Editorial

Words are Noble!

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> "Words are noble.
> They should never be used to *vincere,*
> but rather to *convincere"*

Words are noble; they should always be respected and expressed wisely. Words should never be used to *vincere,* from Latin, meaning 'to win', 'to conquer', but rather to *convincere* from Latin, meaning 'to win', 'to conquer'- *con* 'with', 'together'. This is especially true for a historic period like the one we are living today, with the pandemic and wars all over the world.

Like cells for the human body, words are the basic structural and functional units of a language, and language is undoubtedly the most *humanum* characteristics. Indeed, humans are the only living beings capable of using a structured set of signs and sounds collectively called language, representing the means through which people communicate with each other both orally and in written form. Language represents also one of the most important social behaviors, and thanks to language, humans have been able to accumulate knowledge and transmit it from one generation to the next. The four main language skills: talking, listening, reading and writing need an apparatus of physical and biological instruments, as well as many crucial physiological mechanisms and processes. In humans, language has been generated thanks to many concomitant elements, such as the development of particular areas of the brain and the creation of new cerebral neuronal routes (Kimura, 1993; Sousa, *et al.,* 2017; Changeux, 2021). Bone structures like the base of the skull, which seems to have undergone a flexion, the changes in the hyoid bone and in the dimension of the canal of the hypoglossal nerve also seem to play a role (DeGusta, 1999). A particular function has been acted by the tongue, the mouth,

and all its other components (Rong & Heidrick, 2022). Respiration control, governed by abdominal and thoracic muscles, has also been reported as a crucial factor (Allott, 1989; Maclarnon, 1999). Of course, all the modifications of the form of the hands and the arms, and the fact that humans passed from a quadruped locomotion to an erect position have also been implicated (Provine, 2017).

The human body and especially the brain interact with and are directly influenced by the environment in which they act. Indeed, both the brain and the body as a whole have undergone important changes in response to the multiple environmental solicitations and stimuli that have given origin to the development of a structured language (Pinker, 2000; Hauser, 2002). In this abstraction, humans have undergone a real 'evolutionary burst', and understanding of the complex modifications that have occurred throughout the years, which represent the basis for reaching the complex level of evolution of language, is certainly important. About 170,000 years ago, hominids probably began to generate a real non-oral communication system, which was somewhat similar to the sign language used today; while the shift to oral interaction came many years later (Jucquois, 2007). It seems that the selective pressures operated by the environment may have favored vocalization over gestures (Corballis, 2008; DeGusta, 1999). An advantage of oral communication was that words as opposed to gestures allowed communication in the dark, so interactions could occur also at night. Moreover, another advantage of oral communication was that it permitted bypassing of possible obstacles standing between the two interlocutors, which prevented one from seeing the gestures. Another important function of language was certainly represented by the possibility to send out far away messages of warning and danger. Therefore, the final acquisition of language through the voice has freed up the use of the hands, and thus all the necessary potential for using the hands was made available.

In this context, it is worth noting that this 'evolutionary burst' has been followed by a 'revolutionary burst', involving and deeply subverting human life in the past years. Undoubtedly, all the technological communication means such as telephones, smartphones and the Internet have definitely devastated the ways people live and interact with each other (Anderson & Tracey, 2001). First, telephones have allowed more prompt oral communications that, just like for our ancestors, can occur in the dark and at very long distances, so freeing up the hands that no longer have to write telegrams, letters and postcards. Later on cell- and smartphones appeared, which replaced traditional telephones, allowing not only immediate long distance oral communications, but also sending of written messages that could reach the interlocutor at anytime, anywhere in the world (Hartanto, *et al.*, 2023). It is interesting to note that, although smartphones allow

both oral and written communications, these latter seem to be more common and have had an immediate spread all over the world due to their low cost (Mahato, *et al*., 2023). More importantly, smartphones seem to be the communication means mostly used, over tablets and computers (Fortunati, 2023). The worldwide spread of the Internet with its easiness and immediacy has taken charge over all other types of interactions, be they for work or for fun. The Internet has facilitated written communications over oral ones, so again using the hands and returning to that set of signs so dear to our ancestors have taken charge. The Internet advocates even the application of images, which for our ancestors were represented by elementary drawings presenting the surrounding world and events; for us today, they are all types of visual representations, photos and movies (Devi & Devi, 2023). As a consequence of the 'technological burst', a return to the hand from the mouth is occurring.

Similarly to our ancestors, today oral communications needing the use of the mouth, allow interactions in the dark and at limitless distances. However, what is extremely amazing is that either when the two interlocutors are near each other or nearby as it occurred for our ancestors, or when the two interlocutors are in two different parts of the world as it occurs through phones and the Internet, oral communications are always an interaction. In other words, oral communications are two-way communications; they need the presence of two human beings sharing a set of sounds that can yield an effective oral exchange. During oral communication, the two parts involved must both be simultaneously active in order to produce an interaction. On the other hand, non-oral communications, requiring the use of the hands can occur at any time, and can run across considerable distances; this was not possible for our ancestors. Similarly to our ancestors, non-oral communications require a set of signs, which of course, today is more developed than that used by our ancestors, which is portrayed by a syntactically and lexically well-structured written language. Today, such signs could be depicted either through the articulated and organized written language, or through photos and other types of more or less complex systems of images produced by the most modern devices like photo- and video-cameras. Furthermore, written communications are not two-way communications, they are no longer an interaction needing the presence of two human beings. Instead, interlocutors can access the messages at their convenience. Consistently, in this type of communication, an interaction is not necessarily produced, since only one part is active while the other one passively receives written communications that might never be read! (Daniele, 2017).

The endless modifications the human body and brain undergo in order to assure effective language articulation and production are certainly fascinating. The constant alternating from the hands to the mouth and backwards, as well as

the back and forth shifting from written to oral communication represent a clear demonstration of the great adaptation capacity of the body and especially, an unconfutable evidence of the enormous plasticity of the brain. Both the body and the brain are astonishingly capable of responding and adjusting to all environmental solicitations and stimuli through modeling, redesigning and reshaping their anatomical and physiological traits. The infinite and continual work of the body and the brain that guarantees language preservation and progression should induce humans to a sapient handling of language and words.

Declarations

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Syntactic-Semantic Analysis of Term Compounds in Mechanics

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the syntactic-semantic analysis of Lithuanian and English compounds in mechanical terminology. The aim of the study is to reveal the components of semantic-syntactic relations of compounds in both languages. According to the theory and methodology of Olsen, LarssoN, and Keinys, the following syntactic-semantic relations of compounds were identified: determinative, possessive, copulative, and verbal governing. These types are dominant in English and Lithuanian. It was found that the essential feature of determinative compounds is the presence of both noun components. Possessive compounds usually have a single adjectival component and are metaphorical in meaning. Copulative compounds are both equivalent nouns that do not describe each other, and in English copulative compound components can be swapped, and the meaning would not change. The distinguishing feature of verbal governing compounds is that one component is a verb or verb-noun, which is usually the second component of a compound. The semantic-syntactic analysis showed that most of the compounds identified were determinative. The analysis of the determinative compounds by semantic class revealed that the most productive is the semantic class of purpose. This tendency was observed among the Lithuanian and English equivalents.

Although while discussing the existing patterns of compound derivation, the most frequent pattern was N + N in Lithuanian and English, the present research identified other types as well. The following models dominated among Lithuanian compounds: Adj. + N, Adv. + N, and Num.+N, while the following dominated in English: Pr. + N, V + N, and N + Adj. Such results show that in the terminology of mechanics, the pattern of formation of both noun component compounds is the most productive among Lithuanian compounds and their English equivalents.

Introduction

Compounds are also known as one of the most problematic ways of forming words and has attracted researchers of linguistic phenomena for many years. The work of Murmulaitytė (2019), which analyses new words and self-occlusive compound nouns, should be mentioned. The main objective of this study is to analyse the compatibility of new compounds found with the grammatical rules of the language norms and to identify the prevailing patterns and types of compounds. In his doctoral dissertation 'The Compounding of German Compounds in Manuscript Bilingual Baltic Dictionaries of the 15th-18th Centuries', Jarmalavičius (2014) has extensively analysed the compound nouns of the period. This study is important for further analysis of compound nouns. Inčiuraitė-Noreikienė (2015) has researched the structure of neoclassical compounds with neoclassical components and their integration into the Lithuanian word-formation system and has discussed the morphological status of neoclassical components. Compound nouns in Old Latvian have been studied by Bukelskytė-Čepelė (2020). Although the author has analysed the compounds in Old Latvian dictionaries, this is quite important in order to study Lithuanian compound nouns. More interest is shown in the analysis of compounds in English as many phrases consisting of several words are combined to form compounds (Myking, 2020).

In linguistics, compounds have been studied more structurally in terms of their syntactic relations, their importance for the common language, etc. Schäfer (2018) has carried out a semantic analysis of complex compounds. Rutkienė also has studied terminology compounds extensively. The author analysed the formation and development of reconstruction terminology compounds (2021), hybrid construction terminology compounds with classical prepositional sieve stems (2019), and the syntactic-semantic component relations among compounds (2017). According to Drukteinis (2013), research of orthographic component joint variants in nautical terms should be mentioned. Even though this study is different, it is an important step while examining compounds in terminology from different fields. Belda (2002) has further analysed computing terminology compounds with a neoclassical root. This is quite a relevant topic in technology terminology, as many new terms with the international roots micro-, mini-, mono-, and uni- are emerging with the development and creation of new technologies. Gavrilovska (2018) has carried out a morphological analysis of noun compounds of English legal terms according to the word class to which the compound constituents belong.

