceive of regional and social varieties as instances of deviation from *something* (the “standard”) rather than considering variation, and the difference between varieties in all their intricate specificities, as the norm in human linguistic behaviour. Ideologies about standards thus undermine the position and prestige of regional and social varieties, and also project a moral judgement by individuals whose linguistic practices differ from the standard and conform to, for

¹⁶⁵ Literary rendering of situations in which speakers of language varieties with different prestige – often regional varieties or social dialects v. the “standard” variety – mutually raise boundaries towards each other is attested already in Ancient Greek comedy (Colvin 1999: 119-167). Medieval French poets also addressed high prestige of the Parisian way of talking to a self-mocking effect. Not only dialect speech but also speakers' conflicting beliefs about the language they speak are often exploited to comic effect. Indices of individual speech (“voice”) construct personality in literature (cf. Friedrich 1977; Friedrich & Redfield 1978), of which the difference between Professor Higgins's and Colonel Pickering's speech, on the one hand, and the dustman Alfred Doolittle's and Eliza's on the other, is the most emblematic example. An instance of this from Hungarian literature is the Gypsy character, Sárközi's speech in Géza Gárdonyi's *Egri csillagok* (The eclipse of the crescent moon; English version by George Cushing). Early twentieth-century novelists Kálmán Mikszáth and Zsigmond Móricz make use of dialect in various ways. In a Hungarian-language context, the use of dialect means almost exclusively regional varieties, Sárközi, and in general “Gypsy speech” being one of the few exceptions (Bodó 2009). Another kind of “non-standard” talk in Hungarian literature is foreign speech.

instance, a regional or local variety. It was argued that English-language literacy was a considerable factor in Trinidadian cultural anchorage, and conflicting ideas about a Trinidadian-English speaker's belonging to "the same" speech community as a speaker of British English challenged the possibility of this anchorage. Selvon's invention of a literary variety for Trinidadian English contributed greatly not only to the "renaissance of the Trinidadian novel" but also to exploring the possibility of a Caribbean community anchoring itself in its own cultural heritage, namely in the intersection of native Caribbean traditions and English. This linguistic and cultural project, in turn, was a way for Selvon to express his individuality in literature, similarly to the way in which for Jacques Peletier du Mans his liberty to rhyme while also embracing Ancient Greek and Roman lyric traditions was a reflection of his individual position intermediate between earlier traditions and the poetics of the *Pléiade*.

This section explores the individual's position and possibilities with regards to language ideologies which are grounded in the primacy of a standard. In particular, we shall look at a fictional scene, in the first part, and language classroom discourses, in the second part, to address situations in which individuals lack the willingness or ability to accommodate, but may have a desire to subvert, the prestige variety imposed on them by the traditions and institutions of a normative linguistic culture. My secondary aim here is to test the usefulness of classroom discourses for sociolinguistic research: as loci of dissemination of various cultural and linguistic conventions – and often of dogmatism – settings such as the classroom are a forum for the compact and dense representations of language ideologies and conflicting attitudes towards standards.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ John E. Joseph (2004: 34) argues that the classroom is a social setting like any other, teaching and learning are social and linguistic activities like any other, and that classroom discourse plays a crucial part in the way in which specific interpretative traditions, such as languages, are formed and maintained. For Joseph, it is one of the tasks of sociolinguistics "[...] to account for how specific interpretative traditions come to be conventionalised, institutionalised, and passed on from generation to generation, within social groups of various sorts including the grouping we call the classroom." Because of limitations of space, in the second part of this section, I shall be able to provide only a sample of the possibilities which classroom discourse provides for the research of language attitudes. The setting which I discuss, more specifically, is the Hungarian as a foreign language classroom for heritage speakers of Hungarian in the UK. Over the past decade, a large number of works have explored the interconnectedness of language education and language ideologies (e.g. Donzelli 2012; Ros i Solé (2010; 2013). Čalić (forthcoming), for instance, explores language-classroom discourses with regards to attitudes towards, and naming conventions about, Serbo-Croat.

4.3.1 “Language terrorism”: subverting the norm

The prose passage to which I now turn is by the Belgian French-language author, Nicolas Ancion (b. 1971)¹⁶⁷. In his short story, *Bruxelles insurrection*, two “uneducated young men”, speakers of a youth slang of one of the Belgian regional varieties of French, kidnap a French academician (contributor to many authoritative French dictionaries, and branded by them as *cacadémicien* or *académichiant*) who travels to Brussels for a short holiday. The academician’s self-assured attitude to language is hinted at in the scene depicting his arrival at Brussel’s Gare du Midi, when he grinds his teeth upon hearing his young Belgian host call a ‘car park’ *parking* instead of the preferred *l’air de stationnement*. He also contemplates his good fortune which allows him to set foot in Brussels’s – for him – appalling and apocalyptic, multilingual setting only once in a third of a century (Ancion 2010: 41).¹⁶⁸ The kidnappers are not after the scholar’s money or valuables; their undertaking is an act of “linguistic terrorism”. Before the public humiliation of the great authority figure, they subject him to a gruelling test on matters of lexico-grammar and rules of syntax, as codified in the great dictionaries edited by the academician, whom they decide to call Paul. Here is an excerpt from the passages which take the reader through this reversed test situation:

- Bien, bien, temporise l’espèce de grand chef, Mossieu [sic!] Popaul a l’air d’être un chatouilleux de la syntaxe, un sensible de la subordonnée. Passons donc à la question suivante, elle est dans le même registre. Alors, Popaul, réponds-moi bien. Après *après que*, on met quoi?
- L’indicatif. [...]
- T’es sûr? Fais bien attention.
- Mais oui, crie le vieux, tout le monde sait ça. *Avant que* suivi du subjonctif, *après que* suivi de l’indicatif. Il n’y a pas plus clair.
- Tu es certain de ce que tu dis. T’y crois vraiment?
- Mais arrêtez, à la fin, vous allez me rendre fou !
- Alors, après *après que*, on met quoi?

¹⁶⁷ The dialogue is cited from Nicolas Ancion’s short story, *Bruxelles insurrection*, published in 2010 as part of the collection *Nous sommes tous des playmobiles*.

¹⁶⁸ Later, the academician’s attitude towards the regional dialects of Belgium, which, from his point of view, are seen as *one* variety, is described as follows (Ancion 2010: 52): “Le vieil homme déteste qu’on lui donne des leçons. Il adore apprendre. Il étudie depuis plus de soixante-dix ans avec toujours plus de bonheur mais il ne supporte pas les blancs-becs qui ne respectent rien. Encore moins quand ils parlent avec l’accent belge, en avalant la moitié de leurs mots. Articuler quand on parle, c’est la première des politesses, dit-il toujours à ses petits-enfants: la diction est le savoir-vivre des langues.” So, for him, it is “correct pronunciation”, and not actual speech, which is the primary attribute of language.

- L’indicatif, je vous dis.
- Non, Popaul. Tu vas bien m’écouter. Ce que je vais te dire est très important. Après *après que* on met ce qu’on veut. T’as compris? CE QU’ON VEUT. Qui t’es toi, vieux croulant, pour décider ce qu’on met après les mots, d’abord ?
- Mais, mais, ce n’est pas moi qui décide. C’est comme ça depuis toujours. C’est vrai à la fin, je n’ai rien fait, moi. C’est la grammaire qui est comme ça.

The young men demand freedom and equality of language from the respectable academician, both for their youth slang and for the dialects of Belgium. Their desire, as they explain, is to put an end to the Hexagon’s rule over language matters. They propose that it is announced in the French media, on a weekly basis, that “the French language belongs entirely to each and every one of its users, and it is our duty to make it as life-like as possible”. The passage about the subjunctive, cited above, is preceded by a “lexical exercise” in which “Popaul” is questioned not only about the dictionary definitions of certain terms but also about slang (e.g. *foufoune* continental French ‘pussy’, Canadian French ‘bum’, cf. American and British English *fanny*; “[p]as très éloignées l’une de l’autre, les foufounes” – they explain to the academician who was ignorant of the word before). The aim of the game is to point out the unequal treatment of terms belonging to various language varieties. The youths demand justice for words which are usually excluded from the “great dictionaries” of authority on the grounds that “their use is restricted to slang (*argot*)”, by arguing that the use of *antanaclase* (‘antanaclasis’), for instance, is no less restricted and argotic than that of *foufoune*, yet *antanaclase* makes it into all the dictionaries. The test moves on to syntax, when the young men notice that the academician frowns at their use of conditional verb forms in clauses introduced by the conditional conjunction *si*.¹⁶⁹ With the observation that the academician, whom they ironically and mockingly address in the cited passage as *Mossieu*, appears to be “tickled by syntax, he is sensitive to the subordinate”, they move on to discussing the subjunctive.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ According to rules of normative grammar only forms of the pluperfect or imperfect are allowed in such syntactic environments; the use of the conditional verb forms in clauses introduced by *si* is frequent in stigmatised varieties which are marked for class and lack of education of their speakers (for a more detailed discussion see section 4.4).

¹⁷⁰ The use of the subjunctive in contemporary French is restricted to certain specifiable subordinate contexts, most typically those following the main clause *il faut que* ‘it is necessary that’, and to fixed expressions; otherwise it never occurs in main clauses, and no semantic minimal pair with the indicative is possible. For these reasons Harris (2001b: 248) suggests that it has been eliminated as an independent modal category. In normative grammar, however, the

The reversed test situation – in which socially marginalised speakers of a stigmatised variety ask the questions and the academician is forced to reply – gradually turns into an interrogation concerning not only language but also social and cultural norms which “Popaul” stands for in the young men’s eyes. Questions such as *T’est sûr?* and *T’y crois vraiment?* – with an approximation in orthography of the pronunciation which is deemed as “sloppy” by the academician – serve the purpose of upsetting “the man of higher learning” as much as that of showing the young men’s sarcastic disbelief in the academician’s genuineness. The kidnapped purist is defenceless against the set of values and “new order” forced upon him by the young men, yet, when it comes to reformulating his ideas, he reiterates with a great deal of authority and dogmatism the truths he believes to be universal about language (e.g. “*Avant que* suivi du subjonctif, *après que* suivi de l’indicatif. Il n’y a pas plus clair”; cf. Galahad’s “no foolishness about it”). In a desperate attempt at self-defense, he attributes agency to language, or, more specifically, grammar, which, in his world view, comes across as an entity existing independently, and regardless of the linguistic behavior, of humans (“*C’est la grammaire qui est comme ça*”). A dramatic turn in the discourse is marked by the “interrogator” instructing Popaul to listen carefully (“*Tu vas bien m’écouter. Ce que je vais te dire est très important*”) as he provides the correct answer, or rather pronounces the verdict, in his role as educator-and-judge in the universe of reversed normative values. According to this verdict, “after [the conjunction] *après que* we put what we want” and academicians are deprived of their privilege to decide “what people should put after their words”.

The short passage under discussion pinpoints what the rest of the text spells out even more clearly, namely, that “the freedom fight for the cause of language” is most intricately intertwined with questions of social values and morality. It is no coincidence

subjunctive is a major preoccupation both in French as a foreign language textbooks and in French as a first language education, partly because the suppletive stems and intricate inflectional morphology which characterise the forms of the subjunctive are a popular area in testing language competence. As certain subordinate clauses use the subjunctive (after certain conjunctions and depending on the semantic features of the verb in the main clause), its mastery is also a prerequisite, and characteristics, of erudite language and discourses. One of the fictional “language terrorists” notes, while carrying the corpulent scholar up the stairs on his back, that this exercise was “worse than the subjunctive of the verbs in *-oir* or the Fables of La Fontaine” (Ancion 2010: 46).

that in one of the lexical “exercises”, the word for the academician to define is *abaissant* ‘degrading, disparaging’, and unlike in the case of *foufoune*, he finds the correct answer: “which makes one lose dignity or moral worth” (Ancion 2010: 55). According to the young men’s plea, when academicians like “Paul” utter a phrase (“by rolling it along [his] tongue with the help of the pulses of air which make it travel from the lungs through the vocal cords”)¹⁷¹, they themselves are “the bosses”, they are the only ones to judge. This is not so for the young men: their language is judged by others, and, as one of them argues, “the mistakes lie with he who judges, never with those who act” (Ancion 2010: 52). An even clearer connection is made between language and social attitudes when the interrogator-educator describes “Paul” as someone “who has always been told to respect the rules, salute the flags, and make agreement on past participles”. Elsewhere in the short story the same interrogator, who is also the 1SG narrator in the text, reminisces sarcastically over Belgium’s colonial past (the great urban mansions which were built in Brussels from the wealth of the colonies are now the homes, which are impossible to heat, of immigrants), and France’s authoritarian institutions which honour their great men even when they are dead (there are frequent ironic references to the “great dome” of the Pantheon).

Through their insurrection on language, the “freedom fighters” seek to subvert the system of values which marginalise *the likes of them* morally. They start rewriting the rules with an ironic and spectacular display of their refusal to accommodate the standard language through which the values that question their morality are maintained. In place of the language standards advocated by authoritative personalities and institutions, they put the norms of practice, which are inclusive of previously underestimated forms of speech, regional dialect, and youth slang. It is vital to understand that by discrediting institutionalised norms, they claim recognition and equal status for their own forms of language and themselves; in this framework, language becomes a source of individuality instead of a source of authority.

¹⁷¹ It is worth noting the sharp sarcasm with which the young man alludes to the physiological-biological (a.k.a. “nature”) and not the social (a.k.a. “convention”) aspect of language use. In this way, it comes across as even more absurd that some “academicians” should try to control it. After the biological allusion, the passage moves on to talk about other means of social control (“saluting flags”), thus crafting a tripod model of authority as resting upon, and ruling, nature, language, and society.

In order to replicate the dichotomy of individuality and authority in the language of the text, Nicolas Ancion invented a literary variety which imitates a form of slang and dialect speech, and which represents the young men's voice in the dialogues. The character of the academic is represented through standard French. More interestingly, however, this distinction between the voices is replicated in the narration. There are two narrators in the text: the one recounting the events from the academician's perspective "writes" in the third person and in standard French while the one narrating the events from one of the young men's point of view "speaks" in the first person and in the speech-like dialect form which Ancion invented. To summarise: the short story *Brussels insurrection* addresses questions related to class, nationalism, authority, and individuality through the lens of attitudes towards dogmatic discourses about grammar, standard language, and language standards. The relevance of the text for attitudes towards language lies in its assumption that standard language ideology works only if people agree to accept the "standard" language as a point of reference. Speakers' refusal to accommodate normative language features in their own speech flies in the face of prescribed forms of "standard usage" and undermines the presumed existence of standard language itself.

4.3.2 "That's not how it is right for me": possibilities, and limitations, of "converting" to the norm

The second part of Section 4.3 explores the personal dimension of attitudes towards language by contrasting the processes of learning and acquiring Hungarian, a Central-East European smaller state language in the context of UK higher education.¹⁷² In

¹⁷² In the literature of language policy-making in Europe, terms such as *smaller state language* have mushroomed over the past three decades, at least since the time of the earliest European involvement with matters related to language, i.e. the Arfé Resolution on a "Community charter of regional languages and cultures and on a charter of rights of ethnic minorities", which dates back to 16 October 1981. As an outcome of the resolution, the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL) was established in 1982, and later the Mercator Network (1987), a European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning was. These organisations and pieces of legislation aim to promote *lesser used, smaller state, small, regional and minority, or minorised languages* – to mention but a few terms that have been adopted to describe various languages in Europe. I have been unable to trace the origins of most of these terms to particular pieces of legislation, but *regional and minority languages* are defined in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages as languages "(i) traditionally used within a given territory of a State by

my discussion, I shall explore institutionalised traditions concerning language education in their European context, and I will argue that the foreign language classroom is a particularly suitable ethnographic scene for studying attitudes towards language (see e.g. Donzelli 2012), and sketch three types of learners' profiles (cf. Valdés, G. 2001), who are speakers of either Hungarian as a heritage language in the UK or Hungarian as a minority language in Romania. Heritage learners' attitudes towards language are part and parcel of their individual learner's profiles as much as the language-internal features of their language use.¹⁷³ I shall argue that in the teaching of Hungarian as a heritage language, learners' attitudes are a vital point to consider; first, they contribute to establishing a successful pedagogical framework; second, heritage-speaking learners' beliefs about contemporary standard Hungarian allow a better understanding of

nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; and (ii) different from the official language(s) of that State'; the term *regional and minority languages* does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the state or the languages of migrants according to the definition in the Charter. Instead, the term *non-territorial languages* is introduced to cover "languages used by nationals of the State which differ from the language or languages used by the rest of the State's population but which, although traditionally used within the territory of the State, cannot be identified with a particular area thereof". The circularity of the latter definition shows how even well-intentioned political attempts are grounded in the LANGUAGE IS A TERRITORY metaphor. In addition to the terms and definitions mentioned above, in the UK, the description *less widely used and lesser taught languages* (LWULT) is used, which reflects the position of a language in education. LWULT languages can be further divided into two groups: community languages and *other* languages. Community languages (Horvath & Vaughan 1991), also called heritage languages (Brinton et al. 2008), are languages that are spoken in a certain country by large immigrant groups or large minorities. *Other languages* are languages which are not taught in schools and which do not have a large number of speakers in the country in question. From the point of view of this chapter both *smaller state language* and *LWULT language* are of relevance in describing Hungarian because (although it is difficult to find a precise definition or detailed list specifying either of these terms) they both include languages which are largely absent as a second – or for that matter as a heritage – language from the curricula and education system of most countries in Europe.

¹⁷³ In accordance with a widely accepted definition of heritage languages by Valdés (2001) the term *heritage speaker* refers to those speakers of Hungarian who acquire the language in homes and families where the dominant language of the region (e.g. English in the UK) is not exclusively spoken. This covers approximately two million Hungarian speakers who live outside Central Europe, e.g. in the UK, France, Belgium, Italy, the United States, and Australia. Hence, *heritage speaker* is adopted in this chapter as an umbrella term to define groups of speakers in and outside Central Europe whose exposure to Hungarian is limited mostly to the home or to a particular community of speakers, rather than involving a variety of registers, including classroom discourses. Heritage speakers may have access to some kind of formal tuition, typically in weekend community schools or on lessons given by family members, for instance.

attitudes towards Hungarian – and standard language ideology (Bahun & Radunović 2012; Woolard & Schieffelin 1994) – in Hungary.