The aim of this study was to carry out a syntactic-semantic analysis of mechanical terminology compounds in Lithuanian and English to reveal the component semantic-syntactic relations of compounds in mechanical terminology in both languages. Thus, this research is new in several respects. For the first time, a study analyses mechanical compounds from a semantic-syntactic point of view and makes a cross-linguistic comparative study.

Theoretical Background

Based on their structure, compounds can be classified according to the meaning of the component, its belonging to a certain part of speech, and the 'role' the component plays in the compound so as to perform a syntactic-semantic analysis. As Rutkienė claims, 'the essence of the syntactic-semantic approach is the recognition that a compound is a syntactic-semantic construct whose components are connected by certain relations' (2017; p.165). According to Larsson (2002) and Olsen (2000), compounds are divided into four types: determinative, possessive, copulative, and verbal governing. Smetonienė also points out that 'the meaning and form of a compound depends on the parts of speech from which the compound is made' (Smetonienė, 2021; p.134). Keinys (1999) divides the compounds into determinative, copulative, possessive, and verbal governing. A more detailed analysis of compounds studies the semantic relations of compound nouns. The most important works that have laid the foundations for such an analysis of compounds and provided possible relations between the components are those of Scalise and Bisetto. Here, dualisation is further subdivided into subordinative, attributive, and coordinative covenants, and components have endocentric or exocentric relations.

Compounds are considered subordinating when one component of a compound noun supplements another. In the example *taxi driver*, *taxi* is a component that supplements the main component *driver* (Bisetto & Scalise, 2009). When one of the components is an adjective and the other is a noun (e.g., *yellow lemon*), or when both compounds are nouns but one of them corresponds
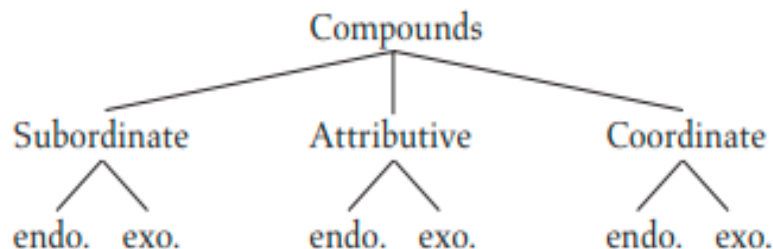

Figure 1. Classification of the Compounds According to Scalise and Bisetto (2005)

to the adjectival properties of the other (e.g., *raincoat*), these compounds are dualised as attributive. Coordinating compounds are ostensibly linked by the conjunction 'and' and are equivalent to each other (e.g., *poet-painter-director*) (Bisetto & Scalise, 2009). Bell and Plag (2012) suggest that compounds can also be analysed according to semantic classes by determining the meaning of the first and second component, i.e., what is described by the defining component (the modifier), which can indicate place, time, material purpose, etc. Thus, it can be argued that subordinating components can also be called determinative, attributive possessive, and coordinating copulative.

The most common are determinative compounds. According to Stundžia, the most common are determinative compounds, especially noun + noun pattern, which 'in different dialects make up from half or a little more to almost two-thirds of all compounds' (Stundžia, 2021, p.238). However, the first

component of a determinative compound can also be a verb, an adjective, a numeral, a pronoun or an adverb. However, these patterns are rare (Bukelskytė-Čepelė, 2020). Determinative compounds are characterised by a binary structure. The first component (determiner) usually defines the second component (determinate), thus making its meaning narrower and forming subordinating relations (Jarmalavičius, 2014). The second noun is usually the main noun, which determines the semantic and morphological properties of the compound. In contrast, the other noun (the determiner) acts as a modifier, thus narrowing the meaning of the compound. A great example of a determinative compound would be a *coffee cup*. This shows that the main word (component) is *cup*, which determines the semantic and morphological properties of the dagger. On the other hand, the modifier (determiner) in this case is *coffee,* which narrows the meaning.

According to Balode, 'possessive compounds are a category of adjectival composites and substantiation is very common. Dictionaries often refer to adjectival (adj.) and noun usages' (2019, p.38). Possessive compound is the second classificatory type of compound, which is one of the most archaic, and dates back to the Indo-European proto language (Larsson, 2002). These compound words, unlike the determinatives mentioned above, are not productive (Neef, 2002). Futhermore, these compounds are usually used to describe plants and animals, and the most prominent feature attributed to this type is figurative meaning (Jarmalavičius, 2014). Possessive compounds differ from determinative compounds because possessive usually refers to 'properties possessed by objects in the living and non-living world' (Balode, 2019, p.38). The *unicorn* (lit. *vienaragis*) is a perfect example (Balode, 2019). In addition, these compounds are more frequently used in colloquial speech, which may account for the lower use of these compounds in written sources (Jarmalavičius, 2020). The first component is usually an adjective or a numeral and less often a noun or a verb. The components of possessive compounds are linked by determinative relations and are classified as subspecies of determinative compounds (Jarmalavičius, 2014). In these compounds, based on the determinative compounds mentioned above, the second component is defined by the first component. Nonetheless, the overall meaning of the compound is expanded and not narrowed in the determinative compounds. In Baltic languages, these compounds are similar to adjectives, thus reflecting their original purpose as adjectives (Larsson, 2002). Trousdale stated that 'in modern English, possessive compounds evolved from possessive phrases' (2008; p. 159).

According to Keinys (1999), the smallest number of compounds are connected or copulative. Inčiuraitė-Noreikienė also points out that this group of compounds is rare (2015). They are also not productive (Vaičiulytė Semėnienė, Vaičienė, 2014). In copulative compounds, both components are independent nouns, and their meaning is formed from the sum of these components (Inčiuraitė-Noreikienė, 2015). Such component relations are called coordinative, which means that even if they are interchanged, the meaning of the copulative compound would not change much (Rutkienė, 2017). This is because the 'lexical and syntactic meaning of copulative compounds is almost the same or only differs in its greater specialisation' (Kizelytė, 2006, p.27). In this case, it would

be possible to swap the components of the compound and the meaning would not change much. However, it would not be possible to do this for determinative or possessive compounds. For example, writing doctor-poet instead of poet-doctor would not change much as the meaning of the compound would remain similar. It is obvious that neither of the components is the main or modifier, which means that neither of them describes the other or narrows the meaning (Olsen, 2001). This group of compounds is much rarer than the determinative and possessive compounds mentioned earlier.

There are few verbal governing compounds, but more than copulative compounds in Lithuanian. According to Stundžia (2021), such division of compounds is mostly determined by the type of text where the words are used. One might think that compounds with a second verb (verb-noun) component would be more frequent in fiction texts and somewhat less frequent in dictionaries. Verbal governing compounds belong to the group of determinative compounds (Jarmalavičius, 2014). Jarmalavičius has mentioned that 'the syntactic and semantic relations between components are similar to those between the pronoun and the complement in a clause' (2014, p.25). It could be argued that the first component of verbal governing compounds is the object. Thus, the verbal governing compound specifies the predicate action of the second component, e.g., 'brewer (lit. *aludaris*) ('to make beer' (lit. *alų daryti*)' (Smetonienė, 2021, p.136). In Lithuanian linguistics, there are not many verbal governing compounds, but they are just as important as all the other types of compounds mentioned earlier. Kastovsky is confident in the existence and importance of verbal governing compounds and writes about their analysis and examples as verbal governing compounds: '*to sight see = see the sights*'. In this example, the second component *see* (lit. *matyti*) is a verb and the first component *sight* (lit. *matyti*) is a noun (Lamberty & Schmid, 2013, p.593). Lin (2004) compares English verbal compounds with those of Mandarin, which seems to be completely different from English. However, the author writes that the two languages are morphologically similar and gives some examples. In English, a verbal governing compound would include *tree fall* (lit. *medžių kritimas*) (Lin, 2004). Thus, the structure of verbal governing compounds in English linguistics is also likened to the same type of compounds in Lithuanian linguistics.

After discussing the theoretical aspects of the syntactic-semantic analysis of compounds, the following section presents a study of a syntactic-semantic analysis of compounds in Lithuanian and English mechanical terminology, which aims to reveal the semantic-syntactic relations between compound components in both languages.

Methods

The analysis was carried out based on the theory and methodology of Olsen (2000), Larsson (2002), and Keinys (1999). Accordingly, the compounds were divided into determinative, possessive, copulative, and verbal governing. This means that the compounds were categorised into four different groups. The source for compounds analysed in this article is the multilingual 'Mechanical Terms Dictionary' (*Mechanikos terminų žodynas* (2019). The dictionary was

read from the beginning to the end, and the total number of the compounds found and analysed in this article is 208, i.e., 104 Lithuanian compounds and 104 English equivalents. Following their path, this research kept the original methodological roadmap. The object of the study were compounds and their equivalents. However, compounds with a neoclassical (international) root were not included and were not surveyed in this research. This is because there is no unanimous opinion or rigorous theoretical material whereby words with such a root can be considered as compounds. It is important to note that English compounds are referred to by a single term known as compound words. According to Sun and Baayen (2021), they are also divided into several different types of constructions, namely: closed compound words, open compound words, and hyphenated compound words.

The study used analytical research to analyse the existing types of compounds in 'Mechanical Terms Dictionary', qualitative analysis to describe the types and patterns of compounds discovered, quantitative analysis to calculate the number and frequency distribution of the types and patterns of compounds identified, and syntactic-semantic descriptive language analysis to classify the compounds into the appropriate types and patterns.

Since, to the best of our knowledge, a related study has not been carried out in this field so far, it was relevant to analyse the distribution of the types of compounds and the patterns of their formation.

Results and Discussion

In the present investigation, compounds were distinguished into four types according to their semantic-syntactic relations, namely: determinative, possessive, copulative, and verbal governing. Among the 208 compounds analysed, 104 (100%) were Lithuanian and 104 (100%) were their English equivalents. Lithuanian nouns comprised 82 (78.8%) determinative compounds, 20 (19.2%) verbal governing nouns, and 2 (1.9%) possessive compounds. No copulative compounds were discovered in this dictionary. The highest number of the English compounds was identified to be determinative compounds at 72 (69.2%), the lowest number was possessive compound at 1 (0.9%), and 29 (27.9%) were simple words. Although these are not considered to be compounds in English, they are classified as compounds in Lithuanian. Furthermore, 2 (1.9%) were detected as verbal governing compounds and no copulative compounds were present either.

Thus, as expected, most of the compounds were classified as determinative in both Lithuanian and English. The least number of possessive compounds were identified since they are more common in fiction texts and are mostly figurative words. The number of verbal governing compounds was also low, but it was still found. This may be influenced by the area from which the examples were collected. Nevertheless, no copulative compounds were retrieved.
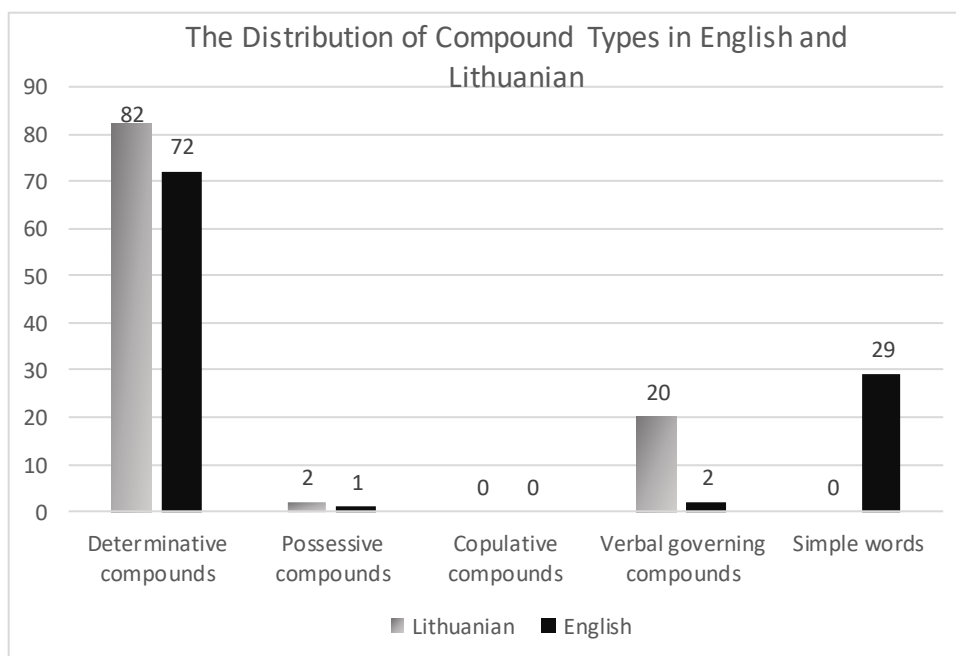
The Distribution of Compound Types in English and Lithuanian

Figure showing a bar chart. Categories: Determinative compounds (Lithuanian 82, English 72), Possessive compounds (Lithuanian 2, English 1), Copulative compounds (Lithuanian 0, English 0), Verbal governing compounds (Lithuanian 20, English 2), Simple words (Lithuanian 0, English 29).

Figure 2. The Distribution of Compound Types in English and Lithuanian

Determinative Compounds

The most common formation pattern for compounds of this type, in terms of semantic-syntactic relations was N + N. However, other patterns of formation could be discovered, such as N + N, Adj. + N, Num. + N, V + N, Adv. + N, Pr. + N, and Pron. + N.

Determinative compounds have a binomial structure. The first component (the determiner) usually defines the second component (the determinate), thus making its meaning narrower. Out of the 104 Lithuanian compounds present in the 'Mechanical Terms Dictionary', 82 determinative compound nouns were the most frequent (78.8%): *aukščiamatis* (en. *alititude meter*), *bendraašiškumas* (en. *coaxiality*), *darbastalis* (en. *workbench*), *daugiakampis* (en. *polygon*), *dažniamatis* (en. *frequency meter*), *formadėžė* (en. *box form*), *garlaivis* (en. *steam vessel*), *greitmatis* (en. *speedometer*), *ilgalaikiškumas* (en. *durability*), *juodvaris* (en. *blister copper*), *kryžgalvė* (en. *crosshead*), *krumpliaratis* (en. *gear wheel*), *laivasraigtis* (en. *propeller*), *lydkrosnė* (en. *blast cupola*), *lygiagretumas* (en. *parallelism*), *mentratis* (en. *bucket wheel*), *naujasidabris* (en. *nickel silver*), *ortakis* (en. *air hole*), *pusašis* (en. *half shaft*), *pusautomatis* (en. *semi-automatic machine*), *ratlankis* (en. *rim*), *smėliasrautė* (en. *sandblast unit*), *statramstis* (en. *strut*), *stormatis* (en. *thickness gauge*), *tarpmazgis* (en. *interstice*), *tarpmatis* (en.*feeler*), *veržliaraktis* (en. *spanner*), *žvaigždėlaivis* (en. *star-probe vehicle*), and others.
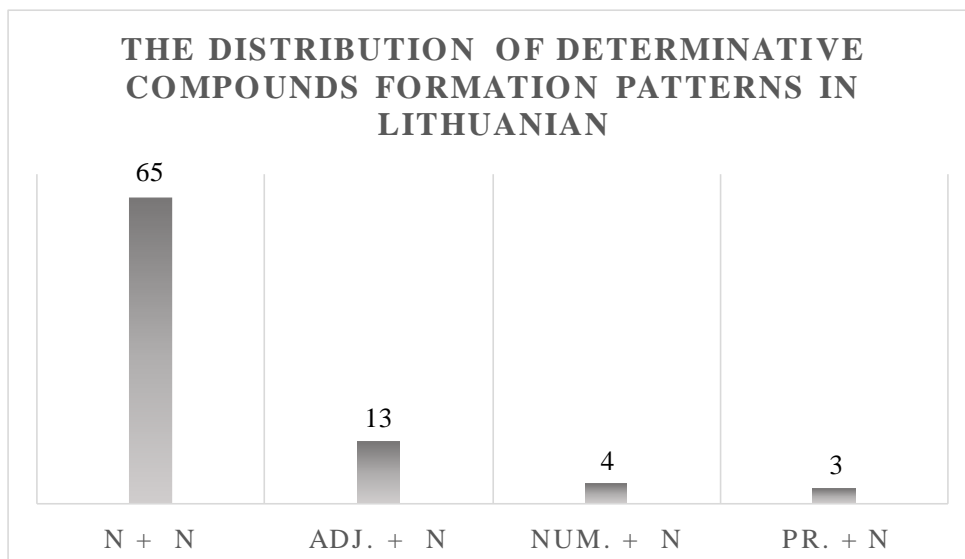
THE DISTRIBUTION OF DETERMINATIVE COMPOUNDS FORMATION PATTERNS IN LITHUANIAN

Pattern	Count
N + N	65
ADJ. + N	13
NUM. + N	4
PR. + N	3

Figure 3. The Distribution of Determinative Compounds Formation Patterns in Lithuanian

The latter were also divided into semantic classes according to what the definite component determines. In this case, the first noun component determined the second.

The definite component indicated purpose (64). Most determinative compounds were made up of both noun components, with the left component refining the right one. Thus, the first (left) component specified the purpose of the second (right) component. Examples would be *aukščiamatis* (en. *alititude meter*) (a measure for measuring height), *kreivėmatis* (en. *curvometer*) (a measure for measuring curve), and *kampamatis* (en. *angle meter*)(a measure for measuring angles).

The definite component indicated a feature (11). The defining component of compounds belonging to this semantic class was usually an adjective. Examples of such compounds were as follows: *stačiakampis* (en. *rectangle*) (the adjective erect described the noun angle), *juodvaris* (en. *blister copper*) (the adjective black describes the noun copper), and *kietlydinis* (en. *hard alloy*) (the adjective hard described the noun alloy).

The definite article indicated location (3). The first component of the compounds belonging to this semantic class was a preposition, which was the most frequent preposition in the analysis of collected compounds. Also, the first component of compounds belonging to this class was a preposition *tarp*: *tarpmazgis* (en. *interstice*)(tarp + mazgas), *tarpmatis* (en. *feeler*)(tarp + matas), and *tarpvamzdis* (en. *branch pipe*)(tarp + vamzdis).

The definite article indicated the number (4). The first component of this semantic class was a numeral which described the number of the second component. Among the mechanics compounds analysed, compounds of this

semantic class were identified: *daugiakampis* (en. *polygon*) (daug + kampas) and *trišakis* (en. *T-joint*) (trys + šaka).

Therefore, among the compounds discovered by syntactic-semantic types, the most frequent were determinatives and the latter were divided into semantic classes. This shows that the most frequent compounds that belong to the semantic class indicated the purpose, the second place indicated the feature, the third place denoted the location, and the last place identified the number.