The interconnectedness of foreign language learning with imagination and processes of identity (cf. Norton 1995; 2000; Beltz 2002, Block 2007; Ros i Solé 2004) is nowhere as clear as in a heritage language context. Language acquisition in a bilingual setting – whether in a heritage or minority environment – has different features from, and consequences on, speakers' linguistic identity than in a predominantly monolingual setting (in Hungary) (cf. Val & Vinogradova 2010; Wallace 2004; Crawshaw & Callen & Tusting 2001). In an environment characterised by a degree of bilingualism, each language is *only one* of the denotational codes available for individuals in their interactions with others, while in a monolingual setting – as in most parts of Hungary – Hungarian is the only available option. Heritage and minority Hungarian speakers acquire Hungarian outside of Hungary and thus form a social and cultural identity inclusive of Hungarian in a different way from speakers of Hungarian in Hungary (Szilágyi 2003: 141-172 offers interesting insights about the overlaps between Transylvanian Romanian v. Romanian and Transylvanian Hungarian v. Hungarian processes of identity-formation). Furthermore, in bilingual environments one of the languages may have no official status (as is typical for heritage languages) and no provision in the official education system. Individuals' linguistic practices, which are most intimately intertwined with individuals' perception of self, are affected by the availability of institutions (or the lack thereof) – such as bilingual or heritage-language schools – as well as by the relative prestige of the heritage language.¹⁷⁴ As we shall see, the teaching of Hungarian as a heritage language is based on a fundamentally normative approach, which concentrates on language features of a variety of Hungarian which corresponds to the institutionalised traditions of “standard” language, as perceived, and

¹⁷⁴ This is obvious if we consider the difference between the perception of, for instance, English – French bilingualism and English – Hungarian bilingualism in the London setting. The former has its own institutions, private schools that provide bilingual education, and French is also one of the languages offered in the framework of the National Curriculum. Hungarian, for understandable reasons, is less well-known in the UK and is taught only in community-run weekend schools. I point out this difference because it is relevant from the point of view of the individual and their perception of their own bilingual practices.

conceived, by educators in Hungary.¹⁷⁵ As Hungarian is characterised by a monocentric view of language (Clyne & Kipp 1999), and a predominantly normative linguistic culture, teachers feel obliged to help learners familiarise themselves with the conventions of this tradition. There is an increasing interest today – as the “one nation: one language” ideology is gradually reinforced by political agents – in elucidating a pedagogical framework for best practice in transmitting contemporary standard Hungarian – and its institutionalised conventions – in bilingual, heritage-language environments. My interest in this subject lies only in exploring what we can learn about our own perceptions of Hungarian through the linguistic practices and attitudes towards language of those speakers who acquire Hungarian in a bilingual setting, and who are subsequently unconcerned – or concerned differently – by institutionalised conventions of Hungarian in Hungary.¹⁷⁶

The monocentric view of Hungarian, which assumes the relevance of a single standard variety to all speakers, has been challenged since the last decade of the twentieth century by a large number of studies which describe contact varieties of Hungarian in Central Europe (e.g. Csernicskó 1998; Göncz 1999; Kontra 2003a; Lanstyák 2000; 2006; Péntek 2005; 2008; Gal 1979; Bodó 2005) and beyond, especially in the United States (e.g. Kontra 1990; Bartha 1995a; 1995b; Fenyvesi 1998) and in Australia (Kovács 2005). Some of these works are also available in English (e.g. Bartha 1995/6; Fenyvesi 1995; 1995/6), and Fenyvesi (2005) is an all-encompassing volume in English on contact varieties of Hungarian. Since especially the mid-2000s, a growing number of works have also looked at the intersection of language and identity in bilingual settings and the way in which language ideologies and attitudes towards language influence linguistic behaviour in such settings (e.g. Bartha 1993; Csernicskó 2008; Fedinec 2008; Péntek 1999; Szilágyi 2003; 2008; Lanstyák 2009; Nádasdy 2011). Lanstyák & Szabómihály (1997)

¹⁷⁵ In contrast to English as a foreign language learning materials, no Hungarian as a foreign language textbook offers any samples of dialect speech or even regional varieties. The only exception I know of is the second edition of *Colloquial Hungarian* (Rounds & Sólyom 2011), where the recordings made with a speaker of an Eastern dialect Hungarian seem to be a mere coincidence.

¹⁷⁶ The analytical perspective which is required in this kind of study is best described by Joseph (2004: 3): “when we put [our own life experience of meeting and interacting with people] to work to construct the identity of someone else, we are constructing something that involves who *we* are at least as much, and often much more, than who *they* are”.

compared linguistic variables in Hungarian and Slovak secondary school students' Hungarian in Slovakia. While there appears to be general agreement about the fact that the teaching of Hungarian as a heritage language is of utmost importance (e.g. Giay 2006; Nádor 2007; Illés-Molnár 2009a), and there is a language-pedagogical fascination with the subject (e.g. Illés-Molnár 2008; 2009b), to my knowledge there are no studies which systematically explore attitudes towards language in contexts where Hungarian is taught as a heritage language, typically, outside of Central Europe. This lack of studies points to the fact that the significance of Hungarian in heritage speakers' language education and linguistic identity is taken for granted by educators and institutions which "provide guidance for" the teaching of Hungarian abroad – from Hungary. This attitude can be explained with the notion of reversed anchorage, in terms of which political actors, cultural agencies and institutions of education in Hungary see Hungarian-speaking communities abroad (including the countries surrounding Hungary) as a cultural asset which can be mobilised for political ends, and which function as a vehicle of strengthening the political and cultural weight of the Hungarian-speaking community (understood here in national terms) *inside* the borders of Hungary.¹⁷⁷

The extensive research on contact varieties of Hungarian and on ideas about language and standard, some examples of which have been listed above, seem to have had little impact on the language-ideological postures underlying the teaching of Hungarian as a heritage or as a foreign language. Language education, both in Hungarian as a first and as a foreign language, has remained largely normative, which means that educators and teachers are bound to project a view of Hungarian as a homogeneous entity with a clearly defined normative core, to the exclusion of variation. In accordance with this view, the thorough and detailed studies on varieties of Hungarian which have been influenced by English have remained largely unexplored in the various pedagogical frameworks which are proposed, mostly through teacher training programmes, for the teaching of Hungarian as a heritage language in countries

¹⁷⁷ Let us recall from Chapter 2 that this type of anchorage was termed *reversed* because it is usually a diaspora or a minority community which seeks anchorage through a language-and-culture which is of higher cultural prestige and/or has a more solid administrative backing (such as independent statehood), and of which members of the community seeking anchorage conceive as in some respect akin to their own language-and-culture.

with English as a majority language. Bodó (2014) provides an intriguing theoretical insight from a sociolinguistic perspective into why this might be the case. The range of Hungarian morphological variants which are investigated in sociolinguistic research, Bodó argues, is rather limited. He suggests that the reason for this limited range is that researchers study only those variables for which one of the variants corresponds to the one prescribed in “standard” Hungarian.¹⁷⁸ In other words, sociolinguistic research is influenced by a view of linguistic variation which is biased towards a single – imagined – language variety. This research practice indiscriminately, and perhaps unwillingly, is underpinned by the primacy of the “standard” and excludes the possibility of investigating the influence of “non-standard” varieties on each other. Even studies which are critical of the “ideology of a single standard” (such as many of those cited above; Bodó mentions Lanstyák 2009), and pinpoint the significance of local varieties for speakers of Hungarian – for instance, in Slovakia – explore features of local varieties *in relation to* the “standard”. In this light, a higher degree of awareness and accommodation of variation in language teaching – and the view of Hungarian as a pluricentric language – remains a far cry, and, at best, an exciting theoretical possibility.

To return to linguistic behaviour which characterises classroom practices, language teaching involves a normative posture by its very nature, not least because language examinations and testing systems are based on standardised levels of competence, measured against criteria laid down in frames of reference (such as the CEFR, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages). In the case of languages with a less clear orientation towards a single “standard” than Hungarian, levels of competence are established and measured regardless of the variety in which the learner attained a particular level of competence.

The following example illustrates the challenge that this normative posture represents in the practice of teaching and examining heritage speakers in a language

¹⁷⁸ For instance, the usage described as *nákolás* is one such variable: by analogy with other verb paradigms, some speakers use the 1SG personal suffix **-nák* to mark the conditional present, although in this form there is only a front-vowel variant, *-nék*, to the suffix in “standard” (“educated”, “cultured”, etc.) Hungarian. In this variable (i.e. the use of the 1SG personal suffix in the conditional), one of the variants (which permits the use of only *-nék* in this position) corresponds to the “standard”. The other variant (*nákolás*) is therefore “non-standard” or even “substandard”.

with a strong orientation towards a single standard, such as Hungarian. In 1981, a decade before the first studies were published on contact varieties of Hungarian with English (see Kontra 1990) Peter Sherwood, then Chief Examiner for Hungarian A and O levels (the latter is the predecessor of the current GCSE) in the UK, presented an interesting idea in his report about O level examinations conducted among heritage speakers of Hungarian in Australia. I cite passages from this document at length because, as its sole purpose was to provide feedback on the way in which language examinations were conducted, the report was never published. Nevertheless, it was perhaps in this report that the idea of Hungarian as a potentially pluricentric language (to use the modern terminology) was first suggested, with all its implications concerning language features which are reinforced by classroom practices, and which speakers may conceive of as “Hungarian”. In determining the standards for marking Hungarian O level examinations in Australia, the report suggests, “[...] it is necessary to raise a serious sociolinguistic matter: what do we mean by *Hungarian*?” In the following part of this discussion I cite Sherwood’s reasoning in full.

If we take English as a comparison, there are several “Englishes”: American English, Indian English, and so forth. If all (or even a majority) of Indian speakers of English, for example, use continuous forms of stative verbs [...], these are not deemed “incorrect”; rather, they are recognised as forms of Indian English. There is indeed a literary-linguistic consciousness of Indian English for most speakers. We may note that two factors have, above all, made this kind of situation possible: “English” may be found spoken all over the world, and there is no English Academy to lay down “Rules of Correct English”. If we now compare the situation of Hungarian we see interesting differences. Even though perhaps one in three speakers of Hungarian do not live in the Hungarian People’s Republic (as it then was – E. T.), the overwhelming majority – perhaps 13 million out of 15 million – do live in a very compact area of Central Europe [...] in societies highly regulated in many ways, including, from the linguistic point of view, the existence of Academies which (inter alia) lay down firm and clear “rules” about linguistic “correctness”. These rules [do not] necessarily reflect anything like “majority usage” [...] but they do provide a “standard Hungarian” which is used, even if in a crude and theoretically highly undesirable way, as an index of general “educatedness” and “culturedness”. (I use these terms to make clear the fact that I do not identify these with “education” and “culture”.) Now, I see two possible relationships between Hungarian as understood in Central Europe and the Hungarian being examined in Australia (or indeed any part of the world outside of Central Europe). The first and in many ways the simplest approach is to say that the norms of contemporary Central European Hungarian (CEH), written and spoken, should serve Hungarian speakers in Australia (England, USA, etc.) [...] In practical terms, too, it is easy to say what is “correct” or “incorrect” Hungarian: one simply applies the Academy rules. The other possibility is more interesting but more problematical. It could be argued that Australians do not need to meet the “norms” of CEH, but only those of Australian (British, American, etc.) Hungarian (AH); one need

only to think in terms of a type or form of Hungarian appropriate for and used in Australian (British, American, etc.) forms of behaviour and ways of life.”

The reasoning cited above is illustrated with an example from the examination papers which were submitted for the Hungarian O level examinations in Australia in 1981. Eight out of nine candidates used *nehezen dolgozni* for ‘work hard’, a solution which was also confirmed by the teacher as correct; in standard Hungarian (CEH) *nehezen dolgozni* would mean something like ‘work with difficulty’ while ‘work hard’ is *keményen dolgozni*. The examiner’s report then concludes as follows:

I cannot really talk about AH norms on the basis of the material I have seen, but I urge graduate students of linguistics with a knowledge of CEH *and* AH to undertake a full scale study of AH, so that a coherent modern theory of AH can be developed. It is in my view very important to take the latter of the two possible relationships outlined here very seriously. Alas, until there *is* a fully worked out account of AH, a properly developed consciousness of AH, and a body of literature in AH (cf. Indian English above), I do not think it is realistic to adopt this approach. Consequently, I must regard both examiners and examinees as being “wrong” in writing and approving *nehezen dolgozni* and in all the other ways in which they do not adopt (or, even, are not aware of) CEH norms.

There are various important points to be made about these passages’ take on the relationship between linguistic variation and possible responses to single “standard” varieties in language education. First, the reasoning builds on all factors which were delineated earlier (especially in Chapter 3) as central to the establishment of language varieties which are to become suitable vehicles for channelling people’s linguistic identity. These factors include, first and foremost, a systematic uncovering – in grammars and in poetic texts – of the features of the variety which is to become “the standard” (“a fully worked out account of AH”). Other key factors are a developing linguistic consciousness, and a body of codified texts (“literature”) to which everyday speech can be compared. The role of academies in sealing the position of standard languages is also discussed. As we have seen, the first one of these steps – the description of contact varieties of Hungarian with English – was undertaken with regards to American Hungarian in the early 1990s, and, more recently, Australian Hungarian. Yet, the major impetus for reconsidering Hungarian as a language inclusive of various standard varieties was provided by research on Central European contact varieties of Hungarian. It is worthy of note that the report treats Central European Hungarian as a single variety. This is justified inasmuch as it is in Central Europe that

speakers of Hungarian live in the largest numbers and as members of a continuum. Since 1981, however, research has shown that there is a considerable difference between local varieties along this continuum, which raised the hotly debated question of various regional and (in the Central European area) national standards for Hungarian.¹⁷⁹ As I mentioned earlier, this body of scholarship has contributed to the rethinking of standard language ideology with regards to Hungarian, at least on the part of professional linguists. Matters of identity and language maintenance in Hungarian speech communities in Central Europe outside of Hungary also had their part to play in this “rethinking” of Hungarian as a pluricentric language (cf. Kontra & Saly 1998). Finally, as the passages cited above are taken from a document which, to all intents and purposes, served the needs of teaching and examining Hungarian as a heritage or foreign language, practical considerations also come into play among the recommendations made by the examiner. According to these recommendations, for want of a real alternative, the teaching and examination of Hungarian should be aligned with “norms” of Central European usage, as codified by the Hungarian Academy.

The examiner’s report, precisely because of its practical, pedagogical commitments, underlines the points which I made earlier about the fact that language teaching is inevitably bound up with an orientation towards normative linguistic practices. This orientation towards a “standard” variety has serious consequences for language classroom discourses and for the options that are available to teachers in practice. As we now know, the second option recommended in the examiner’s report, namely, the possibility of working out an independent Hungarian koine for varieties spoken outside of the Central European continuum, remained only a theoretical possibility. Since 1981 the question seems to have been decided in favour of the first option, that is, the adoption of the “standard” variety – as understood by speakers and institutions in Hungary – in Hungarian language education abroad, including settings in which Hungarian is taught as a heritage language.¹⁸⁰ “One must be very practically

¹⁷⁹ Nádasdy (2011) points out that in the 1970s there was little awareness of the extent to which these regional varieties of Hungarian differed from each other, even among educated members of the public in Hungary.

¹⁸⁰ As we have seen, the monocentric view of Hungarian, which privileges an imagined, single “standard” variety, although it has been contested by a considerable body of sociolinguistic research, has changed very little since 1981. This view of language – although, as we saw, it

mindened, when it comes to language teaching” (*A nyelvoktatás szempontjából nagyon pragmatikusnak kell lenni*) – as a lecturer speaking about Hungarian as a heritage language pointed out recently (for details, see Footnote 180).

After having looked at institutional practices and attitudes towards language which underpin the teaching of Hungarian as a heritage language from the teacher’s perspective, I shall now turn to the last part of this analysis in order to explore briefly the issues discussed so far from the learners’ perspective. Specifically, I shall provide examples of individual heritage learners’ reactions to situations in which they come up against normative postures towards Hungarian in the language classroom. Such normative, erudite attitudes, and the forms of language that correspond to them, are different from, and overlap only partially with, heritage speakers’ forms of behaviour and ways of life which find their expression in Hungarian. The *acquisition* of heritage languages by definition takes place in the home, in the family, and in less formal settings

permeates even sociolinguistic research into the contact varieties and linguistic variables of Hungarian – is particularly pervasive in discourses of language education. In spring 2015 I participated in a training day held at the Balassi Institute Hungarian Cultural Centre in London by the Head of the Hungarian as a Foreign Language Department of the Balassi Institute in Budapest. The audience consisted largely of non-linguists, many of whom had no prior training in teaching Hungarian, but who provide voluntary teaching support in Hungarian community weekend schools in the UK. While answering audience members’ questions concerning the way in which forms that deviate from the Hungarian “standard” in heritage learners’ utterances (mostly young learners in the UK) should be handled, the speaker specified that it would be wrong to treat such utterances as “mistakes” but learners should be told that “educated speakers do not use language in this way” (*a művelt beszélők / a művelt nyelvben ezt nem használják*) or that “in Budapest they don’t say it like that” (*így Budapesten nem mondják*). While these responses reflect a progressive, additive model of language teaching, according to which “standard” forms are added to locally used forms of speech, they also pinpoint the value-laden postures underlying the “standard”. As it was also explained in the examiner’s report cited above, these – imagined – forms of speech are associated with “educatedness”, “culturedness”, and – perhaps as a result of increasing awareness of regional varieties since the early 1990 – also with the Budapest-based, urban ways of speaking. According to these attitudes, the imaginary heartland of the – also imaginary – single Hungarian “standard” is to be found among the educated and cultured speakers in Hungary’s capital city (on the socio-cultural significance of the language of the city historically, see Jespersen 1946 [1965]: 57-64; and in Hungary Jones 2013: 117). While the speaker was clearly in favour of an additive learning model, it was also specified that at some stage in the learning process, heritage learners are expected to start producing words and lexis which their peers who live in Hungary would use (*Elkezdjük azokat a szavakat, szókincset elvárni, amit a velük egykorú magyarországi gyerekek tudnak.*) On the subject of testing and examinations, in response to a question about forms that show the influence of English or regional dialects, it was pointed out that the ECL language examination, the only testing system which is currently available for heritage learners of Hungarian in the UK, is aligned with the “standard” (*a sztenderdhez van igazítva*).

than the language classroom. The present study was inspired by a small class of heritage speakers which I taught over four years at University College London between 2008 and 2012. Although the classes included other, non-heritage learners of Hungarian, four to five weekly contact hours over the four years allowed me to gather data from three heritage speakers of different linguistic background, follow the development of these learners' language skills, and observe their attitude towards classroom practices which involve "standard" Hungarian.¹⁸¹

At the start of the course, the heritage learners' oral fluency was approximately at level B1+ according to the CEFR scale. They were conversant in Hungarian on a number of topics, whose range was, however, limited to familiar subjects from everyday life.¹⁸² They had never studied how to read and write Hungarian prior to the start of the course,

¹⁸¹ The data on which the present discussion is based comes from three different types of sources: written work by the three heritage speakers who attended the classes, recorded material based on presentations and guided conversations with the same students, and my own observations. Between 2008 and 2012 three heritage speakers of Hungarian attended academic Hungarian courses for Bachelor degree students: two second generation speakers of Hungarian from the same family in the North of England, and one from South-East Transylvania, Romania, who had lived, worked, and studied in the UK for six or seven years before attending my classes. The written work consisted of translations, grammar exercises, and unguided and unsupervised short essays written by students in their first year, as well as essays on everyday topics and on slightly more academic subjects written in the second and third years of study. Recorded material, which I transcribed, consists of presentations given by students in a semi-controlled environment (on topics that were discussed in advance), free conversations between students and teachers, and discussions with students about their perceptions of studying Hungarian. The written data amounts to approximately one hundred pages of hand-written and typed material, while the recordings add up to 1.5–2 hours. This type of data is non-representative and is unsuitable for quantitative analysis, nor is statistical precision my aim here. The examples serve rather the purpose of illustration in the analysis.