Also, in Lithuanian linguistics, to determine English determinative compounds, one component described the other, thus narrowing the meaning of the second component and the entire compound. The most common formation pattern was also *noun + noun*. In English, 72 (69.2%) determinative nouns also ranked first in terms of types of compounds. However, these compounds were distinguished into three different groups based on the formation of the terms. Twenty-four (24) (33.3%) were closed compound words: *breakwater*, *barograph*, *barogram*, *workbench*, *flowmeter*, *phasemeter*, *speedometer*, *durability*, *crosshead*, *aircraft*, *profilograph*, *mudguard*, *flywheel*, and *studdriver.* Open compound words accounted for 37 (51.4%): *altitude meter*, *barometer*, *frequency meter*, *box form*, *depth meter*, *hard alloy*, *gear wheel*, *rack bar*, *nickel silver*, *air hole*, *half shaft*, *semifinished piece*, *dump truck*, *sandblast unit*, *thickness gauge*, *heat medium*, *branch pipe*, *single rail*, and *nail claw.* Hyphenated compound words had 11 (15.3%): *gas-tank truck*, *semi-automatic machine*, *half-mould*, *half-coupling*, *half-period*, *self-diagnosis*, *thread-cutting die*, *shot-blast unit*, *strain-gauge indicator*, *off-road vehicle*, and *star-probe vehicle*.
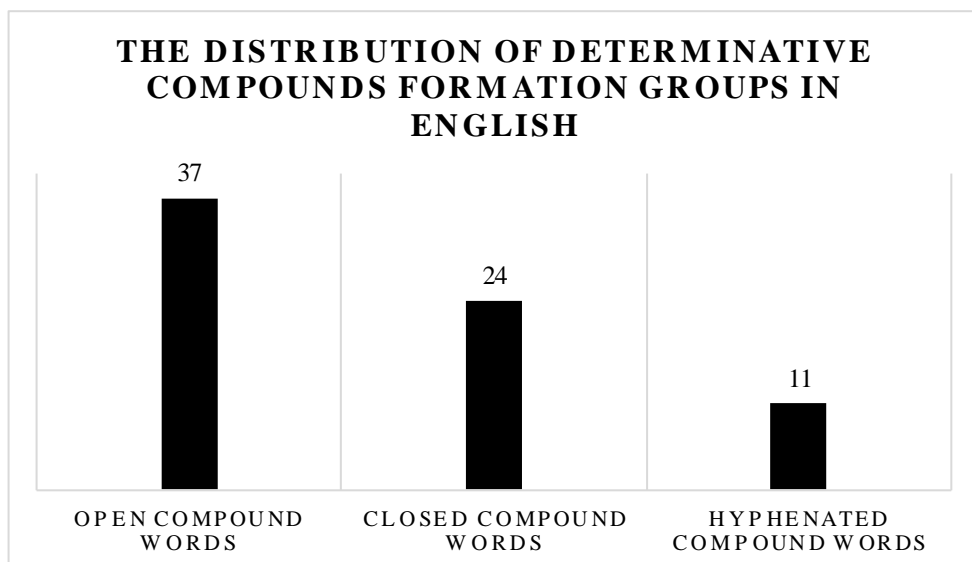

Figure 4. The Distribution of Determinative Compounds Formation Groups in English

Equivalents in English were also divided into syntactic classes. Since the semantic classes of determinative compounds were analysed, the most

frequent second component was a noun defined by a noun or another part of speech.

The Definite Article Defined the Purpose (64)

The first noun component, among English compounds, defined the second noun component by indicating the purpose. Examples of this semantic class were *phasemeter* (meter, the second noun component of the compound was specified by the defining first component phase) and *profilograph* (profile, the first noun component of the compound specified the second noun component graph).

The definite component indicated a feature (8). This semantic class contained an adjectival component describing another component, thus indicating a feature. Examples of such compounds among the English equivalents were *hard alloy* (the first adjectival component hard indicated the alloy feature in the second component) and *blister copper* (the first adjectival component blister referred to the feature of the second noun component copper).

Therefore, among the compounds collected by syntactic-semantic types, the most frequent were determinatives and the latter were divided into semantic classes. This shows that the most frequent compounds belong to the semantic class that indicated the purpose. The second place was given to the semantic class that indicated the feature, the third place denoted location, and the last place identified the number.

Possessive Compounds

This type of compound words, unlike the determinatives mentioned above, is not so productive. These compounds usually described plants and animals, and the most prominent feature attributed to them was figurative meaning. In this dictionary, two compound nouns could theoretically be classified as possessive nouns, since the primary meaning of the word was used to describe certain tools. The total number of possessive compounds was 2 (1.9%): *aklidangtis* (en. *blank cover*) and *sliekratis* (en. *worm gear*). *Aklidangtis* (en. *blank cover*) case is the tool used to cover the holes. However, trying to read the word according to its original component meaning would suggest that it is *aklas dangtis* (en. *blind lid*), which sounds like a figurative word. Therefore, this compound could be classified as possessive. The situation was similar for the compound *sliekratis* (en. worm gear). Knowing these mechanical terms, it is safe to say that it was a tool. However, the primary meaning of the word *sliekas* was not a tool but a worm (DLKŽ). Without knowledge of the terminology in this field, trying to understand *slieko ratas* (en. *worm's gear*) would be confusing. This is why this word was also classified as a possessive compound type.

In both Lithuanian and English, this type of compound was often used figuratively, and its meaning was often expanded than contracted. It was also noted that possessive compounds were used more widely in English and in a non-literal sense. They are also descriptive of the characteristics of objects or people. Among the retrieved examples, 1 (0.9%) was found and could be classified as a possessive compound: *worm gear*. It was the same possessive Lithuanian

compound *sliekratis* (en. *worm gear).* A direct translation of this word from English would result in the translation *slieko ratas* (en. *worm wheel*), which is known as a mechanical term. Therefore, the compound could be described as figurative and classified as an open compound.

Copulative Compounds

The smallest number of compounds are connected or also known as copulative. In copulative compounds, both components are independent nouns and their meaning is formed from the sum of these components. Among the mechanical compounds presented, no copulative compounds were discovered. These compounds are quite rare in texts of any genre. Hence, it is not surprising that they were absent in the 'Mechanical Terms Dictionary'. In English, just like in Lithuanian, copulative compounds are said to have a coordinating relation. This means that the two components of the copulative compound are equivalent. It is obvious that neither of the components is the main or modifier, which means that neither of them describes the other or narrows the meaning. No copulative compounds were present in this dictionary in English as in Lithuanian.

Verbal Governing Compounds

There are few verbal governing compounds that are more than copulative compounds. According to Stundžia (2021), such division of the types of compounds is mostly determined by the type of text where the words are used. It could be argued that the object is the first component of verbal governing compounds, and it specifies the predicate action of the second component. There were 20 (19.2%) verbal governing compounds in Lithuanian: *bangolaužis* (en. *breakwater*), *benzinvežis* (en. *gas-tank truck*), *dulkėgaudis* (en. *duster*), *elektrometalizacija* (en. *electrometallization*), *grioviakasė* (en. *trenching plow*), *orpūtė* (en. *blower pump*), *purvasaugis* (en. *mudgard*), *pusiausvyra* (en. *balance*), *pusmovė* (en. *half-coupling*), *savivartis* (en. *dump truck*), *savityra* (en. *self-diagnosis*), *smeigiasukis* (en. *studdriver*), *sraigtasukis* (en. *screw driver*), *sriegpjovė* (en. *thread -cutting die*), *šilumnešis* (en. *heat medium*), *šilumokaitis* (en. *heat exchanger*), *šratasvaidė* (en. *shot-blast unit*), *veržliasukis* (en. *wrench*), *viniatraukis* (en. *nail claw)*, and *visureigis* (en. *off-road vehicle*). Thus, the verbal governing compounds made up almost one-fifth of all the Lithuanian compounds provided. Although it has been argued that compounds of this type are rare, they appeared to be quite important among mechanical terms.

Verbal governing compounds exist in English and are just as important. Among the terms analysed, 2 (1.9%) verbal governing compounds were retrieved in English: *electrometallization* and *magnetostriction.* However, it turns out that the use of these compounds was indeed rare, as only a couple of them were collected in the 'Mechanical Terms Dictionary'. Both compounds were closed compounds. This distribution and frequency of verbal governing compounds in Lithuanian and English suggested that this type of compound was more prominent in the Lithuanian language.

The semantic-syntactic analysis showed that most of the compounds were determinative. The study of the determinative compounds by semantic class

revealed that the most productive is the semantic class of purpose. This tendency was observed among Lithuanian compounds and English equivalents. Only a few possessive compounds were in both languages. Copulative compounds were completely absent from the mechanical terminology of both languages. Almost one-third of the verbal governing compounds were identified in Lithuanian, which is a relatively high proportion, as only two compounds of this type were discovered in English. These results show that the largest share of the mechanics in both languages eas given to the determinatives of the semantic class of purpose, whose definite component indicated the purpose of the main component.

Another important aspect that was considered when assessing mechanical compounds is the formation patterns of the compounds. Among the analysed Lithuanian compounds of the 'Mechanical Terms Dictionary', the *noun + noun* model (63.5%) stood out the most. This was followed by other patterns with a noun as the second component: *adjective + noun* (13.5%), *numeral + noun* (3.8%), and *preposition + noun* (2.9%). Some of the compounds also had a verb in the second component according to the formation pattern: *noun + verb* (12.5 %), *adverb + verb* (1.9 %), and *pronoun + verb* (1.9 %).

When the patterns of derivation were distinguished according to the types of semantic-syntactic analysis, it was observed that the most frequent pattern of derivation among the determinatives was *noun + noun* (65): *aukščiamatis* (en. *alititude meter*), *darbastalis* (en. *workbench*), *garlaivis* (en. *steam vessel*), *greitmatis* (en. *speedometer*), *kampamatis* (en. *angle meter*), *kryžgalvė* (en. *crosshead*), *krumpliaratis* (en. *gear wheel*), *laivagalis* (en. *stern*), *lydkrosnė* (en. *blast cupola*), *luitadėžė* (en. *lingot*), *orlaivis* (en. *aircraft*), *ratlankis* (en. *rim*), *smagratis* (en. *flywheel*), *smėliasrautė* (en. *sandblast unit*), and *žvaigždėlaivis* (en. *star-probe vehicle*). Among the patterns of determinative compounds, *adjective + noun* (13) was also found: *bendraašiškumas* (en. *coaxiality*), *ilgalaikiškumas* (en. *durability*), *juodvaris* (en. *blister copper*), *kietlydinis* (en. *hard alloy*), *kietmatis* (en. *durometer*), *klampomatis* (en. *viscometer*), *kreivėmatis* (en. *curvometer*), *lygiagretumas* (en. *parallelism*), *naujasidabris* (en. *nickel silver*), *smulkiagrūdiškumas* (en. *grain fineness*), *stačiakampis* (en. *rectangle*), *statramstis* (en. *strut*), and *stormatis* (en. *thickness gauge*). *Numeral + noun* (4): *daugiakampis* (en. *polygon*), *trišakis* (en. *T-joint*), *vienalytiškumas* (en. *homogeneity*), and *vienbėgis* (en. *single rail*). *Preposition + noun* (3): *tarpmazgis* (en. *interstice*), *tarpmatis* (en. *feeler*), and *tarpvamzdis* (en. *branch pipe*).

Two patterns of the possessive compounds were also retrieved*: noun + noun - sliekratis* (en. *worm gear*) and *adjective + noun - aklidangtis* (en. *blank cover*). The first component of the compound *aklidangtis* (en. *blank cover*) was the adjective *aklas* (en. *blind*) and the second component was the noun *dangtis* (en. lid). The first component of the compound *sliekratis* (en. *worm gear*) was the noun *sliekas* (en. *worm*) and the second component was also the noun *ratas* (en. *gear*).

When examining the verbal governing compounds (20), three formation patterns were identified: *noun + verb* (16), *adverb + verb* (2), and

pronoun + verb (2). Subsequently, the second component of verbal governing compounds in the three formation modules was the verb, while the first component was the noun, the adverb, and the pronoun. *Noun + verb* (16) were the following verbal governing compounds assigned to this module: *bangolaužis* (en. *breakwater*), *benzinvežis* (en. *gas-tank truck*), *dulkėgaudis* (en. *duster*), *elektrometalizacija* (en. *electrometallization*), *grioviakasė* (en. *trenching plow*), *orpūtė* (en. *blower pump*), *purvasaugis* (en. *mudgard*), *pusmovė* (en. *half - coupling*), *smeigiasukis* (en. *studdriver*), *sraigtasukis* (en. *screw driver*), *sriegpjovė* (en. *thread-cutting die*), *šilumnešis* (en. *heat medium*), *šilumokaitis* (en. *heat exchanger*), *šratasvaidė* (en. *shot-blast unit*), *veržliasukis* (en. *wrench*), and *viniatraukis* (en. *nail claw*). *Adverb + verb* (2) compounds belong to this module: *pusiausvyra* (en. *balance*) and *visureigis* (en. *off-road vehicle*). Pronoun + *verb* (2) compounds belonged to this module: *savivartis* (en. *dump truck*) and *savityra* (en. *self-diagnosis*).

When analysing the formation patterns among English determinative compounds, the *noun + noun* formation pattern was the most prominent in terms of number with 54 compounds. The latter were also classified as 28 (51.9%) open compound words: *alititude meter*, *frequency meter*, *flaw detector*, *flaw inspection*, *box form*, *steam vessel*, *depth meter*, *angle meter*, *gear wheel*, *rack bar,* and others.

Nineteen (19) (35.2%) closed compound words were presented: *barograph*, *barometer*, *barometry*, *workbench*, *flowmeter*, *dynamometer*, *electrocorundum*, *electrolysis*, *electromechanics*, *electrometallurgy*, *electromobile,* and others.

There were 7 hyphenated compound words (13%): *gas-tank truck*, *half-mould*, *half-period*, *thread-cutting die*, *shot-blast unit*, *off-road vehicle*, and *star-probe vehicle*.

The other predominant pattern among English determinative compounds was *adjective + noun* and 12 compounds were discovered. The latter were separated into open compound words and 8 (66.6%) included: *blankcover*, *blistercopper*, *hardalloy*, *blowerpump*, *prototypemodel*, *semifinishedpeace*, *insidegauge*, and *singlerail*.

There were 2 (16.7%) closed compound words: *durability* and *crosshead*, and 2 hyphenated compound words (16.7%): *semi-automaticmachine and strain-gaugeindicator*.

Only a small proportion of compound nouns had other patterns of formation when it comes to English determinative compounds. The *noun + adjective* pattern included a single compound and *heat medium,* which was an open compound word. The *verb + noun* pattern contained the following determinative compounds: *breakwater* and *flywheel,* which were closed compound words, and *trenchingplow* and *tinningmetal,* which were open compound words. The *pronoun + noun* pattern included a single compound: self-diagnosis, which was assigned to the hyphenated compound word.

As far as possessive compounds are concerned, only one *noun + noun* pattern was found. Thus, the compound assigned to it was *worm gear,* which was

an open compound word. The first noun in this possessive compound was *worm* and the second noun was *gear*.

The analysis of the formation patterns of the English verbal governing compounds also revealed only one formation pattern: *noun + verb*. This module of verbal governing compounds included two compounds, *electrometallization* and *magnetostriction*, which were formed by closed compound words.

Unfortunately, more than a fifth of the examples presented in the 'Mechanical Terms Dictionary' were translated into English as simple words, i.e., not compounds. This is mainly because most ordinary English words were formed by adding a prefix, which in English cannot be treated as the root of a compound. However, in Lithuanian, it is obvious that a compound is made up of two components, not a prefix and a root.

In the semantic-syntactic analysis of the compounds collected in the 'Mechanical Terms Dictionary', determinative compounds were the most numerous in the Lithuanian language. The most common pattern among this type of compound was also *noun + noun*. Other patterns were discovered in sufficient numbers, where the second component was also a noun. According to the theory of semantic-syntactic analysis of compounds, determinative compounds seem to be the most common compounds in various scientific fields. Although only two possessive compounds were identified, this type of compound was rare. Therefore, the primary meaning of the first component of the two possessive compounds was different from the meaning of the compound. This implies that the compounds could be classified as possessive compounds. As for the formation patterns of the latter, one of them was formed by the *noun + noun* formation pattern and the other by the *adjective + noun* formation pattern. No copulative compound nouns were found, which was expected because of the rarity of this type of compound. The second highest number of compounds among Lithuanian terms was for verbal governing compounds. Although it is mentioned that this way of derivation is not productive in Lithuanian, the results of the syntactic-semantic analysis of the compounds in the 'Mechanical Terms Dictionary' were different. Among the Lithuanian examples analysed, the verbal governing compounds were quite productive. This may be influenced by the scientific field that deals with the various mechanisms and how they work. The most common formation pattern among verbal governing compounds was *noun + verb*.

The English equivalents are also dominated by determinative compounds, and the most common in terms of the way they are formed are open compound words. In English, unlike in Lithuanian, it is common to use two-word compounds consisting of two separate words, with one modifying the other. As for the pattern of formation that is common among English determinative compounds, the most common was the *noun + noun* pattern of formation. As far as possessive compounds in English are concerned, only one was identified, which was open compound word with a pattern of *noun + noun*. No copulative compounds were present in English either. Accordingly, matches were retrieved that were attributed to simple words rather than to compounds. Also, there were not many verbal governing compounds in English. Nonetheless, two compounds

of this type were found, which were closed compound words with a formation pattern of *noun + verb*.

Thus, this analysis showed that determinative compounds are most common in both English and Lithuanian, and the most frequent pattern among them was *noun + noun*.

Conclusion

After discussing the syntactic-semantic relations, the following types of compounds were identified: determinative, possessive, copulative, and verbal governing. These types were dominant in English and Lithuanian. The syntactic-semantic analysis of Lithuanian and English mechanical term compounds showed that most of the compounds collected were determinative. The analysis of the determinative compounds by semantic class revealed that the most productive is the semantic class of purpose. This tendency was observed among Lithuanian compounds and English equivalents. Few possessive compounds were present. Almost a third of the verbal governing compounds were discovered in Lithuanian language, which can be said to be a high proportion. Only two compounds of this type were found in English. These results show that the largest proportion of terms of mechanics in both languages was occupied by the determinative compounds of the semantic class of purpose, whose definite component indicated the purpose of the main component.

Having analysed the models of term compounds derivation, the obtained results indicate that the pattern of two noun compounds derivation was the most frequent in mechanical terminology in Lithuanian and English equivalents.

The research of syntactic-semantic analysis of mechanical term compounds revealed the semantic-syntactic relations of compounds in different languages, which determined the differences and similarities of compound derivation patterns of both languages. Subsequently, this will help further research in the formation of compounds.