¹⁸² I have collected and grouped sixteen types of features in which heritage speakers' usage was different from "standard" Hungarian. These types, however, show a great variation from student to student. The heritage speaker from Romania – whom I treat as a heritage speaker contrary to the Hungarian practice because of the student's lack of exposure to formal education in Hungarian prior to the start of the course – shows speech patterns which are consistently different from those two students' speech who were raised in the UK. The two UK-born heritage learners' speech shows patterns of differences from the "standard" similar to those described by Fenyvesi (1998), who describes fifty-two types of such "deviations". A detailed presentation of this data would expand the scope of this discussion in ways which are not practicable here. In Appendix E, I provide samples of the students' idiosyncratic usage and forms of Hungarian which match some of the categories described by Fenyvesi (1998). For ease of reference, I shall label the students as S1 (the older sibling out of the two who were born in the UK), S2 (the younger sibling in the same family) and S3 (the student who was originally from Romania).

hence, they were enrolled on a beginners' course.¹⁸³ The class in question was a complex sociolinguistic setting, which consisted of two or three other learners (depending on the year) studying Hungarian as a foreign language, and another student who was a native speaker of Hungarian from Hungary. In this setting, heritage speakers' individual linguistic practices came into contact with each other and with the variety which provided the basis of the linguistic material that was taught. Thus, heritage speakers had the opportunity to contrast their individual varieties with various other forms of Hungarian: "foreign" (as it was learned by non-heritage students) and "standard" (as it was taught). This setting also allowed the expression of contrasting attitudes to language classroom discourses whose purpose was to discuss, and later also have discussions in, "standard" Hungarian.

The three heritage learners were highly motivated and driven to learn "to read and write Hungarian". Occasionally, matters of correctness came into question; e.g. *én nem tudok mindent úgy, mint ahogy Magyarországon mondják* "I don't know everything the way they say it in Hungary"; *azok, akik voltak a magyar iskolába, szépebben* (NB) *beszélnek* "those who went to Hungarian school speak better [more beautifully]". Yet the goals of S2 and S3 – who did not study Hungarian as one of their major subjects – were hardly ever formulated as "to learn better Hungarian". To their mind – and quite rightly so – they *knew* Hungarian; their desire was not to develop a new way of knowing Hungarian, they just wanted to add literacy skills to the language which was for them "their" Hungarian. S1's attitude was rather different. This student took Hungarian as a major subject, as part of a joint honours degree in German and Hungarian, and also went on a year abroad to Vienna and Budapest. Unlike the two other learners, S1 had an acute awareness of, and preoccupation with, the ways in which her "Hungarian(ness)"¹⁸⁴ (cf. Sherwood 2002 on *magyarság*) was different from those living in Hungary, both

¹⁸³ Determining heritage speakers' language competence according to scales which have been worked out for foreign language learners is problematic, and it is part of the complexity of the issues discussed here. The level of proficiency that heritage v. non-heritage speakers reach cannot be described by the terms "higher" and "lower". It is more appropriate to say that the way they reach proficiency is different, and, as a result, their strengths and weaknesses will be different, too, throughout the learning process, but not always in ways in which we would expect, and the stages of their progression are certainly not consistent with learners of Hungarian as a foreign language.

¹⁸⁴ *Hungarianness* is my way of putting it: the students never used such terms to describe their quest.

linguistically and in terms of personality. Despite their strong motivation to master the written medium, S2 and S3 often struggled to suspend their disbelief when they encountered forms which were unavailable in their linguistic repertoire. Their imagination – which has been shown to play a key part in language learning (Fenoulhet & Ros i Solé 2010; Ros i Solé 2013) – was usually blocked by situations in which they encountered highly learned variants or normative forms of usage.¹⁸⁵ These forms were outside the students' linguistic repertoire prior to the start of the course, and were, for them, also excluded from what they thought of as "Hungarian". While S1 showed a keenness to adapt her speech and writing to accommodate forms which were represented in the classroom discourse as belonging to Hungarian (that is, the variety used by the teacher, represented in textbooks, and, as it were, "spoken in Hungary")¹⁸⁶ such forms were often met by resistance and a defensive attitude on the part of the two other students. This resistance, or disbelief, often found its expression in comments by the students such as "Do you really say that?" and "I have never heard this in my life." As the course progressed, and over several years, students developed an increasing awareness of the difference between their individual varieties and the language taught on the course. Similarly, their attitude towards this difference was also becoming clearer to them. After having studied Hungarian language *and* literature for three years, and having spent a period of study in Budapest, S1 adapted her speech to accommodate forms to which she had been exposed in these learning environments. She even attempted, with medium success, to level out differences between her pronunciation (influenced by English and a regional variety of Hungarian) and what she heard as

¹⁸⁵ Examples which startled the students included, at beginner level, the notorious *ikes* conjugation of a subgroup of verbs, in which the marking of 1SG by the suffix *-Om* is the prestige variety while *-Ok* is more common in certain social environments of low prestige (cf. Kontra 2003b: 109-112; Bodó 2014: 269-270). The students felt better acquainted with the variant of low prestige and were reluctant to start using the variant prescribed by normative postures. (It is imperative to note that *normative* reflects the social prestige of the variant and not actual usage in Hungary.) Once the normative variety – represented in a separate section in all Hungarian as a foreign language textbooks with which I am familiar – was introduced and practised in class, the students' attitude switched to hypercorrection: verbs which do not belong to the *ikes* type were suffixed with *-ik* in 3SG, in which the difference between the *ikes* group and other verb types is morphological and there is no social variation (e.g. *teszik* instead of *tesz* was used in writing with the meaning 's/he puts'; cf. "standard" Hungarian *teszik*: *tesz-ik* 'put'-3PL.DEF).

¹⁸⁶ It is perhaps a significant difference between S1 and the two other learners that S1 attended classes in Hungarian literature, too, while the two other students studied "only" the language.

“standard” pronunciation. S2 and S3 attained a greater oral and written fluency in *their own dialect*; erudite forms of writing (such as complex expository prose) and normative variants, however, remained largely beyond their linguistic repertoire. The shift in the students’ level of awareness and attitude towards the “standard” variety is summed up in a comment by S3 towards the end of their course of study, when this student, after having encountered, in a text, a “standard” variant remarked: *Hát tudom, hogy úgy jó, én elhiszem, de hát én nem tudom úgy mondani, ha nekem nem úgy van jól* (“I know that’s the right way [of saying it], I believe it, but I cannot say it that way, if that’s not how it is right for me”).

In the last part of this discussion I shall illustrate with a specific example – taken from the early stages of the course the students attended – the challenge that heritage learners’ oral fluency represents to the development of their literacy skills in the heritage language. This example was chosen because it shows the learners’ first encounter with the written medium in the language in which they have oral fluency, and which, in turn, functions as a building block of their perception of self.

Figure 1 in Appendix E shows the vowel inventory of standard Hungarian (for details see Abondolo 2006: 429-430; Nádasdy 1985: 225-246). Figures 2 (on S1 and S2) and 3 (on S3) show the vowel inventory of the three students’ speech. The phonetic realisation of vowels which characterised only these students’ speech, and were different from the variants used by the teacher and in audio materials belonging to textbooks, are marked with the symbol [*]. I must stress that this is not to imply that I consider the students’ pronunciation “wrong” in any way. Below I discuss only a few features of these students’ Hungarian vowel inventory, particularly those which represented a challenge in the teaching and learning of Hungarian orthography whose principles are based on standard Hungarian.

Figure 2 in Appendix E shows the differences between the standard inventory and the vowels in those heritage speakers’ speech whose dominant language is English (S1 and S2). As is obvious from Figure 2, these heritage speakers’ Hungarian vowel inventory bears traces of both their English dialect and a Hungarian regional variety. Figure 2 in Appendix E shows that the distinction in vowel length was eliminated in most cases (cf. vowels shown against a dark background), especially in high vowels (a

trend that exists in standard Hungarian, too). These students had a tendency to substitute non-low front rounded vowels (long and short), as well as the back vowels [u] and [u:], by a more central vowel of approximately the same tongue height.¹⁸⁷ The realisation of /i/, because of English interference, was also more central (and open) than in standard Hungarian. This substitution in pronunciation led to a regular confusion of the spelling of *és* <és> ‘and’ with *is* <is> ‘too, as well, also, even’. Interestingly, while the students produced long high front vowels in English (e.g. in *BBC* [bibisi:]), these were absent from their Hungarian inventory. The part of Hungary from where these students’ grandparents migrated to the UK, and where the students spent most of their summer holidays, lacks the long v. short distinction in high front vowels; e.g. *fűnyíró* [fɥɲi:ro]; *híreket* [hirekæt]. In this Western regional pronunciation of Hungarian¹⁸⁸, the non-high front unrounded short vowel has two variants, [ɛ]:[e], and the opposition is both systemic and phonemic, unlike in standard Hungarian, in which the opposition is non-phonemic. Figure 3 below illustrates the possible realisations of /ɛ/ in the standard, in the Western regional variety, and in the students’ Hungarian.

Figure 3: Non-high front unrounded short vowel inventories

| | phoneme | pronunciation | orthography | comments |
|-----------|---------|-----------------|---------------|---|
| Standard | /ɛ/* | [[e]]* | <e>; (<ë>**) | *no difference in standard pronunciation, non-phonemic; **folklorists and linguists occasionally mark the mid-high [e] in writing; Kodály militated for introducing it in standard spelling; ***S1 and S2’s pronunciation vacillated between a range of low unrounded short vowels; |
| | | [ɛ]* | | |
| Regional | /e/ | [e] | <e> | |
| | /ɛ/ | [ɛ] [æ] | | |
| S1 and S2 | /e/ | [e] | <á>, <a>, <e> | |
| | | [ə] | | |
| | /ɛ/ | [æ] ([a]***) | | |

¹⁸⁷ Usually, the overall features of these students’ non-standard pronunciation of vowels, which is under discussion, were more clearly felt in the younger sibling’ speech. This is unsurprising not only because the older one of the siblings was a full-time student of languages (Hungarian and German) while the younger one read history, but also because the first born of the two – as is usually the case with heritage speakers – had more exposure as a child to the regional variety spoken by the grandparents and fewer possibilities to use English and Hungarian simultaneously (she had no English-speaking siblings around in the first few years of her life).

¹⁸⁸ Incidentally, the students’ grandparents migrated from the same region in the Upper-Balaton area, where Lajos Lőrincze (cf. Chapter 1, Footnote 12) was born.

In addition to the /ɛ:/e/ distinction, the realization of the phoneme /ɛ/ in the western Hungarian regional variety is often lower, closer to [æ] than to [ɛ]. The students' variety of English also clearly distinguished [æ] and [ɛ]. Thus, in these students' speech there was a clear distinction between the two possible phonetic realisations of /ɛ/, usually [ɛ] or [e], and the difference was further enhanced by the lowering of [ɛ] to [æ], and at times even to [a]. The teacher's variety and published course materials lack this distinction. As Figure 3 above (and Figure 1 in Appendix E) shows, the grapheme <e> in "standard" Hungarian may represent both the [e] and the [ɛ] variant of /ɛ/, as well as the entire range of non-high, front unrounded short vowels that exist in regional varieties. As these students' pronunciation and perception of vowels involved a third, lower, variant, [æ], a confusion arose between the graphemes representing in orthography the two low unrounded vowels, [æ] and [a], which are present in these students' inventory and which are variants of either different phonemes (/ɛ/ and /a:/, respectively, as in standard Hungarian) or the same phoneme (/ɛ/). The confusion between <e> and <á>, and even <a>, stems from the realisation of /ɛ/ as [æ], which is written as <e>, v. /a:/ as [a:], which is written as <á>. The following are a few examples of this confusion: *ember* 'person, human being', standard Hungarian <ember>, incorrectly spelled by students as *<ámber>; *elment* 's/he left, went away', standard Hungarian <elment>, spelled as *<álment>; *bejött* 's/he came in', standard Hungarian <bejött> spelled as *<bajött>.

The [e] v. [ɛ] or [æ] distinction in these students' speech was more systematic in the older sibling's utterances. This distinction was exploited for pedagogical purposes, in the teaching of Hungarian nouns stem types and the affixation of primary suffixes (such as PL -*k*, ACC -*t*, and the 1SG, 2SG, 2PL possessive suffixes -*m*, -*d*, -*tOk*). A number of historic noun stems which have a thematic vowel /ɒ/ or /ɛ/ (historically stem-final vowels which have been reduced and eliminated in other contexts) affix the plural, accusative, and possessive suffixes above with the low vowels which are represented in the orthography as <a> and <e>; hence *háza-t*: 'house'-ACC, <házat> and *könyve-t*: 'book'-ACC, <könyvet>. The latter is pronounced as [könyvɛt] in standard Hungarian while in these students' pronunciation it is [könyvæt] (I show in transcription only the vowel which is relevant to this discussion, the words are otherwise given in Hungarian orthography). The productive linking vowels in the suffixes listed above, however, are

mid-vowels with one back and two front (unrounded and rounded) variants: [o]:[e]:[ø], in orthography <o>:<e>:<ö>; hence *kalap-ot*: ‘hat’-ACC, *gyerek-et*: ‘child’-ACC, *török-öt*: ‘Turk’-ACC. Now, *gyereket* in standard pronunciation is [gyɛɛkɛt] but in the students’ pronunciation it is [gyæɛkɛt]. In standard Hungarian, typically, there is no difference in pronunciation or in orthography between the unrounded vowels with which for instance the accusative, as in the examples given above, is affixed [könyvɛt], [gyɛɛkɛt], and <könyvet>, <gyereket>, but the difference is audibly perceptible in the students’ pronunciation: [könyvæt] v. [gyæɛkɛt]. Thus, these students’ pronunciation, especially S1’s, where the distinction is made more systematically, served to illustrate the systemic – and historical – difference between the two noun-stem types, which, in the back vowel paradigm, is also obvious in standard pronunciation and orthography (*házat* v. *kalapot*). This is usually a challenging area of Hungarian morphology for *ab initio* learners; the heritage learners’ “non-standard”, regional pronunciation helped making the distinction clear and served as an *aide-memoire* for other learners, too. The fact that their “special skill” was put to use in the formal and normative discourse of the classroom increased these learners’ confidence by pinpointing that the “non-standard” features of their pronunciation were systematic and regular, too. In the example explained above, these “non-standard” features even contributed to highlighting a feature of “standard” Hungarian which was less than obvious in regulated varieties of the language (such as the teacher’s speech or textbook materials).

Figure 3 in Appendix E shows that there was only one feature in the third student’s pronunciation of vowels which differed significantly from the realisations found in learning materials and in the teacher’s speech. As opposed to the standard Hungarian distinction between mid-high and low back rounded vowels, /o:/:/ɔ/, this students’ native dialect (an Eastern dialect of Hungarian, spoken near Braşov, (Brassó) Romania) has an [ɔ] variant for /ɔ/. In the student’s speech /ɔ/ is usually realised as [ɔ] but [ɒ] also occurs in some stressed syllables. The phoneme /o/ is realised as [o], but /a:/ on a few occasions is realised as rounded [ɒ:]. Thus, the distribution of back rounded vowels in this student’s speech shows an arrangement which characterises her native dialect although her use of the variants for the various phonemes shows little consistency (the phonetic realisation of the same phoneme in the same environment

wavers between the two variants). Despite the fact that the student's dominant native language was Romanian and she had lived in the UK for many years, studied and worked in English, neither Romanian nor English seems to have influenced this student's pronunciation. The distribution of back rounded vowels presented a great challenge in this student's endeavour to learn to write Hungarian; a challenge which became a source of anxiety and was never fully overcome. This student had a tendency to perceive back rounded vowels of "standard" Hungarian as either higher or lower than they are, and represented them in orthography accordingly. The substitution of <o> with <u> and <a> with <o> are instances of this. Thus, *sok* 'many' appeared in S3's written texts as <sok>, *<suk>, and even *<sak>; the spelling of *sokat* (*sok-at*: *sok*-ACC; standard Hungarian <sokat>) as <sukot>, and *akkor* 'then, so' as <akar> (cf. standard Hungarian *akar* 's/he wants', written as <akar>) are further examples of this.¹⁸⁹ The confusion between /a:/ and /ɔ/ is shown in the rendering in orthography of *bajos* 'troublesome' (standard Hungarian <bajos>) as <bájos>, which, incidentally corresponds to Hungarian *bájos* 'charming' (standard Hungarian <bájos>). The last examples show that the mismatches between this student's perception and pronunciation of rounded back vowels and the pronunciation provided by the teacher and in audio materials belonging to the textbooks through which writing was taught, affected this student's written production not only in terms of orthographic representation but also in terms of understanding morphology and lexis.

Regional and idiosyncratic features of the students' pronunciation impeded their learning of standard Hungarian orthography in a variety of ways. As students were used to hearing Hungarian in their own pronunciation, or in the way in which people in their Hungarian-native environment speak, initially they struggled to adapt their hearing to the teacher's pronunciation, which was based on standard Hungarian (insofar as a "pronunciation based on standard Hungarian" is a real possibility and not a mere abstraction). All these students read subjects in the humanities but none of them had training in linguistics, so, it would have been overly time-consuming to use symbols of

¹⁸⁹ I owe these examples to Soma Selmeczy, a Hungarian native-speaking student who attended the same classes as the three heritage speakers, and who initially drew my attention to the systematic correspondence between the phonetic realization of vowels in S3's speech and her spelling errors.

transcription or phonetic descriptions of sounds. Therefore, what was expected of these heritage learners was to learn an orthography for a language in some spoken registers of which they were fluent, and to learn this orthography based on a pronunciation (the one found in textbook materials and the teacher's), which was unusual for them. So, even if the students succeeded in matching the sounds they thought they heard in class with symbols in the orthography, in order to write their own texts¹⁹⁰ in Hungarian they had to make another connection: one between their own pronunciation and the sounds they heard in learning materials. Typically, the correspondence between vowels in their own pronunciation and in audio recordings remained unsystematic for the students; as a result, they were also uncertain about matching the vowels in their own pronunciation with the appropriate graphemes in Hungarian orthography. In this light, heritage learners' oral fluency might be a detriment rather than an advantage inasmuch as their oral fluency is of little help – it is rather a source of frustration – when they try to improve their literacy skills in the heritage language. Oral fluency in the heritage language might become a source of frustration because it is a skill that these students thought – rightly – they had; so, unlike learners of Hungarian as a foreign language, heritage learners have a personal “standard” (their own oral fluency) compared to which they measure the relatively “slow” progress and “low” level of their literacy.

The above reasoning points to an important difference between students who *learn* a language as a foreign language and heritage learners who *acquired* – at least certain registers – of the language at home. The former process, *learning*, is obviously a conscious process from the outset. Students usually know why they sit in a classroom and – in broad terms – what they can expect as a result of being there (understanding how Hungarian participial constructions work, for instance). The latter process, *acquiring*, which describes more precisely what heritage learners and native speakers do in their early childhood, is initially not at all conscious. It is usually in an educational setting that speakers become aware of language, during the first writing classes in primary school for instance. Hence, heritage speakers of, in this case, Hungarian develop an abstract awareness of language through a medium other than Hungarian (S1 and S2

¹⁹⁰ In my use of *text* in this instance I include any kind of written output such as compositions, letters, short essays, but also Hungarian solutions to grammar exercises and translations into Hungarian.


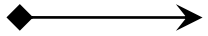

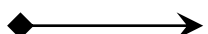
through English and S3 in Romanian) and subsequently through a number of foreign languages (S1 in German, S3 in English, Yiddish, and Hebrew). When encountering the heritage language in a formal, educational setting – which also expected these particular learners to pass university-level language examinations at the end of each year – heritage speakers have to transfer their abstract knowledge about language to a medium of which they had never thought in abstract terms before. Developing an abstract, analytical approach to the language whose use for heritage learners had been reserved to the most personal settings so far, is a prerequisite to literacy and also to understanding literary, learned registers. Students' understanding of the language of their childhood, family life, and informal interactions in terms of abstractions had to develop fast, even too fast, considering the cognitive obstacles they had to overcome.

The processes of acquisition and learning are, in some way, reversed in heritage students' classroom practices compared to their peers who learn Hungarian – or any other language – as a foreign language. If heritage learners have a relatively high level of oral fluency¹⁹¹, this fluency is a result of *acquiring*. If they lack knowledge of the orthography, written registers, and abstract rules for interaction – like the learners in this case study did – they have to *learn* the skills involved in practices of literacy. Practices of literacy, as we have seen, are bundled up with a literary consciousness and especially a set of attitudes towards language which are underpinned by value-laden postures concerning the regularity and solid “structure” of the “cultivated”, and thus “elevated”, variety of language (cf. the discussion of spatial metaphors which structure our understanding of both language and culture, in Chapters 1 and 3). These interpretative frameworks (called *rules for interaction* and *norms of interpretation* in the Introduction), which presuppose a literary culture, are unfamiliar to heritage speakers in their heritage language. Therefore, this is a set of new information to them, which, similarly to literacy skills, they have to *learn*. Now, for students who study a language as a foreign language, the processes of learning and acquiring are reversed. Initially, they *learn* basic information about structural features of the language and gradually gain practice in

¹⁹¹ By fluency here I mean the ability to speak without too many gaps and breaks in the flow of speech, and in a way which is comprehensible to native-speakers. The dialect, regional variety or contact variety which embodies this oral fluency is of no concern here, nor are language features which are seen as “diverging from the standard”.

speaking and writing it: activities which language learning usually entails. Recent studies have shown (see examples cited at the beginning of this section) that language ideologies and attitudes towards language have a crucial part to play in shaping classroom discourses and in allowing the learner to imagine – to develop an interpretation of his or her own – of the target language-and-culture. In other words, language learners, while *learning* a foreign language, *acquire* – or at least become aware of – a set of cultural habits and attitudes which characterise the community whose language they are learning. This is a semi-automated process which forms part and parcel of language learning in general. Thus, for heritage learners, a relatively unconscious process of language acquisition is followed by a conscious processing (learning) of the conventionalised attitudes which the “high” (literate and literary) culture of their heritage language projects. As opposed to the order in which the processes of acquiring and learning follow each other in the heritage learners’ situation, for foreign language students, learning a new language usually starts with exposure to abstract rules for interaction (such as grammar), which then leads to, and involves, the processing of learned interpretative traditions corresponding to the language they are learning. Thus, for language learners, the processes of learning and acquiring are reversed with regards to both linguistic material and frameworks of interpretation. The reversal of the processes of learning and acquiring are diagrammed below:

Table 16: Learning and acquiring for language learners and heritage speakers

| | language (at least some registers) | interpretative framework re. normative discourses and postures |
|-------------------|--|---|
| language learners |  1. learn |  2. acquire |
| heritage speakers |  1. acquire |  2. learn |

In a large classroom setting, and on relatively short, intensive courses, a detailed engagement with students’ idiosyncratic forms of speech and idiolect such as the one presented here is, of course, impracticable. The present study is merely an illustration of the fact that – even if educators, whose attitude to language is inevitably grounded in the idea of a single standard variety to varying degrees, are reluctant to admit it – all the

intricate specificities of heritage speakers' language, such as their articulation of vowels, are part and parcel of their modes of being in Hungarian. Even language features such as the articulatory subtleties of vowels are intimately bound up with who they are in Hungarian. In practical terms, idiosyncratic features of pronunciation have a considerable impact on the teaching and learning of orthography, which is heritage speakers' first point of encounter with the "standard" variety of their heritage language. Before they embark on *learning* their heritage language, literacy, with all its interpretative practices, remains outside the patterns of life which they practise in Hungarian. This change of insight on the part of heritage speakers into the language of their home (and similar informal settings) might in itself lead to a disbelief in, and perhaps even some resistance towards, the new medium – written registers, orthography, etc. – which they are expected to learn. This resistance is due to the alienating effect that information about the orthography, grammar, and other abstractions involved in literacy has on heritage speakers. Their heritage language, for them, is the language of the home, family, and intimacy, the knowledge of which has been part of the way in which they define themselves. In other words, *learning* the heritage language makes these students question who they are, given that *knowing* the language (or *speaking* Hungarian) had been a marked component of their personality and individuality before they embarked on learning it in a formal setting. Defensive behaviour towards a new register – a new way of behaving – in the medium on which heritage speakers' sense of self relies, at least partially, is a cognitive obstacle that these learners have to overcome before they are able to decide whether to subvert (as Nicolas Ancion's "freedom fighters"), ignore (as Sam Selvon's character, Galahad tried), or accommodate (as S1), features of the "standard" – the language variety of classroom discourses – to which they now compare their own speech. To conclude, all the intricate specificities of language – including minutiae of pronunciation and vowel quality – are intertwined with questions of individuality, which inform heritage learners' attitudes towards language. The success of the learning process depends largely on the attitudes and responses these learners develop towards both their individual speech (the variety learnt at home) and the normative form of speech in which classroom practices are embodied.

4.4 Summary: awareness, abstraction, specificity, and attitudes towards language

The last section of this chapter will summarise what the layers of poetic consciousness discussed in the first case study (4.1) and individual responses to normative discourses (explored in 4.2 and 4.3) reveal about awareness of language features in general. In line with the three-fold distinction that was used to explain interlocking patterns of “sound and sense” in poetry, the three layers of analysis are matched by different types of attitudes to language. From the point of view of language attitudes in general, the main difference between the three layers is best understood in terms of levels of awareness, abstraction, and self-consciousness on the part of representatives of these attitudes. The three layers of awareness with regards to poetic language were used as an analytical tool, and illustrated with ample examples, in the first case study. Hence, we shall revisit poetic language in this summary only as a reminder in the column entitled “Poetics” in Table 17.

Table 17: Layers of language awareness and attitudes towards language

| Layers of awareness and abstraction | Grammar | Poetics | General |
|---|--|--|---|
| strong awareness of rules describing or prescribing language | Basic Linguistic Theory; grammar writing; language documentation; | theory of verse; codified ways of writing verse; prosody, diction; | style guides, editorial remarks; works on proper usage; institutions; |
| awareness of language features which may be explored and exploited | early grammars of vernaculars; learners’ grammars; dogmatic formulations about grammar; | patterns available in a particular language which may be put to use in poetic composition; individual style or voice | normative remarks about language features of which speakers are otherwise usually unaware |
| inherent specificity of languages and their non-self-conscious interpretation | the interpretation of speakers’ idiolect and its features by other speakers (language attitudes) | what must be conveyed and may not be <i>not</i> conveyed in a language | actual usage, speakers’ spontaneous linguistic behaviour |

The arrow pointing from the top left-hand corner to the bottom right-hand corner indicates the various degrees of language awareness and interpretative sophistication

between the two end points: it starts at the most abstract approach to language and it points in the direction of the most specific and least interpretative kind of linguistic behaviour. Grammar writing and linguistic theory, as is illustrated in Table 17, are always abstract; they require specialised analytical skills and a high level of awareness not only of language but also of the technical apparatus used in its description. Linguistic theory, however, in the modern, disciplinary sense, is hardly two centuries old. Early grammars of vernaculars – although they operated with a different kind of theoretical abstraction – display remarkable interpretative sophistication and provide insightful treatments of key features of languages, often for the first time in the history of a particular language. Their writers usually based their work on a nomenclature and technical apparatus which originated from grammars of prestige languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Sanskrit). As a result, these grammars are early instances of the contrastive analysis of languages. Pedagogical grammars are also often based on a contrastive approach but, even when they describe only target language features, they place the learners' perspective front and centre. Thus, they often represent language data from a pragmatic perspective or based on frequency of occurrence of language features.

The next point in the "Grammar" column in Table 17 addresses conventionalised and institutionalised discourses which aim to disseminate knowledge about grammar among the general public and in school settings (cf. the school subject *nyelvtan* in Hungary; the core meaning of *nyelvtan* is 'grammar' but, when used as the name of the school subject, 'language study' is a better approximation in English). Dogmatic formulations about grammar in classroom discourses are scornfully but masterfully illustrated by the Hungarian band, Bēlga's (2010) song text entitled *A-Á*, which deserves closer attention.¹⁹² The analysis that follows looks at a few discrete lines from the text to illustrate its multiple layers of imitation, syntactic parallelism, and repetition, which caricature the mantra-like repetitive nature of such discourses. The acronyms *A* and *Á* stand for the Hungarian *alany* '(grammatical) subject', and *állítmány* 'predicate'. The hyphen between the two initials represents the correlation between these two constituents in the kind of sentence analysis which is taught in primary and secondary

¹⁹² Because of limitations of space a detailed analysis of the entire text is impracticable here. I have provided a taster in Appendix F, with an approximation of the Hungarian text in my English translation.

education. The text of the song is an ironic take on the way in which syntax is introduced in schools in Hungary, by the thoughtless regurgitation of sentences such as the following:¹⁹³

(1) A mondat fő részei az állítmány és az alany.

a mondat fő részei az állítmány és az alany
 the sentence^{PR} main part-3SG.POSS.PL^{PD} the predicate and the subject

‘The main parts of a sentence are the predicate and the subject.’

(2) Három féle lehet egy mondatban az alany.

három féle le-het egy mondat-ban az alany
 three type be-POT.3SG a clause-INE the subject

‘There can be three types of subjects in a sentence/clause.’

As (1) and (2) illustrate, the text builds on the syntactic potential of Hungarian, namely, on the fact that the copular verb is zero in non-past indicative copula clauses.¹⁹⁴ Compare (1), in which the copula is zero in the present indicative, and (2), in which the copula is *lehet* ‘can be’, in the present potential. The text exploits a core syntactic feature of Hungarian to mock dogmatic formulations about Hungarian syntax. After having presented a series of jargon-heavy descriptive statements, such as (1) and (2), which are typical of textbooks intended for grammar education in schools, the text displays a list of mock example sentences, which are intended to facilitate learners’ understanding of the “theory”, but which make little sense out of context. The list of examples culminates in the following lines:

¹⁹³ In the analysis, at the first, Hungarian, citation of the lines of the song text, as well as in the English translation of these lines, I italicised what is intended in the song as object language forms: example sentences of the various “grammar points” the text addresses. In numbered examples, such as (4), which consist of more than one clauses, the end of the clause is marked with a vertical line.

¹⁹⁴ Dixon (2010b: 162-163) is of the view that copula clause structures consist of a predicate which can have two arguments: the copula subject and the copula complement, all of which (the predicate and the complements) can have zero surface realisation. In the examples, I have marked the zero copular verbs in (4), (5), and (6), to show how it (or rather the lack thereof) is explored creatively to ironic effect in the text. For copula clauses of the Hungarian type (in which the copula slot is left blank and the semantic relations are shown by apposition) Dixon (2010b: 160) proposes the term *verbless clause* but, as the Hungarian verbless clauses are functionally and semantically similar to copula clauses for instance in English, I use the simpler term *copula clause* in my analysis.

(3) A határozott alanyra itt egy példa mondat:

| | | | | | | |
|----------|--------------------|-----------------|------------|------------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>a</i> | <i>határoz-ott</i> | <i>alany-ra</i> | <i>itt</i> | <i>egy</i> | <i>példa</i> | <i>mondat</i> |
| the | define-PAST.PART | subject-SUB | here | an | example | sentence |

‘Here is an example of a definite subject.’

(4) *Ez itt az. Mit állítok? Az. Mi az? Ez.*

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|-------------|-----------|--|-------------|-----------------|--|-------------|-----------|--|-----------|-------------|-----------|--|-----------|-------------|
| <i>ez</i> | <i>itt</i> | \emptyset | <i>az</i> | | <i>mi-t</i> | <i>állít-ok</i> | | \emptyset | <i>az</i> | | <i>mi</i> | \emptyset | <i>az</i> | | <i>ez</i> | \emptyset |
| this | here | is | that | | what-ACC | predicate-1SG | | is | that | | what | is | that | | this | is |

‘This, here, is that. What do I predicate? It’s that. What is that? It’s this.’

Apart from *Mit állítok?* ‘What do I predicate?’¹⁹⁵, which is the formulaic question students are advised to use in order to establish the predicate in clauses, all other examples in (3) and (4) are copula clauses. The copula construction in (3) shows location (*itt* ‘here’); this is a semantic relation which normally requires the existential verb *van* ‘be.3SG/there is’ in the clause, but if the location is expressed with a primary adverb of location (e.g. *itt* ‘here’, *ott* ‘there’) or the question word *hol* ‘where’, the copular verb can be zero. I mark the empty copula slots with zero only in (4) to show how the “repetition” of an element which is zero contributes to comic effect in this line of the song. The frequency of occurrence of the short clauses *ez az* ‘that’s it’ and *ez itt az* ‘this, here, is that’ is, needless to say, high in Hungarian, yet they seem to be ill-suited for the kind of syntactic analysis practised in schools and presented in the song text. In example (4), the formulaic questions of the analysis and the one-word answers to them remind the reader/listener to nonsense texts or puns. The finale of the song text presents a “grammatical analysis” of one of the jargon-heavy, mock-technical sentences which were repeated throughout the text to ridicule the simplistic grammar explanations which learners are expected to parrot:

¹⁹⁵ *Mit állítok?* ‘What do I predicate?’ is a transitive clause in which the 1SG agentive subject is shown on the verb (-Ok) and the question word *mi-t* (‘what’-ACC) is the object. ‘What is the predicate?’ would be a better English translation for this question. By using the less idiomatic ‘What do I predicate?’ my intention was to avoid the confusion which might arise from the fact that the question *What is the predicate?*, in English, is a copula clause, unlike its Hungarian “equivalent”. A core meaning of the verb *állít* is ‘state, declare’ in Hungarian. Although it is more frequently used with this meaning in general, I opted for the translation ‘predicate’ to highlight the metalinguistic nature of the question *Mit állítok?*.

(5) A mondat fő részei: az alany és az állítmány.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|------------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|--|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| <i>a</i> | <i>mondat</i> | <i>fő</i> | <i>rész-ei</i> | | <i>az</i> | <i>alany</i> | <i>és</i> | <i>az</i> | <i>állítmány</i> |
| the | sentence ^{PR} | main | part-3SG.POSS.PL ^{PD} | | the | subject | and | the | predicate |

‘The main parts of a sentence are the subject and the predicate.’