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Screenplay as Visual Literature

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Abstract

Researchers, journalists, and critics of the Classical Hollywood cinema period worked a lot on the hunt against communists in Hollywood and on the literary value of the screenplay. However, some fundamental questions remain still partially open: firstly, besides the guaranteed lavish studio salaries, what led the best writers in the American literary scene to enter and remain in the field of cinema, which they had harshly criticized? Secondly, what drove the US government to see in Hollywood screenwriters (indeed, it should be remembered that in the List of the "Hollywood Ten", nine of them were screenwriters) a ramification of the Communist Party dangerous to the American society? Thirdly, given the unprecedented presence of talented writers in the film industry during Classical Hollywood cinema, can we affirm that the discipline of screenwriting improved its status in visual literature?

This article will try to answer the above-mentioned questions – which as we will see are deeply intertwined – and aims to reopen the issue of whether screenwriting can be accounted for visual literature, as most cinema employers and many academics judge it as a technical blueprint.

Keywords: Visual literature, Cinema, Hollywood, Novel Writers, Policy

Introduction

The question the present article addresses is whether screenwriting can be considered visual literature. To argue how screenwriting can be featured by a literary value, the essay takes into account "Classical Hollywood" a historical period in which the presence of novelists working in Hollywood was substantial. Screenwriting never experienced an improvement in its status of being. If anything, it was relegated to being considered a draft with no literary and even no cinematic value. Such negative consideration occurred because screenwriting was judged not to have any style worth mentioning and its existence would cease the moment staging begins. By the time cinematic production would hit movie theatres, screenplays would be forgotten and non-existing. Classical Hollywood with the presence of the best West Coast novel writers can be used as a prooving example to demonstrate how a living literary value of screenwriting does exist,

although this was a period punctuated by the House Un-American Activities Committee's investigations (HUAC) against communists who allegedly manipulated texts and movies to be shown (Navasky). The present article will consider the political correlation between screenwriting and politics (Navasky) to contextualize the social-historical aspect of screenwriting, the relationship of screenwriters to producers (Alonge, Cole, Valenza), film production during the Second World War (Kuisel, Jones), the development of the union that was supposed to protect screenwriters (Swett), and the potential role of visual literature played by screenwriting (Geerts, Morsberger, Nuvoli, Snyder). Focusing on the work of writers and screenwriters John Fante, the present article will be concluded by asserting how a revision of studies on the value of a screenplay is necessary to strengthen the process of revaluation of the subject in question. Such re-evaluation would enable screenwriting to obtain that literary recognition that would lead it to embody a fundamental point in the process of film production and academic studies.

Methods

Understanding the relationship between screenwriting and literature in Classical Hollywood cinema is not simply a matter of looking at screen credits or referring to legends of a "writer in chains". Rather, it is necessary to analyze the politics of Hollywood industry at the time (Navasky) and interpret the role it played in the already difficult relationship between screenwriters and producers (Alonge, Cole, Valenza).

The comparative methodology of this article is thus based on a historical-geographical explanation of classical narrative cinema until the arrival of sound in film industry, the latter of which changed the perception of writing. The article will then move on to the analysis of the relationship between screenwriters and producers through a mere critique of film history (Alonge) and use the example of John Fante, who was both a writer and screenwriter, to delve into the relationship that has linked writers with the Hollywood industry. Film production during the Second World War (Kuisel, Jones), and right in the period of the greatest success of Classical Hollywood cinema, as well as the restructuring operation of the SWG (Swett) and during the 1934 California election, which would have negative consequences for Hollywood employees, will be contextualized. In this election, Upton Sinclair (Democratic party) was targeted by negative campaigns financially supported by the film industry.

All of this sets the stage for the role of a screenplay and a screenwriter, seen merely as technicians assigned to writing a manual, who instead, shall merit a place in visual literature thanks to the message and values they intend to communicate (Geerts, Morsberger, Nuvoli, Snyder). Through this comparative methodology, the present article intends to reopen the academic discussion on the re-evaluation of the status of a screenplay. As visible from the evidence brought in this regard in the article, it is necessary to reinterpret the motivations that damaged screenwriting because of the "screenwriter-producer" relationship in Classical Hollywood and the political aspects that led to the birth of the union. A reinterpretation is all the more necessary because the vast majority of

screenwriters, with the example of John Fante, who worked in the film industry represented the best class of West Coast writers at the pinnacle of intellectual society.

Results

Classical Hollywood cinema started at the beginning of the 20th Century (1910) and lasted until the beginning of the Sixties. Mainly, it was characterized by the arrival of sound and by the fact that studios hired the most famous novel writers, who had initially decided to lend their skills to the film industry to make the Hollywood brand stronger and to grow financially. During the writers' recruitment and at the end of the Second World War:

«(…) the motion picture industry had been dominated by five major companies – Warner Bros, Loew's (which owned MGM), Paramount, RKO, and the Twentieth Century Fox – which collectively accounted for nearly 70 percent of the box-office receipts in three thousands of theatres (...) across the nation» (Navasky, 145: 1980).

These majors possessed monopoly on the film market and were trying to get the best writers under contract by offering them enormous salaries. The goal was to have them under contract before other production companies and therefore, to be able to insert them in their credits (Alonge, 30: 2012). However, the result of this competition to hire writers had also negative consequences, since the writers under contract could have nothing to do for days and the most important thing for the studios was only to have them on their teams (Alonge 30: 2012). It was a system that risked degeneration because, as in the case of famous film critic Frank Nugent, critics also became potential employees of the majors. Nugent was hired by Twentieth Century Fox, whilst before had been a long-term film critic for the "New York Times". Twentieth Century Fox decided to hire him so that he would stop tearing apart Hollywood productions (Alonge, 31: 2012). On this matter, Nugent asserted that Zanuck told him that the studio would save money if he criticized the films before they were made (Alonge, 31: 2012). Hollywood was at its best and the year 1946 was the peak of major success. "Variety" magazine wrote that every night was "Saturday Night", which was the moment people wanted to go out carefree and enjoy the cinema. The numbers speak for themselves: at that time, between eighty and ninety million filmgoers paid about five hundred million dollars for this habit every week. In reference to those numbers, Warner Bros., MGM, Paramount, RKO, and Twentieth Century Fox were responsible «for 75% of the top-billed features each year» (Navasky, 144-145: 1980).

Recruitment of writers in Hollywood cinema, in addition to the symbolic value of having the best authors in one's studio, had the functional value of cultural elevation (Alonge 29: 2012). This was because, as Ben Hecht stated, until then Hollywood had entered the lives of people who had nothing to do after «washing dishes» (Alonge 68: 2012), and therefore there was a need to recover intellectuality through cinema, which otherwise risked being sucked away in those B-Movie stories. Hecht's statement is well founded, since the effects of the crisis of 1929 and the political tensions of World War II worried American

society, which saw in cinema a reason to detach itself from the efforts of the day and the difficulties that the individual has to face. People did not care about the art, the message, or the structure of a film, what mattered was the fun and enjoyment of the product. "B-Movie" was a production that allowed the vast majority of citizens to enjoy films with a modest cognitive impact: western-themed films, spy stories, gangster films, and adventures (Kuisel, 119-134: 2000).

The great success of cinema, however, had opened up a new kind of market: think of the effect that a Hollywood film readaptation could have in literature and in the selling of a book already published, which did not match success among the public. Furthermore, during Classical Hollywood cinema, we can also observe a new kind of production, which was colliding with politics (Jones, 17: 1945). In this context, Hollywood became a spokesperson for propaganda to calm American citizens during the Second World War. Indeed, in the war period between 1942 and 1944, 1313 films were produced in Hollywood, of which about 30% focused on World War II (Jones, 17: 1945). However, this new way to utilize cinema made American institutions aware of how Hollywood could be a valuable tool for spreading ideas also after the war. Therefore, it is not a surprise, as we shall see later, that the motion picture industry finished under investigation when communist ideals spread in Hollywood.

Another new Hollywood milestone was the arrival of the sound system and, therefore, greater possibilities for the readaptation of certain texts. In fact, in 1927, the first sound film was made: "The Jazz Singer" (under the Warner Bros. production company) directed by Alan Crosland. The sound system changed the literary perception, specifically that of writing of screenwriters who from that moment on could not ignore the sound characteristics to be added to the visual component when they tried to create a story. With increasing competition among productions and therefore requesting new ideas and writing quality, to write screenplays that could be of interest to the public – it did not matter if they were B-Movie or propaganda screenplays – it was still necessary to hire the best writers available. In his critique of the correlation between literature and screenplay, Nuvoli speaks of the screenwriter's gift of being able to make a transition from the imaginary to the visual (Nuvoli, 26: 2005). To carry out this operation, writers had to refer to the four stages that lead to the creation of a screenplay: first, the dramatic idea, which was the story concept, second the subject, third the schedule and fourth the adaptation (Valenza, 4: 2008). These four elements were no guarantee for screenwriters to work freely in writing of the screenplay because a producer had the last word on any line of the screenplay.

The relationship between screenwriters and Hollywood producers was, depending on the major, of constant trouble. The first reason was precisely the judgement on screenwriters' way of working that led to a lack of development in the field of screenwriting for many years (Morsberger, 46: 1975). The second reason was the legislative indefiniteness concerning screenwriting in the credits: if we think of Fitzgerald and Faulkner, we should remember that they had sometimes received no mention in the credits (Morsberger, 51: 1975). In Classical Hollywood cinema, producers had *carte blanche* on the names to be

included in the credits, having therefore the opportunity to perpetrate injustices (Alonge, 42: 2012), which began to be reduced after SWG was officially recognized by majors in 1939. The major that has been most recognized for its support to screenwriters is certainly Twentieth Century Fox. There, as reported by Philippe Dunne, screenwriters were the stars because their deputy director Darryl Zanuck had a background as a screenwriter and tended to take screenwriters' defence during a film production (Alonge, 36. 2012). However, the attitude of Twentieth Century Fox in collaborating with screenwriters was uncommon, as the working relationship between screenwriter and producer in Hollywood was often hostile.