(6) Mit állítok? *Részei.*

| | | | | | |
|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>mi-t</i> | <i>állít-ok</i> | \emptyset | \emptyset | \emptyset | <i>rész-ei</i> |
| what-ACC | predicate-1SG | 3SG.PRON | are | it ^{PR} | part-3SG.POSS.PL ^{PD} |

‘What do I predicate? *They are its parts.*’

(7) *Mi részei? *Az alany és az állítmány.*

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| <i>mi</i> | <i>rész-ei</i> | <i>az</i> | <i>alany</i> | <i>és</i> | <i>az</i> | <i>állítmány</i> |
| what | part-3SG.POSS.PL ^{PD} | the | subject | and | the | predicate |

‘What parts? *The subject and the predicate.*’

In the glosses provided for (6), I have marked with zero not only the copular verb but also the third person pronouns (the copula subject *they* and the possessive pronoun *its*) which must feature in the English version of the line. This analysis pinpoints the differences between Hungarian and English clause structure, and highlights that verbless copula clauses can consist of a single argument: the copula complement. In (6) the copula complement is *részei* ‘its parts’, which functions as a copula clause (‘they are its parts’) in the context (cf. also the short answers *ez* ‘this’ and *az* ‘that’ in (4), which are structurally similar copula clauses to *részei* in (6), with only a single complement). Example (4) on the one hand, and (5)-(7), on the other, are syntactic parallels of each other because the latter, (5)-(7), form one semantic unit in the text. In (6), the one-word clause *részei* ‘its parts/they are its parts’ answers the formulaic metalinguistic question *Mit állítok?* ‘What do I predicate?’. The context for this metalinguistic question is provided in (5), which is a verbatim repetition of (1)¹⁹⁶, and in which *az alany és az*

¹⁹⁶ In (1), however, the clause *a mondat fő részei az állítmány és az alany* ‘the main parts of a sentence are the predicate and the subject’ was used as a metalinguistic statement, while in (5) it is repeated as a linguistic example: a clause to be analysed. The listeners, however, realise that the

állítmány ‘the subject and the predicate’ are the copula subjects, and the possessive noun phrase *a mondat^{PR} fő részei^{PD}* ‘the main parts of a sentence’ is the copula complement. So, what this clause really states (“predicates”) is that “[the subject and the predicate are] the main parts of a sentence”. In Hungarian grammar textbooks for educational purposes, however, *részei* ‘its parts’ would be analysed as the “nominal predicate” of this clause, while *a mondat* ‘the sentence’ would be labelled as a “possessive modifier” (*birtokos jelző*).¹⁹⁷ This analytical artifice makes it possible for the song writer to use only one part (*részei*, the dependent) of the possessive noun phrase in his tongue-in-cheek answer to the question ‘What do I predicate?/What is the predicate?’. As is perhaps obvious from the above analysis, *részei* ‘its parts’, on its own, makes sense as an answer to the question ‘What do I state?’ only in the context of highly artificial metalinguistic discourses of learners’ grammars (if at all). The ultimate source of comic effect in the song text is its sensitivity to the lack of analytical insight and interpretative sophistication which characterises such conventionalised, dogmatic descriptions of language.

Example (7) is marked with an asterisk because the playful derision of metalinguistic artifice concludes with an agrammatical sentence in the last line of the song text: **Mi részei?* ‘What parts?’. The attempted syntactic parallelism with *Mi az?* ‘What [is] that?’ in (4) results in the agrammatical sentence, which reveals the limitations of the methods used in education to teach syntactic analysis. The outline below pinpoints syntactic parallelism in the copula closes listed under (4), (5), (6), and (7):

(8) [Ez]_{CS} [itt]_E [az]_{CC}.

(9) [A mondat fő részei]_{CC} [az alany és az állítmány]_{CS}.

As we saw earlier, both (8) and (9) are object-language examples (cf. Footnote 196 and examples (4) and (5) above), and are, therefore, followed by the question *Mit állítok?*

function of the clause has changed only when they hear the cumbersome and repetitious question *Mit állítok?* again in (6). This “surprise”, stemming from the change of the metalinguistic v. object-language function of the clause, is the punch-line in the text.

¹⁹⁷ Dixon (2010a: 101) points out that “[t]he predicate of a copula clause is a copular verb. In terms of the old Greek-logic division of a sentence into two parts, subject and predicate, copula-plus-copula-complement would be predicate, sometime called a “nominal predicate”. This is an unhelpful analysis and should be avoided.’

‘What do I predicate?/What is the predicate?’ to which students are expected to give a one-word answer, naming the “nominal predicate” in the sentence. In the song text:

- (10) Mit állítok? ‘What do I predicate/What is the predicate?’
 (10.a) [Az]_{CC} ‘(The word) *that*.’
 (10.b) [(A mondat fő) részei]_{CC} ‘(The word) *its.parts*.’

In this kind of “grammatical analysis”, once the “predicate” has thus been identified, a series of further formulaic questions follow in order to determine the “role” of each word in a sentence (the arguments and extensions). The questions which help identifying the subject always include a question word in the nominative (*ki* ‘who’, *mi* ‘what’) and the “predicate” (i.e. a verb in transitive and intransitive clauses and the “nominal predicate”, a noun or adjective, in copula clauses). Hence:

- (11.a) [Mi]_Q [az]_{CS}? ‘What (is) that?’¹⁹⁸
 (11.b) *[Mi]_Q [részei]_{CS}? ‘What (are) its.parts?’
 (12.a) [Ez]_{CS} ‘This’.
 (12.b) [Az *alany* és az *állítmány*]_{CS} ‘The subject and the predicate’.

What makes 11b agrammatical is that *részei* is a possessive suffixed noun (cf. the analysis in (1), (5), and (6) above) and the dependent in a possessive noun phrase. The head of a possessive NP (the possessor) is usually marked with zero in Hungarian (e.g. the NP *a mondat-Ø^{PR} fő részei^{PD}* ‘the main parts of a sentence’ in the text), although it may optionally be marked with the dative *-nAk*. However, if the head of a possessive NP is a question word or relative pronoun, it must be marked with the dative. Hence, the grammatically correct version of (11b) is *Minek a részei?* (*mi-nek* ‘what’-DAT) ‘Whose parts?’. The formulaic metalinguistic questions with *minek* and *kinek* (*ki-nek* ‘who’-DAT), on the other hand, are used to identify the “possessive modifier”, i.e. the head of

¹⁹⁸ N.B. in (11a) and (11b) *az* ‘that’ and *részei* ‘its parts’ are not object language forms but core arguments of the copula clause which is, here, a metalinguistic question; hence, they are not italicized. In these questions the copula complement is the question word *mi* ‘what’; *az* and *részei* are copula subjects.

possessive NPs, and not the subject or agent. Now, the mock-grammarian in the text proceeds according to strict methodology, and thus seeks to establish, immediately after the predicate was identified, the copula subject (one of the “main parts of a sentence” alongside the predicate). As a result of his adherence to a pre-set methodological procedure, the mock grammarian produces the agrammatical sentence, (11b), to which the nonsensical answer is (12b), both glossed in (7). The “grammatical analysis” in the song is, of course, wrong, albeit pedantic, even according to the methods of grammar-teaching that are pilloried. The point of this ill-conceived solution, and of the agrammatical (11b) sentence, is precisely to underline the shortcomings of official, authoritative discourses represented in learning materials, and that the uncritical mimicking of these leads to misguided ideas about language instead of providing a real opportunity for learning.

To return to Table 17, in the column which is entitled “Grammar”, the third layer of awareness represents a broader interpretative capacity which characterises any native speaker of any language: a capacity which is involved, for instance, in identifying, organising, and reacting to features of individual’s language use. Speakers’ interpretation of linguistic input is largely subconscious but it covers the whole linguistic repertoire, including suprasegmental elements, intonation, and even voice quality.¹⁹⁹ Perhaps an even clearer example is the set of language attitudes that are usually tested in sociolinguistics with the matched-guise experimental technique in which informants are asked to give their opinion about speakers whom they hear and who usually have been selected for the distinctiveness of their speech (they use a certain regional or social variety of language for instance). Phonological features of language varieties, for instance, usually play a crucial part in other speakers’ attitude towards the speaker they hear but few – perhaps none – of the informants would be able to identify the language features which played a part in their judgment of the speech sample they heard. To

¹⁹⁹ Joseph (2004: 33-34) describes this as follows: “[...] language is part of a broader, non-species-specific capacity for organising, reading, and interpreting sensory data in our environment, reacting to these interpretations, and affecting the environment with one’s own grist for the interpretative mills of other beings”. Hurford (2007) and Joseph (2004) associate this kind of linguistic behaviour with the evolutionary origins of language and posit research into this interpretative capacity as the primary task of evolutionary sociolinguistics. With regards to attitudes towards language, Gal (2006) has made extensive use of speakers’ interpretative frameworks and ability in explaining language attitudes in a minority language context.

rephrase Cameron's (1995: 3) stance, cited in Chapter 1, speakers' attitudes are an integrated part of their use of language, and these attitudes can be captured, and made explicit, by prompting speakers with questions to describe how they feel about language they hear. What these feelings have to do with, for instance, vowel and consonant quality, is of concern only to linguists. Such questions remain beyond speakers' awareness, although some will be able to "identify" linguistic features by mimicry (*definitio per demonstrationem*).

Spontaneous production of speech and unmediated linguistic behaviour can be found at the opposite end of the spectrum of language awareness compared to linguistic theory (see in the bottom left-hand corner of Table 17). Ideally, this is the kind of linguistic output which is the subject of data-driven grammar writing and linguistic analysis (listed in the top right-hand corner of Table 17 and discussed above). Linguists working on language documentation, the sociolinguistics of language, and linguistic anthropology gather data from such unmediated linguistic behaviour as a starting point to their analysis. My point here, however, is that this kind of linguistic behaviour is spontaneous, and its features remain beyond speakers' awareness.²⁰⁰ Moving a level up from the bottom right-hand corner, norms and especially normative rules of usage represent a higher degree of awareness precisely because normative discourses often raise speakers' awareness of language features which would go otherwise unnoticed by them. Classroom discourses concerning language, for instance, are notorious for injecting wide-spread beliefs about "good", "correct", "proper" (a.k.a. appropriate) usage. Normative discourses may target any area of lexico-grammar, syntax, and pronunciation; well-known examples from English include, but are by no means limited to, the phonetic realisations of word-initial /h/, the realisation of the phoneme /t/ as a glottal stop, the so-called "split" infinitive (Pullum 2010: Section 2.5), the choice between

²⁰⁰ Individuals' linguistic practices are always embedded in, and mediated by, other cultural practices which characterize the speech community of which they are members, but, similarly to language-internal phenomena, these cultural processes, of which the use of language is a part, remain beyond speakers' awareness. Joseph's (2004:34) understanding of languages as cultural traditions entails the way in which "universally applicable interpretative traditions come to be conventionalised, institutionalised and passed on from generation to generation". The conventions (of a denotational code, for instance, features of lexico-grammar) and institutions (of education, for example) which diffuse and maintain these conventions, are specific to various languages and societies.

lexical doublets such as *napkin* v. *serviette*, and “tag questions”. Such normative attitudes are often disseminated through wittily formulated pronouncements. An example of such witty formulations from French is the phrase “*les si n’aiment pas les -rais*”. This *bon mot* assists elementary-school grammar teachers in drilling a feature of French syntax, namely that in clauses which are introduced by the conditional conjunction *si*, the verb is either in the imperfect or the pluperfect, while the finite verb in the other co-ordinate clause is in the conditional. Neither the paradigm of the imperfect nor that of the pluperfect contains verb forms ending in *-rais*, given that this bi-morphemic syllable consists of the consonantal element of the infinitive suffix (typically *-er*, *-er*, or *-ir*) and the 1SG or 2SG inflectional suffix *-ais*, historically the imperfect of *avoir* ‘have’ (Harris 2001b: 243-244). Morphologically, the infinitive-suffixed verb form is the stem to which inflectional personal suffixes are added in the conditional, but the inflection of the imperfect or pluperfect verb forms is based on a different stem. The 1SG and 2SG inflectional suffix *-ais* occurs in all three verb forms (imperfect, pluperfect, and conditional). In the conditional, the last, bi-morphemic syllable of verbs is homophonous in all persons of the singular and in the 3PL, [ʁɛ]. Tremblay (2013) is a particularly telling example of the way in which French classroom discourses about the conditional are preoccupied with the use of the appropriate verb form in both clauses (i.e. in the *protasis*, the one containing *si*, and in the *apodosis*).²⁰¹

²⁰¹ N.B. The French example, and what we called the second layer of awareness in the column entitled “General”, are not to be confused with the Hungarian example given earlier of dogmatic explanations of grammar (discussed among the activities belonging to the second layer in the column entitled “Grammar”). The former, the French example, concerns attitudes as they are revealed in ways of talking about language. The latter, illustrated through the Hungarian example taken from the repertoire of the band Bëlga, exemplifies ways of talking about grammar. The similarity of the language attitudes underlying these two examples is reflected in their placement in Table 17, in which both types of activities are located at the second layer of awareness/abstraction. In other words, there is a level of abstraction involved in both pedantic ideas about proper usage (at least the kind of abstraction that is involved in meta-discourses about language) and dogmatic representations of grammar. However, both attitudes lack analytical rigour; therefore they have a limited scope and range of applicability. The fact that early vernacular-language grammars and learners’ grammars are shown to represent the same level of awareness/abstraction is not to suggest that they also lack analytical rigour. It is rather the high specificity of detail and lower level of abstraction, which necessarily characterises a learners’ grammar, which suggests that such grammars belong here. In the case of early grammars the placement reflects merely the refinement of the technical apparatus at the time when they were written – usually centuries before linguistic theory started being elucidated.

The language-related activities which operate on the highest level of abstraction in the column entitled “General” include institutions which promulgate samples of normative usage and express explicitly the language features which constitute “proper” usage. Such institutions include schools and academies, whose work either involves producing, or is supported by, authoritative works, compendiums, and handbooks on features of the normative language variety (language cultivation and language reform movements, cf. Chapters 1 and 2, are examples of this).

Alongside institutions and normative works, pseudo-scientific formulations of ideas about the “appropriateness” of language, for instance about the “quality of writing”, also belong here. Such attitudes operate on the highest level of self-consciousness about language use among general attitudes towards language. Style guides, erudite editorial remarks, or learned deliberations about language use in general are scarcely associated with linguistic purism but they are in some respects akin to it: they are often prescriptive, and as a basis for the *prescriptio*, they compare actual – written or oral – use of language to a certain idealized variety, imagined or real, which is set up in relation to often inexplicit values.²⁰² Such value-oriented, prescriptive and proscriptive, attitudes towards language are intended to guide speakers or writers in their linguistic practices.²⁰³ This layer represents a self-conscious posture, and attitudes belonging here often serve to promote the interests of a group of intellectuals or individuals. Below, in Table 18, I present a set of examples, which illustrate how editorial remarks, for instance, fit in with other kinds of normative discourses. The examples are taken from my own collection of editorial remarks, which I compiled from feedback on my own writing or which I have read in various reviews.²⁰⁴

²⁰² The idealised variety in a speech community – which was defined on the basis of speakers’ beliefs about the sameness and homogeneity of their language – is *imagined* insofar as it can be defined only in relation to a body of canonical texts (oral poetry, literature, etc.) and beliefs attached to them, rather than on the basis of speech or writing produced by a native speaker.

²⁰³ As we saw in Chapter 1, *purism* is perhaps a slightly misleading term as it is only in some cases that its representatives’ aim involves the purging of language of certain elements. *Prescriptivism* and *prescriptive* attitudes toward language are perhaps less biased terms.

²⁰⁴ Another intriguing data set to explore is feedback that we, teachers, give to students’ work, not only in grammar or foreign language classes but also to their English-language essays. What is at stake behind comments such as *this sentence is too long/has too many clauses, your use of terms lacks precision*, etc. is not only clarity of writing but also the transmission of conventionalised norms of what is seen as “good” writing, “high” register or style.

Table 18: Editorial comments about language

| Conventions, unit of text or language | Editorial comment |
|---|--|
| style of writing; conflicting conventions of academic writing; use of the passive; | <i>[you] need humans in the sentence;</i> <i>here is the first time you mention a human but only in possessive not as an actor;</i> <i>it is here the same problem as above, the avoidance [sic!] of human subject/actors in the sentence;</i> <i>these whole several sentences are in a totally impersonal style; e.g. [something] is avoided but we are not told by whom;</i> |
| punctuation; conventions of a particular publication formulated as general rules; | <i>either comma and which or no comma and that—this occurred consistently in your other article. I will not henceforth mark it but note that it is always underlined by the program [a version of the spellchecker];</i> <i>we greatly discourage parentheses but here is one place that it is needed;</i> <i>in first citation of source must use first name also</i> |
| paragraph; use of conjunctions and demonstrative pronouns | <i>need a topic sentence;</i> <i>cannot start paragraph with “for instance”... of what? recapitulate;</i> <i>therefore is a follow up or a conclusion and absolutely cannot be in topic sentence;</i> <i>avoid ‘this, these, it’ etc. as no antecedent – recapitulate to tell us ‘this what’;</i> |

One of the most noteworthy features of these examples is that they seem to postulate universal evidence about a language, while most comments concern language features which are either a matter of individual taste and style or specific to the style guide of the publication for which the review is written. Most comments also lack insights from an analytical approach to language. Hence, some comments are written in a way which they intend to proscribe (e.g. *the avoidance of human subject/actors in the sentence*); others seem to be circular (e.g. a human possessor is not a “human in the sentence”; topic sentences); yet others seem to contradict themselves (e.g. parentheses are discouraged but also needed). In the example on the use of commas before the relativizers *that* and *which*, the editorial judgement is based on what Pullum (2010: Section 4.4.) called “the most famous of all time-wasting copy-editor bugaboos” – and a spellchecker is cited as a reference – instead of syntactic facts.

Depending on the conscientiousness and training of the representatives of prescriptive attitudes, and their vested interest in language, the prescriptions and

proscriptions may be supported by explanations of varying analytical depth. For instance, Hungarian handbooks and dictionaries of proper usage (of which some instances from the 1950s were discussed in Chapter 1) were usually written by trained linguists who observed and recorded with great care recent developments in everyday use of language. They used their observations – the data that they gathered – as a basis for prescriptions and proscriptions – often a matter of individual opinion – and for the “guidance” of speakers in their linguistic behaviour rather than as a starting point for descriptive analysis. Descriptive and prescriptive postures often overlap, for instance, in Grétsy & Kovalovszky’s (1980, 1985) *Nyelvművelő kézikönyv* [Handbook of language cultivation]. Their proscriptions, in particular, can be helpful to linguists keen on gaining insights into usage. More importantly, the examples cited in Table 18 illustrate a general feature of normative attitudes to language, namely, that such attitudes often project culturally conventionalised or entirely individual views of language. Thomas’ insight in the profoundly aesthetic nature of purism is of utmost relevance to the dichotomy of conventionalised and individual features of value-laden postures towards language. Thomas (1991: 27-28) argued that aesthetic constructions are governed by two clusters of polarised values, with subjectivity, expressivity, emotionality and naturalness being at one pole, and with objectivity, control, rationality and abstraction being at the other. “These two clusters coincide with two of the basic polarities of human nature – the emotional and the cerebral, which further evoke the notions of romantic and classical, both in terms of human features and aesthetic core values”. Thomas’s approach is reminiscent of the “low” and uncontrolled v. “high” and controlled dichotomy, which was discussed in Chapter 3. This dichotomy characterised attitudes towards the early vernaculars of Europe – varieties of language which were seen as natural, untamed, and uncontrolled, and therefore of low prestige – in the face of the cultural prestige of Latin, the regular and regulated, controlled language of learned, literate people.

To summarise, the parts of Table 17 which are shown in a darker frame are the layers of language awareness which are suitable for the study of attitudes towards language. The sections of the table which are shown against a shaded background are the areas of language awareness and language intervention in which attitudes towards language overlap most clearly with aesthetics. Some of these areas were studied in detail

in earlier parts of this thesis. Chapter 1 explored discourses that characterise normative attitudes towards language in general (represented here in the top two sections of the column entitled “General”); Chapter 2 provided an overview of the historical and cultural circumstances which contribute to the development of institutional frameworks for language intervention (listed in the top right-hand corner in Table 17); Chapter 3 looked at the interplay between language-external and language-internal factors which influence poetic norms and attitudes towards literary koinai (shown in the column entitled “Poetics” above). The three case studies in Chapter 4 (4.1, 4.2, and 4.3) attempted to elucidate possible individual responses to perceptions of language, in particular to shifting norms in poetic composition and to a perceived conflict between individual language use and normative varieties. The present summary has provided further examples to some of those sub-categories listed in Table 17 which were previously unexplored.

Conclusions

tout se tient

'everything is interconnected'

In this thesis I have attempted to provide a mosaic of partial explanations of how and, thus, why language-internal and language-external phenomena pattern with each other to account for particular beliefs about, and attitudes towards language. Each of the four chapters concludes with a section summarising the main lines of linguistic thought which were discussed in that particular chapter, also providing an outlook on how some of the analytical tools tested in that chapter can be taken forward and applied to various sets of phenomena in enquiries into value-laden postures towards language. My conclusions here will therefore be brief.

According to Colvin (1999: 3) language attitudes can be studied as a means of identifying, explaining, and predicting trends in linguistic change or as an end in itself. My purpose in this thesis was to explore attitudes towards language as a general linguistic phenomenon, in a panchronic, cross-cultural, contrastive framework. This study, therefore, problematised language attitudes as an end in itself. Accordingly, my methodological approach was synthetic and synoptic: synthetic inasmuch as it brought a range of analytical tools to bear on texts and discourses about language; synoptic inasmuch as these texts represented linguistic insights of various sorts, ranging from individuals' raising or lowering of linguistic boundaries in particular communicative situations (e.g. literary representations of speakers of stigmatised varieties, heritage learners of Hungarian) to stages of linguistic consciousness and the evolution of norms in speech communities (e.g. vernacular-language cultural and literary conventions and the institutionalisation of vernacular-language traditions). Across this range of perspectives various layers of language awareness were elucidated, from abstract, self-conscious, theoretical, and pedantic postures through the spontaneous production of speech and unmediated attitudes towards language to the subliminal exploitation of patterns provided by the intricate specificity of language features irrespective of human awareness of them.

Methodological insights were borrowed from cognitive linguistics (conceptual metaphor, metonymy, and blending), diachronic sociolinguistics (the historically evolving status of languages and language functions), theory of verse (the poetic function of language and poetic technique), philology (multifaceted approximations of texts through contextualisation, description, and translation), and basic linguistic theory (description of language data). My main methodological thrust was induction, and it relied on case studies based on discretely selected examples. Thus, the analysis took the particular as a starting point in each of the case studies, and progressed from a detailed description and contextualisation of the particular (texts, communicative events, language elements), to allow for some generalisations – the mosaic of partial explanations – across the case studies.

More specifically, the first chapter took as a starting point a text by Lajos Lórinca, a paragon of Hungarian language cultivation, and through a close reading of this text it offered a classification of metaphoric and metonymic schemata in the discourses of language cultivation and purism in Hungarian in the 1950s. The second chapter first critically evaluated linguistic terminology for planned intervention into language change; it then explored how the rise of vernacular-language consciousness came to be institutionalised in Central and Eastern Europe, finally offering a conceptual framework which allowed a better understanding of how myth endows language – a natural and social phenomenon – with value. The third chapter evolved around various approaches to a single text – Jacques Peletier du Mans’s two octosyllabic stanzas – by contextualising it historically, sociolinguistically, culturally, and, more closely, within the traditions of French verse. Tentative conclusions were offered about ways in which language change and the typological features of languages impinge on the evolution of poetic norms by restricting certain options (and enabling others) in poetic composition. In view of the poetic function of language, I argued that poetic technique offers a particularly relevant perspective into the ways in which culturally and socially mediated aspirations might be challenged or blocked by the options (and constraints) that are available in a particular language. Conversely, innovations in poetic form are symptomatic of cultural realignments which characterise a community at a particular time.

In the last, fourth chapter I revisited some of the issues raised earlier through three case studies, each of which assessed individual responses to language and normative linguistic culture. The first one of these refocused on the two octosyllabic stanzas which introduced Chapter 3, and illustrated different kinds of analytical possibilities on these lines of verse. One of these analytical techniques was rooted in the same literary tradition as the poetic text under discussion itself, while the other approach highlighted the insights that can be gained by “hearing” these lines with non-native ears, that is, without the constraints of interpretation that a particular poetic (or any other) tradition imposes on listeners and readers who are native to the tradition in question. The last, third case study inverted this analytical stance from my personal perspective. It addressed the insights that those speakers can offer into the kind of linguistic culture that Hungarian embodies who are not familiar with the normative discourses that characterise native traditions (my own). This case study took as a starting point various patterns of speech and discourse that characterise a sociolinguistically complex “foreign” language classroom. What is at stake in both of these case studies (4.1 and 4.3) is the potential response on behalf of individuals to a shift in the norm (4.3) and to a mismatch between individual assumptions and the norm (4.3). The first case study looked at this question from the perspective of a self-conscious individual within a learned tradition while the third one explored less conscious postures. The second case study (4.2) also centred on the insights that can be gained from outsiders on a linguistic culture. Sam Selvon’s Galahad (and Selvon himself) were “outsiders” in the same way as heritage speakers of Hungarian: fluent speakers whose “nativeness” is challenged by their inability – or lack of willingness – to absorb, and accommodate, the normative trends which are ingrained in the language they speak. A potential response is to try to emulate normative patterns of linguistic behaviour, yet another one is to subvert them. Nicola Ancion’s “language terrorists”, Sam Selvon’s Galahad – and Selvon himself – as well as some heritage speakers of Hungarian negotiate their discomfort in communicative situations characterised by a normative orientation by rejecting or subverting the norms. This rejection, in turn, challenges the linguistic norm which is condoned and validated only insofar as users of language accommodate it.

To summarise, the first two chapters of this thesis analysed, and provided case studies for, the ways in which the myth (in the Austerlitzian sense, which was one of the starting points of this thesis) is grafted onto language; first through the conceptual structuring of experience, second, through the perpetuation – and institutionalisation – of beliefs about language which are underpinned by political, social, and cultural ideologies. The last two chapters, on the other hand, showed instances in which myth about language (culture and community) is challenged by actual use of language. Poetic language and innovation is artful experimentation with myth, and it probes the boundaries of both linguistic and cultural accommodation of native and non-native traditions. The subversion of linguistic norms to comic or aesthetic effect in personal style is a more disarming experimentation with myth: it is humour.

There is circularity to the way in which individuals' dialect and aesthetic posture towards language gravitate to, but also push against, the abstractions that idealised language varieties are, and the frames of interpretation which "explain" these abstractions. A hierarchical methodological treatment of this subject would have also been possible; in a hierarchical approach individuals are taken as units of examination separate from society, and collective orientation towards a norm is looked at primarily (or only) as a "social" phenomenon, independent of individuals' specific reactions to language. Such an approach, however, would be likely to dismiss the recursive patterns which arise precisely because these "fragments" are interconnected (*tout se tient*).

Not only speakers', writers', pedants' and purists' meta-discourses are typified by myth and subject to individual opinion or judgement. If not value-laden postures, moral and aesthetic orientations – which are framed by myth – certainly have their part to play in any kind of interpretation, including, as we have seen in a few examples in this thesis, also scholarly interpretation. I shall conclude this study with a passage by Barbara Johnstone, which is a particularly clear, dense, and reassuring formulation of the methodological insights that the acknowledgement of aesthetic orientation in research might offer:

[...] there is always an aesthetic facet to interpretation. I dare say that we all know this, but few of us ever admit it. We come to love our data and the people who produce it, no matter what sort of linguistic work we do. [...] our aesthetic responses to language are methodologically useful because they help us to see that linguistic structure and language

use are constrained by societies' and individuals' senses of symmetry, harmony, and beauty. (Johnstone 1996: 186)

My largely abductive selection of texts allowed me to bring my own aesthetic responses – and love – to bear on the materials that I have had in hand. This was a perspective which permitted an elucidation of the way in which language-external and language-internal factors intersect in shaping attitudes toward language, resulting in a fragmented and complex, yet regular pattern of interconnectedness.

Appendix A Texts, translations, metaphors, and discourses about language

Section 1: Passages illustrating discourses of language cultivation with English my versions

(1)

Lőrincze (1968: 6-9)

Nem az egyszál karddal hadakozó végvári vitézt idézi fel hát elsősorban a mai nyelvőrség. [...] Aki ma nyelvőrségen áll, nem öldöklő szerszámokkal fegyverkezik fel. Nem fegyveres őr, inkább talán olyan toronyőr, aki helyzeténél fogva messzebb lát, s a magaslatról beszámol tapasztalatairól azoknak, akiknek a szemhatára szűkebb. Elmondja, mit lát a tájban, merre vannak szépen rendben tartott gazdaságok vagy vadvirágos, esetleg gazos földek. Térképezi a tájat: merre vannak jó utak, hol téved az utazó nehezen járható helyre, veszedelmes szakadékba. Beszámol a táj életéről, változásairól. De nem kerüli el figyelmét a bomladozó épület s a viruló vetéseket fenyegető kártevő sem. Továbbadja azt a sok szépséget is, ami szeme elé tárul, távcsöve segítségével még a messze csillogó havasokról is tudósíthat tornyából.

When one thinks of standing guard over language today, the first image that comes to mind is certainly not one of the brave warrior wielding a sword as he single-handedly defends a fortress on the Hungarian frontier. Those on language-guard today are not armed with lethal weapons. Perhaps they are, rather, on watch in a tower, guards who are able to see further by virtue of their position and can give an account from on high of the experience they have gained to those whose horizons are narrower than theirs. They tell of what they can see in the landscape, where there may be seen, on the one hand, farmlands that are well-maintained and, on the other, fields overgrown by wild flowers or rampant weeds. They map out the land: indicating where reliable roads are to be found and where the traveller is likely to stray into territory difficult to negotiate, or even dangerous abysses. They also report on the life of the whole region and the changes taking place in it. Neither dilapidated buildings nor pests posing a threat to the flourishing crops escape their attention. They also convey all the beauty of the magnificent landscape unfolding before their eyes. With the help of their telescope, they can even tell tales from their watchtower of snow-capped mountains glittering in the distance...

(2)

Lőrincze (1968: 6-9)

Talán nem is kellene kibontanom a hasonlatot, magyaráznom, hogy a „táj”: a magyar nyelv, a „gazos földek”: a gondatlan, hanyag beszéd-írás, a „táj élete”: a nyelv élete, változásai, stb...

Perhaps it is needless to take the simile apart and explain that the “landscape” is the Hungarian language, the “fields overgrown with weeds” are careless, sloppy speech and writing, the “life of the region” is the life and changes of the language, etc...

(3)

Lőrincze (1968: 6-9)

De minden hasonlat egyoldalú és tökéletlen. A miénk is. Hiszen a mi „őrünk” tornyában egy jó laboratórium is elkelve, hogy a környező világról, kőzeteiről, növényeiről pontosan számot adhasson. Távcsőre is olyanra van szüksége, amely nem csak térben, hanem időben is messzire visz. És hát nem elég, ha az őr jelentést ad; sokszor harcolnia, küzdenie is kell, a maga módján, a maga eszközeivel. Ezért le is kell szállnia a toronyból.

But all similes are one-sided and imperfect. Including ours. Surely, our “guard” could make good use of a laboratory in his tower, in order to give an accurate account of the surrounding world, its rocks and its vegetation. Similarly, his telescope ought to be one which can show him a long way not only in space but also in time. Finally, it will not be enough for the guard merely to send reports. Often, he will have to struggle and strive, in his own way, with his own instruments. To this end, he also has to come down from the (ivory) tower.

(4)

Lőrincze 1953: 155

Nyelvünk történetében elég gyakran elhangzik a vészkiáltás a nyelv romlásáról, gyakran felidézük nyelvünk küszöbön álló halálának rémét, amely egyben a nemzet végóráját is jelentené. A “romlás” általában a változásra szokott vonatkozni, a nyelvben felbukkanó újra. Főként az idegen szavakra s a régítől különböző, a régi nyelvben ismeretlen szerkezetekre. “Olyan zagyva nyelvnek – olvassuk a Pesti Hírlap Nyelvőreben –, amelynek szókincse idegen szavaktól tarkáll, eredeti szerkezete, mondatfűzése pedig napról napra satnyul, csak kevés tartóereje van. Azok, akik ilyen nyelvet beszélnek, máról holnapra átnyergelhetnek egy másikra [...].

In the history of our language, a cry of distress is often heard concerning language decay. The image that the phantom of language death is drawing near is often conjured. This would mean the final hour of the nation as well. “Decay” normally refers to change, to the emergence of the new in language, in particular, to foreign words and to structures which are different from the old ones, which were unknown in old language. In the *A Pesti Hírlap Nyelvőre* we read the following: “Such a muddled language, the vocabulary of which is mottled with foreign words, and its original structure and sequence of sentences is becoming more and more stunted day by day, has hardly any holding power. Those who speak such a language could switch over to another one from one day to another [...].” (cited by Lőrincze)

(5) Grétsy & Kemény 1996; *s.v. nyelvi norma* 'linguistic norm, norm of proper usage'

'{Nyelvünk rendszerhálózatának van}₁ {a legműveltebbek által használt}₂ és {az egész nyelvközösségre ható}₃, {átfogó írott és beszélt változata}₄, ez a nemzeti nyelv. Élnék₅ területi, társadalmi, réteg- és csoportszintű alváltozatok is a {föléjük rendelt}₆ főváltozat mellett₅. Az alváltozatokban₇ {alárendelt normák}₈ is érvényesülhetnek₉. De a jelenségeket₁₀ {itt is}₁₁ elsősorban a {nemzeti nyelv normáihoz}₁₂ kell₁₃ viszonyítanunk₁₄. [...] A nemzeti nyelv normáiban nyilvánul meg nemzetünk az egysége is [...]. {Terjeszteni is, csiszolni is}₁₃ {azok kötelessége}₁₄, {akik hozzájuthattak}₁₅ mind a {legmélyebb nyelvi, irodalmi műveltséghez}₁₆, [mert ők,] a nyelv „tulajdonosai” általában képesek az öngyógyításra₁₇.'

English version with numbered clauses

{The Hungarian language-system has}₁ {an overarching written and spoken variety}₄, {[which is] used by the most educated [speakers of Hungarian]}₂, and {[which] affects the entire linguistic community}₃, that is, the national language. Regional-, social-, stratum-, and group- varieties co-exists₅ with the main variety, [which] {rises above them}₆. {These subordinate varieties}₇ {might be governed}₉ by {norms subordinate}₈ [to the norm of the main variety]. But {we have to}₁₃ [bear in mind that] even₁₁ these phenomena₁₀ {are relative to}₁₄ {the norms of the national language}₁₂. [...] The norms of the national language are also a manifestation of the unity of our nation [...]. [Both the propagation and the polishing of these norms]₁₃ [is the duty of those]₁₄, {who were able to have access}₁₅ [to the most profound linguistic and literary education]₁₆, [because they,] the 'owners' of language, are normally able to {cure themselves}₁₇.

(6)

Lőrincze 1953: 165

Ha azokat a szavakat, kifejezéseket, amelyek ma már, azt mondhatnánk, az egész nemzet közkincsévé váltak, nem bolygatjuk, hanem inkább igyekszünk megérteni a nyelvben jelentkező újat, igyekszünk feltárni a változás okait, akkor megszüntethetjük azt a lényeges eltérést, amely a valóságos beszéd és a hivatalosan jónak elismert beszéd között van; ezzel megszüntetjük az ingadozást, a bizonytalanságot is. [...] A gondolat tisztaságát, világosságát nem a szó, hanem a mondat mutatja. [...] A módszer csak a felvilágosítás, a tárgyi érvekkel való meggyőzés lehet.

If we leave alone those words and expressions which have become, we could argue, treasures (possessions) shared by the whole nation; and instead we endeavour to comprehend innovations emerging in language and strive to uncover the reasons for change, then, we may be able to eliminate the differences between real speech and the speech which is officially recognised as being good. Thus, hesitation and uncertainty will cease as well. [...] It is not the word but the sentence which encapsulates the clarity and purity of thought. [...] The methods can include only the enlightenment / instruction of people, and persuasion by the force of logical arguments.