Once the final draft of a screenplay was handed in, screenwriters were usually excluded from the later stages of the making of the film, as their presence was not considered necessary. There were exceptions to the presence of a screenwriter on stage in case the director needed their cooperation (Alonge: 36, 2012). Specifically, the previous sentence is confirmed by Lewis Cole's thesis if applied to the cinema of Classical Hollywood: speaking of a screenplay as a «collaborative exercise», Cole states that the more a screenplay moves into the process of production, the less control a screenwriters have over their screenplays during film making (Cole, 563: 1991). One interpretation of Cole's statement is that producers thought of their positions as a privilege in the film industry, therefore phasing out screenwriters from the film process. This behaviour could happen because screenwriters could endanger producer's position through their knowledge. Indeed, in Classical Hollywood cinema, we can observe that producers found themselves competing with screenwriters, who represented the elite of American literature like F. Scott Fitzgerald, Nathanael West, Ben Hecht and John Fante. Literally speaking, the aforementioned screenwriters had an unreachable intellectual background for producers.

Because of producers' supremacy during Classical Hollywood cinema, the myth of the "writer in chains" was created. This definition comes from Ian Hamilton (Alonge, 33: 2012). The "writers in chains" were talented authors hired to write a screenplay and perpetually attacked and humiliated by producers, so much so that they would suffer from depression, preoccupations and mortification for having accepted the cinema offer. Such depression derived from authors' inability to adapt themself to the pragmatic logic of that work field, which differed enormously from writing of novels. As reported by critics, in Classical Hollywood cinema, working as a screenwriter meant working as a company employee: that meant arriving on time at the major and sitting in writers' building office for hours (Alonge, 33: 2012). Here, the days could last with no assignments or no projects to work on. Fante describes a day of Bandini's work in the studios in his novel "Dreams from Bunker Hill" and comparing it with the definition of the "writer in chains", it can be affirmed it suited the reality:

«The work Harry Schindler had assigned me was an impenetrable mystery. I spent my days reading his screenplays, dozens of them, one a day, and none that interested me. He specialized in gangster movies. (...) on the door of every office was the nameplate of every celebrity: Ben Hecht, Tess Slesinger, Dalton Trumbo, Nat West, Horace McCoy (...) they all looked the same to me.

(...) They won't let me write. Schindler won't give me anything to do. I'm going crazy» (Fante, 619-621: 1982).

Bandini, who is Fante's main protagonist, is paid lavishly and sits in the office waiting for a project that most of the time would never have been completed and produced into a film: the legend of the "writer in chains" deserves further focus; talking about chains may seem an exaggeration.

Indeed, we can speak more of a golden prison with a free exit, a term with which this article interprets that period for writers in Hollywood. A new phrase which is based on two motivations: the first is the propagation of the myth of the writer in chains, which was widely spread by Edmund Wilson, a friend of Francis Scott Fitzgerald. Wilson, who had a philosophical background as a writer and tried in every way to become famous and respected in Hollywood as a screenwriter. He did not have an easy life, so much so that in those three years he received only mortification. Successively to his time in the motion picture industry, he decided to publish a pamphlet: "The Boys in the Back Room, Notes on California Novelists" (Alonge, 34: 2012). In this text, Wilson attacked writers and producers of motion cinema industry. The former were for him guilty of selling themselves to Hollywood, and the latter accused of wasting the writers' talent as happened to the two great American authors: Fitzgerald and Nathanael West (Alonge, 34: 2012). Wilson seemed to have made it more a personal than categorical matter, using Fitzgerald and West to speak for all writers, including himself. The truth is still in the middle, because other writers managed to work successfully in cinema, and John Fante is an example of this. The second reason was the arbitrary choice to enter the motion picture industry. In this case, Wilson's thesis does not seem to hold up. In fact, a writer was not "chained" in Hollywood, but had the right to resign at any moment, or not to collaborate with the majors. It is undeniable that producers put great pressure on screenwriters and it is also true that they were the least paid in the film industry, but it is important to point out that the salaries of screenwriters, even if lower than those of actors and producers, were significant. In 1937, Faulkner had a salary of one thousand dollars a week at Twentieth Century Fox to work on the "Drums Along the Mohawk" project (Gleeson-White, 10-11: 2017). Of course, some screenwriters earned much less, but we are still talking about high numbers. Furthermore, it should be noted that novel writers were not forced by anyone to work for the film studio, so it was always possible to refuse the rules of the system by not taking part. When Wilson asserted that writers had sold themselves to Hollywood, he was wrong in his approach to the subject. Writers had not sold themselves but offered themselves to the majors in order to demonstrate they could use their talent and at the same time achieve financial stability. They were aware that it was a job with a relationship of subordination, different from the freedom of a novelist; therefore, their choice was made in full understating of the possible negative consequences.

During that time, defending the rights of screenwriters was responsibility of the SWG. Although the revitalization process of the SWG in 1933 – in fact, the screenwriters' union project seemed to be "abandoned" (Swett, 1: nd) was intended to establish principles regarding "screen credits" for writers who had

produced or contributed to a screenplay, the role of the SWG was officially recognized by the film producers in March 1939, regardless the fact that it had already been certified by the NLRB (National Labor Relations Board) in 1938 as an exclusive bargaining agency. The decision in 1938 was taken after a vote in which writers chose the Guild and rejected the "Screen Playwrights", founded by the film studios with the task of facing the Guild (Swett, 1: nd). For instance, screenwriters, who were also the most recognized and talented writers on the West Coast, were undergoing a new step of politicization. Whereas before, we had distinguished a film policy with the unique purpose to defend America during the Second World War, already in the Thirties we observe an internal division within the film industry. In 1933, ten writers, namely Kubec Glasmon, Courtney Terrett, Brian Marlow, Lester Cole, Samson Raphaelson, John Howard Lawson, Edwin Justus Mayer, Lewis Weitzenkorn, John Bright and Bertram Bloch, had begun the process of revitalizing the Guild. Only one year later, in 1934, the first political event that was going to unite cinema and politics took place: Upton Sinclair was campaigning to become governor of California. Sinclair, an old-fashioned socialist, had managed to win the Democratic nomination and had immediately made his idea of government in California through his election slogan clear: «End Poverty in California» (Alonge, 84: 2012). Instead, this slogan made the Republicans of California shudder. It seemed clear, suddenly, that the wealth many had managed to achieve in California, which was a land of dreams and work, could have been jeopardized by a socialist, who was primarily concerned with bringing greater social equality.

While until then the motion picture industry may have ensured, generally speaking, a kind of unique propaganda in favor of the USA, for the first time the motion picture industry was brought up for one American state: in fact, the role played by the film industry in Sinclair's election result was fundamental. One of the opponents of Sinclair's policy was the Republican leader Louis B. Mayer (also manager of MGM). To assist Mayer, film producers and majors provided their support. Indeed, they financed the Republican campaign: the critics asserted that employees of the film studio, *i.e.* directors, writers and actors, were solicited to make donations to the "Stop Sinclair Fund" (Alonge, 84: 2012). Such an effort against a candidate could only lead to one result, namely the defeat of Sinclair against the Republican Frank Merriam. When that happened, many employees and screenwriters began to sympathize with Sinclair's ideas (Alonge, 84: 2012), since they had seen the media pillory machine hurling, supported by the conservatives, at him in an unprecedented way. The very behavior of majors and film producers led to a shift of Hollywood employees to the democratic left wing.

Screenwriters, directors and actors, and thus many Guild members, officially endured investigations by the HUAC in 1940 for political positions that leaned toward the Communist Party. While initially there had been support for political idea of the New Deal, many Hollywood employees had placed their political trust in communism by the end of the 1930s, so much so that many of them joined the party and were active members by attending meetings (as in the case of Edward Dmytryk). Sadly, as we shall see, registration of Hollywood employees in the Communist Party caused them a lot of trouble. Indeed, they

were accused of espionage for Russia and of activities to promote communism in the USA during McCarthyism; a period known for the witch-hunt against those who were, or had been, members of the Communist Party or its supporters. The accusations turned out to be unfounded because there was never any propaganda or attempt at manipulation; what should be noted is the presence of intellectuals in Hollywood who had placed their trust in that ideology, without committing any crime. However, in the course of the investigations and trials, there were many censored screenwriters, including Dalton Trumbo, who were condemned and had to write under pseudonyms. Furthermore, what was observed was the implosion of the category of screenwriters and directors, who could no longer trust their colleagues and speak freely, as the risk was that someone would name a colleague to escape the allegations of the investigations. Once named, you in turn had to defend yourself from the accusation of support of communist ideology. This means that the screenwriters' category was not united in pursuit of a common interest for the union battles and to improve its prestige; rather, individuals were striving to survive and protect themselves from the HUAC.