Section 2: Metaphoric imagery, syntactic parallelism and repetition in Lőrincze (1968)

(1) Conceptual metaphors grounded in physical experience

| HORIZONTAL | ↔ | VERTICAL |
|--|---|--|
| narrow(er) horizon | | by virtue of his position |
| (see) further (<i>messzebb</i>) | | from on high |
| road | | frontier fortress (<i>végvár</i>), tower, building |
| landscape | | mountain |
| fields, (farm)lands/estates, crops | | abyss |
| (glittering) at a distance (<i>messze</i>) | | |

| ACTIVE / DYNAMIC | ↔ | PASSIVE / STATIC |
|--|---|------------------------------------|
| changes (in the region) | | life (of the region) |
| military, journey/geographic metaphors | | horticultural, aesthetic metaphors |

(2) Conceptual domains and the imagery of language and linguists

| Conceptual domain | Self image of linguist | Tools | Conceptualisation of language | Method of language guardianship |
|---|---|--|---|--|
| Military metaphors | brave warrior, soldier | sword, lethal weapons | language = territory to be defended; fortress on the Hungarian frontier | fight, struggle, defend, wield (a sword), [be] armed |
| Spatial metaphors (vertical and horizontal arrangements) | watchman in a tower; speakers' image: [their] horizons are narrower | telescope, laboratory and position: 'on high', [seeing] further v. narrower horizons | language = landscape, road, field, mountain, abyss, [glittering] 'at a distance'; language elements = elements of this landscape | report, give account of, tell of, inform, convey |
| Horticultural metaphors, including cultivated and uncultivated lands | gardener (implied but not specified in the text) | as above | language = estates, farmland, field; language elements = wild flowers, weed, pests, crops | [nothing escapes] their attention; weed, cultivate, maintain |
| Journey / Geography metaphors, including elements of scenic landscape and built environment | cartographer; speakers' image: travelers | telescope | language = landscape; elements of language use = good or bad roads, dilapidated buildings, dangerous abysses, rock formations, snow-capped mountains glittering in a distance | to map out the land, tell tales, and as above |
| Aesthetic and moral values | | | beauties, cultivated, good, flourishing, glittering, good, v. abandoned, wild, rampant, overgrown, difficult, dangerous, dilapidated, bad | nicely [maintained], |

Images of built environment: *végvár* 'fortress on the (Hungarian) frontier', with a similar function to the Marches of Wales; *torony* 'tower', *jó út* 'good/reliable road'; (*bomladozó*) *épület* '(dilapidated) building'. The first two are locations where the 'guard' (=linguist, purist) positions himself, the last two are parts of the landscape (=language) he monitors.

Images of scenic landscape associated with language: *szépen rendben tartott gazdaságok* 'nicely maintained farmlands/estates'; *vadvirágos, gazos földek* 'fields overgrown by wild flowers or rampant weeds'; *nehezen járható hely, veszedelmes szakadék* 'territories difficult to negotiate, dangerous abyss'; *viruló vetés* 'flourishing land/crops'; *messze csillogó havasok* 'snow-capped mountains glittering at a distance'.

Vertical and horizontal space metaphors, describing the position of the 'guard'. In addition, images of the built environment and scenic landscape can also be grouped according to their horizontal or vertical nature.

(3) **Patterns of syntactic and lexical parallelism in Lőrincze 1968 (6-9) with English glosses; patterning of positive and negative values**

A. parallelism, repetition

A1. elmondja,

| | | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|------------|-------|
| mit lát a tájban, | szépen rendben tartott | gazdaságok | [+] |
| merre vannak | vadvirágos, | földek. | [+/-] |
| vagy | gazos | | [-] |
| esetleg | | | |

A2. térképezi a tájat:

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|-------------|-------|
| merre vannak | a jó | utak, | [+] |
| hol téved | | | |
| az utazó | nehezen járható | helyre, | [+/-] |
| | veszedelmes | szakadékba. | [-] |

A1. he reports,

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|-----------|-------|
| what he sees in the landscape, | nicely maintained | farmlands | [+] |
| where there are | [with] wild flower, | | [+/-] |
| or | [with] weed | fields. | [-] |
| perhaps | | | |

A2. he maps out the land[scape]:

| | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|-------|
| where there are | the good | roads, | [+] |
| where strays | | | |
| the traveller | difficult to pass | into localities, | [+/-] |
| | dangerous | into abyss. | [-] |

B. repetition

B1. beszámol

| | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| a táj | életéről, változásairól. | [synchronic, +/-] [diachronic, +/-] |
| de nem kerüli el figyelmét | a bomladozó | épület [-] |
| s | a viruló vetéseket fenyegető | kártevő [-] |
| sem. | | |

B2. továbbadja

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----|
| ami a szeme elé tárul, | azt | a sok szépséget | [+] |
| távcsöve segítségével még | a messze csillogó | havasokról is | [+] |
| tudósíthat | | | |
| a tornyából. | | | |

B1. he reports [on]

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| the region's | life, changes. | [synchronic, +/-] [diachronic, +/-] |
| but not avoid his attention | the delapidated | building [-] |
| and | the flourishing crops threatening | pest [-] |
| either. | | |

B2. he transmits

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-----|
| which unfold before his eyes, | those | many beauties | [+] |
| with his telescope | in the distance glittering | snow-capped mountains[+] | |
| inform | | | |
| from his tower. | | | |

Appendix B Cognitive cluster models v. metaphors for LANGUAGE and language myths

Section 1: Cognitive cluster model for LANGUAGE

1. THE STRUCTURAL MODEL: language is a system of signs according to many of its dictionary definitions and it has structure (ÉkSz: 258-259, *s.v.*, “nyelv”; Larousse: 379, *s.v.*, “langue”; OED Online, *s.v.*, “language”); as we shall see in Chapter 3, STRUCTURE IS DEFENSE for language.
2. THE OBJECTIVITY MODEL: as we have seen above, LANGUAGE IS A CONTAINER which “packages” elements of objective reality, and “reflects the world that surrounds us” (Fábián 2003: 227); we shall see that this was a common way of conceptualising language in Hungarian according to the discourses represented by Lőrincze as well.
3. THE COMMUNICATIVE MODEL: language is an instrument, a “tool” which makes it possible for people to “exchange thoughts” (see also Fábián 2003) and talk to each other. It is this categorisation of language which gives rise to intelligibility arguments in linguistic purism or in language stratification.
4. THE COMMUNITY MODEL: language belongs to the community of speakers who “exchange ideas” in a particular language; these communities may be organised – administratively and politically – into states, and languages may be understood as belonging to communities who think of themselves as “nations”.
5. THE INDIVIDUAL MODEL: individuals acquire, learn, and use languages, their “mother tongues” or “native languages”, and language is a vehicle through which they express their personality and individuality; individual style also belongs here.
6. THE GENEALOGICAL, GENETIC MODEL: specific languages have ancestors, sister and daughter languages, languages originate from each other. Individual speakers have a “native” language or languages.
7. THE LITERACY AND LITERARY MODEL: language is a written medium and as such it embodies literature; language has a “standard” (standard variety, standards for usage, etc.)

Section 2: Elements of the cluster model (cf. Section 1) feeding into general metaphoric conceptualisations of language and language myths

| Cluster model | Spatial image schemata | Conceptual metaphor/metonymy | Myth |
|--------------------|---|---|---|
| STRUCTURAL | HORIZONTAL (H) syntagm; VERTICAL (V) hierarchy, paradigm | LANGUAGE-INTERNAL DIVISIONS | OBJECTIVITY REALITY ABSTRACT SYSTEM |
| OBJECTIVITY | CONTAINER (H & V) | OUTER/DELIMITING BOUNDARIES | UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR |
| COMMUNICATIVE | HORIZONTAL | CONDUIT, TOOL | |
| COMMUNITY | HORIZONTAL | TERRITORY | |
| INDIVIDUAL | H (inter-generational interaction) & V (intra-generational interaction) | NURTURING PARENT | NATIONALISM RACIAL SUPREMACY |
| GENEALOGY /GENETIC | VERTICAL | FAMILY (language families, relatedness of people); NATURE | RELATIVISM AESTHETICS |
| LITERARY/LITERACY | VERTICAL | STANDARD(S) | |

Section 3: Occasional, "on-line" creative extensions to the conceptual metaphors for LANGUAGE (in text by Lajos Lőrincze)²⁰⁵

➤ LANGUAGE IS A TOOL (2), (3)

Language is the "instrument for thought-transmission" as well as the "instrument of social struggle". It is also a "vehicle of improvement", "the carrier of national culture / education" and "the spreader of national culture". Therefore, the aim of language cultivation and the craft of *nyelvművelő* are to make this instrument suitable to fulfil its functions. That is why they continually "examine" and "monitor" its changes and functioning (*átvizsgál*).

➤ LANGUAGE IS A WEAPON (3), (4)

Language is not only an "instrument" of social struggle, but also a "weapon". Without having a common and united language, namely the "national, standard, literary" variety of Hungarian, "society stops functioning, stops producing and disintegrates"; hence the arguments against the acceptance of dialectal elements in the "standard". This is part of the "fight and struggle for language" (*harc, küzdelem a nyelvért*). Society is divided into classes, so is language into "good" and "bad", "high" and "low" categories. In sharp contrast, stylistic criticism characterising earlier, aestheticising trends in purism was merely a *fegyverpróba* 'test of weapons'.

➤ LANGUAGE IS A TERRITORY/PHYSICAL SPACE (1), (2), (4)

Metaphoric images that support the understanding of language as physical space include the following. The "inner and outer boundaries of language" have to be clearly "demarcated" (*kijelöl*). Borders between acceptable and unacceptable have to be "guarded" and "maintained". Speakers' feel for language and mastery of language may show significant differences and also their awareness of the linguistic norm is "hesitating", and "uncertain". The reason for this is the "problematic territory" language is. The "language is a physical space" metaphor entails the metaphors that language change is a "road" and the "change has a direction". The road can be "misleading", "easy" or "simple". Speakers are people "asking for directions" (*tájékozódni akarók*) and therefore the linguist's task is to "provide a compass" (*iránytűt adjon a kezébe*), in the form of dictionaries, handbooks of proper usage.

➤ LANGUAGE IS A GARDEN, ORGANIC GROWTH (5), (6)

This metaphor gives rise to a range of allegories concerning language and the self-image of linguists, who engage in the cultivation of the mother tongue, "cultivation" (*művelés*) itself being one of these images. Neologisms can "take root" and if a new word is "well-formed" and therefore recommended, purists call it a "fruit of our language and culture". According to Kodály, *gyomlálás híján nyelvünkben felnő a dudva* ('without weeding, weeds will overgrow our language'). "Pests threaten flourishing crops", etc. Therefore, the task is to "weed" and "protect" language from the intrusion of unwanted elements by means of their "eradication" (*irtás*).

➤ LANGUAGE IS A TREASURE (4), (7)

The compounds *szókincs* ('Wortschatz'; *szó+kincs*, 'word'+ 'treasure', 'vocabulary' cf. English *thesaurus*, French *trésor*) and *nyelvokincs* (roughly: 'the treasures of language') are examples of this concept. These metaphors comport well with the idea that the *nyelvőr* has to "keep an eye on" (*őriz*) language, which will be "guarded" and "preserved" (*véd, megtart*) that way. Language has "hidden treasures" which are accessible by means of raising linguistic awareness and through the understanding of the aesthetic function of language. This should be demonstrated by good example: the exemplary pieces of writers, poets and artists.

²⁰⁵ In brackets see the cluster model – as in Section 1 above – to which the conceptual metaphor allowing for the following creative extensions belongs.

➤ LANGUAGE IS A LIVING ORGANISM, A MORAL BEING (4), (5)

The evaluative adjectives taken from the moral field illustrate that language is conceptualised not only as a living being but as a moral being as well. It might lose “prestige” and its speakers might “abandon” it. It can have “vitality” or be “lifeless” (*életerő, vitalitás / élettelen*). Language change and axioms of language purity are often referred to as “laws” (*törvény*) and handbooks of correct usage as “linguistic etiquette” or “codices” (*kódex*). The linguist, after he has “studied” these “laws”, has to “put them into practice” and “get them acknowledged and followed” by the members of the speech community. To this end, he must “present arguments” and “convince” speakers of the correctness of these “laws” (*gyakorlatban érvényesít, érvel, meggyőz*). Language as a moral being and as a living being characterises the individual, but it belongs to society, it is the common responsibility of speakers and various groups of professionals (linguists, writers and actors) to promote its “well-being”.

➤ LANGUAGE IS A MUSICAL INSTRUMENT / A WORK OF ART (7)

Expressions grounded in the field of aesthetics belong here: language is *szép* ‘beautiful’, *csúnya* ‘ugly’, *jól formált* ‘well-formed, formous’, *rosszul formált* ‘ill-formed, deformed’; it has *finom árnyalatok* ‘fine tone’ and *árnyalat* ‘shade of colour’. Writers and linguists are “musicians” and “music teachers”. Therefore, language is a musical instrument and it is the individual’s responsibility to learn how to “play well” on this instrument. Both the writer and the speaker can “speak/utter a sentence in a beautiful manner” (*szépen szól*) and therefore the language sounds “beautiful” and also “Hungarian” (*magyarosan*). Kodály is more likely to use nationally oriented evaluative expressions: the “spirit of the Hungarian language” and both “beautiful pronunciation” and utterances are results of being “rooted in” and “familiar with” “Hungarian thinking”. Moreover, expressions have “colour” and “taste”.

Appendix C Sample text illustrating anchorage in Greek

Sample text illustrating an instance of the “Greek brand” of anchorage

[...] οι κυβερνήσεις εκεί (στην Ελλάδα) “διορίζονται” ακόμη και σήμερα από τους Αγγλοαμερικανούς και εξυπηρετούν τα συμφέροντά τους. Δεν θα σχοληθώ με τα φιλολογικά, με το ότι δηλαδή πολλοί ξένοι μεγάλοι άνδρες, όπως ο μεγάλος Γερμανός αρχαιολόγος Σλήμαν – ο οποίος ερεύνησε τις Μυκήνες, ανακάλυψε την αρχαία Τροία και απέδειξε ότι ο Τρωικός Πόλεμος πραγματικά έγινε, αλλά όχι για την ωραία Ελένη – είπαν ότι η ελληνική γλώσσα είναι η ωραιότερη στον κόσμο. Κακοποιείται αυτή η γλώσσα, όχι από τους ξένους, αλλά από τους Έλληνες, που κατάργησαν την Αρχαία και έκαναν τη Νέα αγνώριστη. (Christoforou 2014)²⁰⁶

[...] the governments there (in Greece) are still even today “appointed” by the Anglo-Americans and serve their interests. I am not going to deal with philology, with the fact that many great foreign men, like the great German archaeologist Schliemann – who excavated Mycenae, discovered ancient Troy, and proved that the Trojan War did take place in reality, but not because of Helen – said that the Greek language is the most beautiful in the world. This language is being molested, not by the foreigners, but by the Greeks, who abolished Ancient Greek and made Modern Greek unrecognisable.²⁰⁷

Model of ANCHORAGE in the past

| Vehicles or domains of metonymic transfer | Individual instances from the text |
|--|---|
| ideals and paragons of culture | (+) the great German archaeologist Schliemann (-) Helen of Troy (-) Greek governments = the Greeks (-) Anglo-American governments = foreigners |
| past events (salient examples of the “greatness” of culture) | (+) Trojan War (+) excavating Mycenae |
| places of symbolic significance | (+) Mycenae (+) Troy |
| aesthetic superiority of language | (+) the Greek language is the most beautiful in the world |
| threat to language | (-) replacement of road signs in the Greek alphabet in Greece and Cyprus with signs in the Latin alphabet (-) abolishing Ancient Greek (-) making Modern Greek unrecognisable |

²⁰⁶ Excerpt cited from Zannettos Christoforou’s article in *Eleftheria*, a Greek-language weekly newspaper in London (cf. Christoforou 2014).

²⁰⁷ I thank Aris Ioannides for double checking this translation.

Appendix D A synoptic outline of the history of the *e caduc*

| | Elwert 1965 | Aquien 1990 *Aquien 1993 | Grammont 1930 | Dorchain 1910 (1921, 1933) |
|---|--|--|--|---|
| eV ^s <beu> > <bu> <eage> > <âge> or [ə] > [é] | by C16 completely reduced (“mute”), not counted; and also regulated in orthography; does not pose a problem for theoreticians; | | at times the <e> is retained in orthography for much longer than it is audible, but it does not count; hence, <i>eaue</i> ‘eau’, which became monosyllabic in C13, continued to be written as <eaue> | |
| -V ^{NS} e- jou(e)ras, fi(e)ra pri(e)ra | since C12 weakening; always counts in OF and it is pronounced; C16 no longer pronounced, it does not count; theoreticians do not protest; but there are some orthographic doublets and triplets: <gaiement> : <gaïment> : <gayement> which make it possible to count it as a syllable; | OF pronounced; entirely reduced after vowel whether inside the word or at the end (<i>priera</i> and <i>prie</i>); does not count; | since C16 after an unstressed vowel it does not count; | inside the word it does not count: “why would it, when it does not sound any different...?” its only effect has always been to slightly lengthen the preceding vowel; but words like <i>payement</i> can be spelled in different ways: <paiement> : <payement> depending on how many syllables are needed; |
| -V ^s e(C) IND, COND, imparfait; prie, pries, prient; avaient, aient; étaient; soient; FEM SG & PL -ée, ées | C12 weakening; C16 complete reduction in all v forms of <i>avoir</i> , <i>être</i> ; and in the imparfait, COND, and IND of all verbs; until C17 in <i>-ée</i> and <i>-ées</i> it results in lengthening; Peletier and Ronsard suggest to ignore it but the latter does not always respect this rule himself; Malherbe and Sebillet insist that it is still audible; influenced by orthography but | OF pronounced; entirely reduced after vowel whether inside the word or at the end; does not count; Classic: confusion and concerns caused by conservative orthogr. => at the end of the word in the line, the sequences VeC or Ve_C are forbidden => many v forms and also FEM Ns and Adjs can't be used in the line; | in C16 after a stressed vowel (<i>prie</i> , <i>pries</i>) not counted either; but the word that contains it can feature inside the line only if –e can elide (or it has to be at the end of the line) C13: in COND, SUBJ, and imparfait, the spelling changed gradually (<e> was left out) in order to make the use of such forms possible; C15-16: developments about whether it counts or not; Classical rule: <e> of the 3PL SUBJ, COND, and | C19-20; after stressed vowel / at the end of a word: no longer forms a diphthong with the preceding vowel => it is a syllable; Problem: this syllable cannot count because pronouncing it would be entirely alien to the French ear's habits."It would be unbearable." “What will become of this -e then, which cannot melt into the previous |

| | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|---|
| <p>cf. amie éternelle</p> <p>but *amie tendre</p> <p>and cf. also</p> <p>Ve_V and Ve_C</p> | <p>cannot ignore pron.=></p> <p>Compromise: it is either followed by a vowel (and therefore elided) or has to be at the end of line; => used only where it was elided already in OF;</p> <p>end of line: Malherbe insisted that the syllable was long;</p> <p>Problem: not elided in front of consonant (as M insists it is audible) but it must not count because cannot be considered a syllable (it is inaudible);</p> <p>=> all the words with <e> in this position are forbidden (Corneille changes *Justifie César > Justifiant César)</p> | <p>=> Alternative spelling <pensées> > <pensers>;</p> <p>=> Exceptions are made: -aient, -oient, soient, aient</p> <p>*C16 in <i>prie</i> before C it counts;</p> <p>*before vowel it is not pronounced and it does not count;</p> <p>=></p> <p>*but VeC sequence is forbidden</p> | <p>imparfait forms in -oient continues to be written but does not count; neither soient or aient; => they were reinterpreted as masculine rhymes;</p> <p>Problem: after the COND and imparfait forms start being written as -aient, soient is isolated and rhymes only with voient and croient which count as feminine rhymes; => soient is also reinterpreted as such;</p> <p>from C19 (Musset, Hugo) 3PL IND does not count => voient = monosyllabic;</p> <p>neither does -ée(s) or e.g. veue, which already Ronsard and Marot, and Baif adopted;</p> | <p>syllable nor can it count in the metre?" <i>It has to be placed either in front of a word beginning with a vowel and therefore elided or it has to be at the end of the line!***</i></p> <p>if followed by C(C), as in PL of Ns, Adjs, PARTs, -ées, i-es; and in 3PL IND, SUBJ, COND, imp: -V-ent: , -oient, and -aient; (e.g. oublie)</p> <p>-e cannot be elided because of the Cs=></p> <p>even in front of a C, the mute syllables would be pronounced too much or too little; => the same prohibition applies as in their singular =></p> <p>only allowed at the end, in the rhyme;</p> <p>Exceptions had to be made for words which are "le nerf et l'armature de la langue" like soient and aient, sortaient, and rentraient, so, even "our classics" include them inside the line;</p> |
| <p>-Ve_V-</p> <p>amie éternelle</p> <p>cf. also -V^{se}e</p> | <p>in OF: elided or linked; even when linked, in pron., to the following vowel, it is not counted;</p> <p>long before C17 silent;</p> <p>no impact on syllable count as it is only a graphic convention;.</p> | <p>in OF it is pronounced; but it is elided before the the following vowel; =></p> <p>Classic: it does not count; entirely reduced after V.</p> <p>*C16 before vowel it is not pronounced and it does not count;</p> | <p>in C16 after a stressed vowel (<i>prie, pries</i>) not counted;</p> <p>but the word that contains it can feature inside the line only if -e can elide in front of a vowel as here (or it has to be at the end of the line)</p> | <p>C19-20: -e "cannot melt into the previous syllable nor can it count in the metre" => <i>It has to be placed either in front of a word beginning with a vowel [like here] and therefore elided or it has to be at the end of the line!***</i></p> |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|---|
| <p>-Ve=C-</p> <p>*amie tendre</p> <p>cf. also -V^se</p> | <p>since C16 [ə] is hardly pronounced;</p> <p>since C17 only in elocution;</p> <p>it would count as it is not elided but its full pronunciation sounds forced =></p> <p>it is avoided by e.g. Ronsard</p> <p>cf. Malherbe's rules</p> | <p>in OF it is pronounced; (cannot be elided or linked)</p> <p>Classic: although entirely reduced after V, it would have to be counted; there is a confusion caused by contradicting orthogr. and pron. =></p> <p>at the end of the word in the line, the sequence is forbidden, whether VeC or Ve=C; =></p> <p>many v forms and also FEM Ns and Adjs can't be used in the line</p> <p>*C16 this sequence is forbidden</p> | <p>in C16 after a stressed vowel (<i>prie, priés</i>) not counted;</p> <p>but the word that contains it can feature inside the line only if -e can elide in front of a vowel (or it has to be at the end of the line);</p> <p>in OF pronounced and counted but when it stopped being audible, "an embarrassing situation arose": it either had to be counted (and therefore made to be pronounced artificially) or its use had to be restricted, leaving entire word classes out of use inside the line. => this sequence is not allowed;</p> | <p>C19-20 "as the -e after stressed vowel (-V^se) cannot be found inside the line in front of a word that begins with a consonant, only at the end of the line, "it will never be exposed to the danger of being pronounced too much or too little" =></p> <p>"We have to acknowledge that the rule established about this matter is one of the most exquisitely musical rules of our prosody."</p> <p>C15-16 "It was not easy to arrive at this rule and our poets often stumbled." Villon, Marot and others, whose hearing was too subtle to eliminate it, preferred including it in the syllable count.</p> |
| <p>-(C)CeC-</p> <p>(seul(e)ment)</p> | <p>OF: always counts, even if it is not pronounced;</p> <p>since C12 weakening;</p> <p>C16 almost complete reduction;</p> <p>grammarians and theorists insist on maintaining it in accordance with the "style soigné de l'élocution solonelle".</p> | <p>after single consonant it is dropped;</p> <p>after or before several consonants it is pronounced except in "diction relâchée" (quat' fois)</p> | | |
| <p>-Ce(C)-</p> <p>in final syllable</p> <p>-(C)Ces,</p> | <p>C17 in educated language the final C is pronounced in front of vowels ("liaison"), so, the theorists prescribe it in declamation;</p> <p>end of C17: final Cs completely disappear</p> | | | |

| | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|
| <p>-(C)Cet, -(C)Cent,</p> | <p>but in verse this is proscribed; if C is not pronounced, <e> is in final position but it is unstressed and may therefore be dropped; until C19 whether it counts or not depends on the treatment of the consonant;</p> | | | |
| <p>-Ce=C-</p> | <p>since C16 it is hardly audible, pronounced as a hardly articulated [ə]; since C17 pronounced only in elocution and declamation; it always counts;</p> | <p>stem-final -e, after C, is "muted": <i>une armure</i>; but preserved in the southern pronunciation; its only trace is that it lengthens the preceding vowel; Classic: it counts *C16 it counts; this leads to alternating spelling of e.g. <i>encore</i>: the last <e> can be left out</p> | <p>end of C15 to C20: after consonant, in the line or at the end, it seems to behave in a similar way, at times pronounced, at times not; C16: it may count or may be elided, both in front of Cs and Vs; C17 did not tolerate this liberty;</p> | |
| <p>-Ce=V- ne, que, ce, je -Ce^s=V- verb-le=V-</p> | <p>in OF: elided or linked; even when linked, in pron., to the following vowel, it is not counted; long before C17 silent; no impact on syllable count as it is only a graphic convention; OF: elision is optional in <i>ne, que, ce, je</i>; but from C17 obligatory; stressed enclitic pronouns (in OF <i>me, te, se, le</i>; in contemporary F only <i>le</i>): it must not count as it is before vowel but it is stressed, so it cannot be elided => its use is avoided</p> | <p>OF elided; stem-final -e, after C, is "muted": <i>une armure</i>; but preserved in the southern pronunciation except in elision, like here, in front of an initial vowel in the next word; Classic: it does not count *C16 before vowel it is not pronounced and it does not count; *when stressed, retaining it leads to hiatus; eliding it is shocking to the ear; => so, its use is to be avoided after the classical period</p> | <p>end of C15 to C20: after consonant, in the line or at the end, it seems to behave in a similar way, at times pronounced, at times not; C16: it may count or may be elided, both in front of Cs and Vs; C17 did not tolerate this liberty; the C17 fixes the rules; in the C19 we encounter it only exceptionally or in songs (chansonniers) (in front of vowel, it may count only exceptionally)</p> | |

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|---|--|---|
|e (feminine rhymes) | <p>since C16 hardly pronounced;</p> <p>since C17 only in elocution;</p> <p>distinction between feminine and masculine is a poetic abstraction not a phonetic reality but it is maintained;</p> | <p>Classic: apocope: does not count;</p> <p>as it is “surnumérique” it is reserved for the function of determining FEM and MASC rhymes;</p> <p>Middle Ages: it could occur at the end of the hemistich and not count;</p> | <p>OF this was the only environment (along with the caesura), when it did not count;</p> | <p>at the end of the line it will not disturb as the last syllable that counts is the accented syllable; the -e will merely lengthen the vowel of that syllable gently;</p> |
|Ce | not pronounced | <p>*C16 apocope, does not count</p> | | |
|Ve | <p>some claim to hear a lengthening of the preceding vowel but this might be precisely because of the usual pronunciation in elocution, so, it is intentional and conscious</p> | | | |

Appendix E Heritage speakers' language use v. the language of the classroom

1. Students' phonological inventory v. "standard" Hungarian

Figure 1: Vowel inventory of standard Hungarian (based on Abondolo 2006: 429)

| | Short | | | | Long | | | |
|------|----------------|-------|------|-------|--------|--------|------|--------|
| | Front | | Back | | Front | | Back | |
| | -R | +R | -R | +R | -R | +R | -R | +R |
| High | i <i> | y <ü> | | u <u> | i: <í> | y: <ű> | | u: <ú> |
| Mid | (e <ë> or <e>) | ø <ö> | | o <o> | e: <é> | ø: <ő> | | o: <ó> |
| Low | ε <e> | | | v <a> | | | | a: <á> |

Figure 2: Vowel inventory of S1 and S2

| | Short | | | | Long | | | | | |
|------|---------|-------|----------------|----------------|------|-------|--------|--------|------|--------|
| | Front | | Central | | Back | | Front | | Back | |
| | -R | +R | -R | +R | -R | +R | -R | +R | -R | +R |
| High | i <i> | y <ü> | * ₁ | * ₄ | | u <u> | i: <í> | y: <ű> | | u: <ú> |
| Mid | (e <ë>) | ø <ö> | * ₃ | | | o <o> | e: <é> | ø: <ő> | | o: <ó> |
| Low | ε <e> | | | | | v <a> | | | | a: <á> |
| | *æ | | | | | | | | | |

Figure 2: Vowel inventory of S3

| | Short | | | | Long | | | |
|------|---------|-------|------|----------------|--------|--------|--------|----------|
| | Front | | Back | | Front | | Back | |
| | -R | +R | -R | +R | -R | +R | -R | +R |
| High | i <i> | y <ü> | | u <u> | i: <í> | y: <ű> | | u: <ú> |
| Mid | (e <ë>) | ø <ö> | | o <o> | e: <é> | ø: <ő> | | o: <ó> |
| Low | ε <e> | | | * ₅ | | | | |
| | | | | v <a> | | | a: <á> | *(v <a>) |

2. Morphological differences in students' use and "classroom" Hungarian

2.1. Local cases

Figure 3: Local case system in standard Hungarian

| ILL | INE | ELA |
|------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| -bA (-ba, -be) | -bA(n) (-ban, -ben) | -bÓl (-ból, -ből) |
| SUB | SUP | DEL |
| -rA (-ra, -re) | -(O)n (-n, -on, -en, -ön) | -rÓl (-ról, -ről) |
| ALL | ADE | ABL |
| -hOz (-hoz, -hez, höz) | -nÁl (-nál, nél) | -tÓl (-tól, től) |

Examples from the students' use

Standard Hungarian (S.)

(1) *Budapest-hez* 'to Budapest'

S. *Budapestre*

(2) *Berlin-től* 'from Berlin'

S. *Berlinből*

(3) *London-hoz* 'to London'

S. *Londonba*

(4) *Budapest-nek men-t-em*
budapest-DAT go-PAST-1SG
'I went to Budapest'

S. *Budapest-re men-t-em*
Budapest-SUB go-PAST-1SG

(5) *A sör-öz mond-ja*
the driver-ALL say-3SG.DEF
's/he says to the driver'

S. *A sör-nek mond-ja*
the driver-DAT say-3SG.DEF

2.2. Possessive noun phrases: omission of possessive suffixes, analytical forms

Hungarian possessive NPs are headmarked (Kenessei & Vágó & Fenyvesi 1998: 217);

Possession is marked by personal suffixes, personal pronoun *may* express contrastive stress;

Examples from the students' use

Standard Hungarian (S.)

dependent marking in possessive NPs (with the dative)

(6) *a család-om-nak a ház-*0* S. *a család-om(-nak a) ház-a*
the family-1SG.POSS-DAT the house-*0 the family-1SG.POSS(-DAT the) house-3SG.POSS
'my family's house'

preference for analytical forms and/or omission of possessive suffix

(7) *az én testvér-em* **S.** *a testvér-em*
the I sibling-1SG.POSS the sibling-1SG.POSS
'my brother/sister'

(8) *az én testvér-*0* **S.** *az én testvér-em*
the I sibling-*0 the 1SG.PRON sibling-1SG.POSS
'my brother/sister'

syntactic parallelism with English *have* construction instead of *habeo*

(9) *mind a két város-nak van sok iskola-*0*
all the two city-DAT there.is many school-*0

v. Standard Hungarian:

(10) *mind a két város-nak van sok iskolá-ja*
both the two city-DAT there.is many school-3SG.POSS

3. Lexico-grammatical innovations

3.1. Innovative use of verbal prefixes with occasional loans

(11) *ki-szortíroz-za magá-t* **S.** *majd megoldódik*; Lit. 'it will (be) resolve(d)'
out-sort-3SG.DEF itself-ACC
'it will sort itself out'

3.2. Syntactic and lexical borrowing

(12) *lát-lak holnap* **S.** *holnap találkozunk*; Lit. 'we'll meet tomorrow'
see-1SG.2OBJ tomorrow
'see you tomorrow'

(13) *ki-megy-ünk szombat este* **S.** *Elmegyünk valahova szombat este.*
out-go-1SG.INDEF saturday evening
'we'll go out on Saturday' Lit. 'we'll go somewhere on Saturday'

Appendix F Parallel texts: Bëlga's song text in Hungarian and in English

Bëlga (2010) A-Á song text

The Hungarian text is cited from <http://www.zeneszoveg.hu/dalszoveg/54205/belga/a---a-zeneszoveg.html> (Accessed 2015-08-06.) The English text is my translation.

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>A mondat fő részei: az alany és az állítmány. 3 féle lehet egy mondatban az állítmány. A mondat fő részei: az alany és az állítmány. 3 féle lehet egy mondatban az állítmány.</p> <p>Az igei állítmányra itt egy példa mondat: <i>A kezemben megszólal majd a pakk-pakk-pakk.</i> Mit állítok? <i>Megszólal.</i> Mi szólal meg? <i>A pakk-pakk-pakk.</i></p> <p>A névszói állítmányra itt egy példa mondat: <i>Az élet a legjobb mérég.</i> Mit állítok? <i>Mérég.</i></p> <p>A névszói igei állítmányra itt egy példa mondat: <i>Ákos elmúlt negyven.</i> Mit állítok? <i>Elmúlt negyven.</i> Ki múlt el negyven? <i>Ákos.</i></p> <p>A mondat fő részei: az állítmány és az alany. 3 féle lehet egy mondatban az alany. A mondat fő részei: az állítmány és az alany. 3 féle lehet egy mondatban az alany.</p> <p>A határozott alanyra itt egy példa mondat: <i>Ez itt az.</i> Mit állítok? <i>Az.</i> Mi az? <i>Ez.</i></p> <p>Az általános alanyra itt egy példa mondat: <i>Mindenki táncol.</i> Mit állítok? <i>Táncol.</i> Ki táncol? <i>Mindenki.</i></p> <p>A határozatlan alanyra itt egy példa mondat: <i>Valami véget ért.</i> Mi ért véget? <i>Valami.</i></p> <p>A mondat fő részei: az alany és az állítmány. Mit állítok? <i>Részei.</i> Mi részei? <i>Az alany és az állítmány.</i></p> <p>A mondat fő részei: az alany és az állítmány. Mit állítok? <i>Részei.</i> Mi részei? <i>Az alany és az állítmány.</i></p> | <p>The main parts of a sentence are the subject and the predicate. There can be three types of predicates in a sentence. (Repetition of both lines)</p> <p>Here is an example of a verbal predicate: <i>Pakk-pakk-pakk starts playing in my hand.</i> What do I predicate? <i>It starts playing.</i> What starts playing? <i>Pakk-pakk-pakk.</i></p> <p>Here is an example of a nominal prediate: <i>Life is the best poison.</i> What do I predicate? <i>It is poison.</i></p> <p>Here is an example of a nominal-verbal predicate: <i>Ákos has passed forty.</i> What do I predicate? <i>He's passed forty.</i> Who's passed forty? <i>Ákos.</i></p> <p>The main parts of a sentence are the predicate and the subject. There can be three types of subjects in a sentence. (Repetition of both lines)</p> <p>Here is an example of a definite subject: <i>This, here, is that.</i> What do I predicate? <i>It's that.</i> What's that? <i>It's this.</i></p> <p>Here is an example of a generic subject: <i>Everybody is dancing.</i> What do I predicate? <i>Dancing.</i> Who's dancing? <i>Everybody.</i></p> <p>Here is an example of the indefinite subject: <i>Something came to an end.</i> What came to an end? <i>Something.</i></p> <p>The main parts of a sentence are the subject and the predicate. What do I predicate? <i>They are its parts.</i> What parts? <i>The subject and the predicate.</i></p> <p>(Repetition of the last section)</p> |
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