During Classical Hollywood cinema period, not only politics affected screenwriters. Indeed, the relationship between screenwriters and producers had also negatively influenced progress and studies carried out in the field of screenwriting, hiding a potential link between "visual literature" and "screenplay". Almost always referred to as the first technical part of film production, in recent years the discipline of screenwriting seemed to have gained more consideration from film critics. Indeed, critics have begun to think about new hypotheses that could link the screenplay and visual literature: among the most interesting is certainly the one reported by Giuliana Nuvoli, who thinks that screenplay is the literary form of a story that will be told through images, and constitutes the project of a film (Nuvoli, 25: 2005). According to Nuvoli, the previous statement has divided a film into two parts, namely a screenplay and a production. Such division creates a status of independence in the existence of a screenplay from the production aspect. By representing "the project", it can be said that a screenplay is the condition *sine qua non* of the entire process that leads to the making of a film. If we think about it, the theory that analyzes a screenplay as a draft of a living text until the production of a film, after which it could be trashed, has been subverted. Indeed, splitting the two processes and attributing to each one its independence, namely screenwriting and production, showed that there could be a purpose, specifically a final message in scripts. It is legit to assert that, during Classical Hollywood cinema in which there was a cultural circle of screenwriters who included the best writers of 20th century American literature, such message of the script was expressed through a literary form considering style, vocabulary and the public.

Superficially, film industry insiders think that a screenplay is the first phase of film production, in which it is only a matter of drafting down a story, a set and a dialogue. It would not seem possible to find a literary value in a text that would later be modified by producers and therefore no longer has any purpose (Valenza, 2: 2008). However, a pen or in this case a typewriter, if given to a good writer can become a sword in the Machiavellian sense, which is a tool

for one to ideologically free themself from the chains of a producer: this is an interpretation of Ronald Geerts' thought stating that screenplays are more than just a draft based on indications, as screenplays can depend upon evocative language and be interpreted because they are containers of messages (Geerts, 127: 2014).

The first reflection that comes after Geerts' theory is therefore where to place the discipline of screenplay. This article agrees with Dallas J. Baker's theory, according to which a screenplay is to be attributed to creative writing (Baker, 11: 2013). It is important to note that creative writing is not only to be read with a literary spirit but also interdisciplinarily. When we talk about creative writing, we not only mean novels and poems but also screenplays, which also fall into the category of literature. The first two may fall into the category of literature, if they are worthy of recognition, while a screenplay has never been allowed to aspire to such a goal. The debate concerning the relationship between visual literature and screenplay is therefore bound to its recognition within creative arts; this is because, in addition to the already discussed technical language of screenwriting, there is a problem regarding screenplay authorship. Indeed, screenplays – although some critics claim their independence as a text from the production of a film – have always been a text that is always subject to changes and with a commercial purpose. Therefore, screenplays do not seem to have a unique author, as other members of staff (with credentials) can make changes during film production (Al Subahi, 7: 2012). However, a novel, as well as a poetry, albeit with the presence of agents, publishers and people in charge of corrections, can be attributed only to one author, who is identified by critics and the public as the text writer and who is in full control of the text.

Another reason not to consider screenplays as visual literature is that screenplays, existing as a constantly evolving text, would not have a clear origin from which to extract the message and the meaning they intend to communicate, while in a novel the two previously mentioned points are never changed by the editing process. However, it is unfair to compare a text, and its development, of a novel writer with a screenwriter to determine the value of writing, because the latter explicitly develops a text which is going to evolve due to the hierarchical structure of the motion picture industry. In this case, to demonstrate how the previous comparison can be misleading, it is important to underline Pasolini's theory on the screenplay present in *The Screenplay as a "Structure that Wants to Be Another Structure"*: according to Pasolini, it is a morphologically moving structure (Nuvoli, 37: 2005). This means screenplay is multiform in its facets and its phases. Screenplays are a moving structure that not only have advantages, such as the evolution of a text in film production which is certainly planned on the basis of improvement of a text for success in cinemas, but also disadvantages because the evolution of a text is the result of its modifications and makes the intellectual property of the screenplay not easy to trace. However, when Pasolini affirmed screenplay as a moving structure, this also means we should think about a metamorphosis of a screenplay such as a "structure" that is provided with the intent to become "another structure". Starting from Pasolini's theory, screenplay is also analyzed as the transformation of a liminal text into a performance

(Geerts, 135: 2014). A truthful consideration because this transformation takes place in the changes done by producers and in the different editing phases preceding the shooting of actors and then the film at cinemas. However, it can be considered that there is a limit not to be underestimated in the transformation mentioned above: it is an interpretation that takes into consideration the value of a screenplay (*i.e.* the message) and the modalities of narration (*i.e.* the communicative expression that screenwriter uses) both combined to the context of film industry, as it was in Classical Hollywood cinema. Indeed, during text revision process, the transformation of a text and the moving structure can distort the message and the communication present in the original text. Distortions could happen because of the political ideas within scripts, censorship, difficult relationships between a screenwriter and a producer or the trends followed by the public.

More detailed to the literary profile of screenplay is the statement theorizing that it consists in the passage from a literary stage to a cinematographic stage (Nuvoli, 37: 2005). Such a statement can be interpreted as the Pasolinian evolutionary character of screenplay and the metamorphosis that occurs when film production starts. The previous sentence also demonstrates the literary value of a screenplay: it is a transformation that passes from a literary stage to a performance. Although most of the time the technical form of language of screenplays has always worked as a reason to prove its distance from literature, screenwriting in Classical Hollywood cinema, due to the presence of talented professional writers, has always referred to the Aristotelian dictates of Poetics and its three units: action, place and time. However, the part regarding technical language with *découpage* seems not to be true, according to Alonge: indeed, the idea that a model of detailed script writing, known as "technical," had predominated in this discipline during the period of Classical Hollywood cinema is wrong. In fact, it was always believed that in 1930s and 1940s screenwriters were required to submit scripts containing not only the structure of a story with dialogue, but also a *découpage*, filming angles, editing methods, and mark the time of the use of specific technical equipment. However, this was not the practice, because the first drafts written by a screenwriter contained the story, dialogues and setting, and only in the final drafts also the indications on the shots, which, however, may have been discussed with the director (Alonge 135: 2012).

Not only is the presence of the Aristotelian units that determine the value of a screenplay, but also the virtuous meaning of a text. Such virtuous meaning is obtained through conformation to the ancient models that constitute a shared heritage of humanity, what the philosopher Carl Jung called «archetypes» (Voegler, 36: 1992). Moreover, the use of archetype was not the only *téchne* used by screenwriters, since the motion picture industry still required economic income, which coincided with a conspicuous attendance of spectators that needed to be surprised by a story and be an active part of the narrative. To get more spectators, we observe that in screenplays, and then after in films, there are symbols intending to express and highlight various aspects of a characters, a narrative and a plot (Truby, 15: 2007). A symbolism on which Truby dwelt in his criticism: according to him, in addition to claiming that in screenplays the

symbols can be divided into two parts, which are "small" and "divine", it is important to emphasize how he saw in them the power of magic, as they tend to reveal the secret of a movie narrative (Truby, 14-16: 2007). For example, John Fante makes abundant use of this symbolism in his films: from visible symbols such as wine that recalled Italy, a crucifix related to the religious concept of Nick's parents in the film "Full of Life", to the invisible ones such as music reminding of his Italian identity.

As for literature, a screenplay also has some literary peculiarities that can be referred to in the Greek tragedy but according to Pasolini, a screenplay has an element that also demonstrates its interdisciplinary uniqueness compared to a novel: the use of anaphora and iteration (Nuvoli, 30: 2005). Anaphora and iteration take place through the repetition of images or music and they do not have any negative impacts on the spectators. In Classical Hollywood cinema, screenwriters could not only be narrators, but also *super partes* employees thinking about the film as outsiders, since they also had to find the right setting for the story and, as we have seen before, could have been requested to report the details of a shooting, specifically the movements of the camera. Anaphora, iteration and *super partes* techniques seem to make writing of screenplays pretty technical, but if we think of a fusion of these elements, we conclude that these manuscripts and stories are written with characteristics that make them part of visual literature. In fact, it shows how a screenwriter must know also how to work with technical and rhetorical skills to bring imagination to life. Moreover, a screenwriter must also think with the imagination of the audience: indeed, the elements mentioned above must contain a narrative rhythm that determines not only the development of a story and a structure, but above all the suspense useful to make the audience participate.

As in the literature of novels, a screenplay – in accordance with the Aristotelian rules aforementioned – contains the character of a hero too. In screenplay manuals, *i.e.* for those who have decided to write a screenplay, the presence of a hero can be interpreted as an obligation (Snyder, 39: 2014). However, the focus of the thesis is not only on the mere presence of heroes, but on the role they play: if we look back, we understand how in Classical Hollywood cinema a hero also symbolized a social value, especially for films that had to keep the morale of the population high during the Second World War, or during McCarthyism when a hero was the one who destroyed communism or dismantled its theories by demonstrating the social necessity of liberalism in the plot.

Conclusion

In conclusion, although there are critics who are convinced that a screenplay is mainly a blueprint for the making of a film, there is a new part convinced that the text of a screenplay represents an «artefact that highlights creative writing practices (...) that allows the dissemination of knowledge» (Baker, 7: 2013). It is not the intention of this article to argue against film production or film producers, but it is fundamental to raise the level of attention on the potential civic importance that screenplays might embody, as they can represent a gap to educate society and young generations to respect diversity,

minorities and different religions and traditions, being, therefore, a text with a positive social value. Moreover, there is no factiousness towards the lack of analysis of a film production process of a film and a screenplay process, because there are no elements that can allow a scientific comparison between one and the other: precisely because of the concept of independence of the two disciplines we analyzed above. Thus, we can affirm that a screenplay is not only independent from a film but allows the film itself to exist while the production grants the movement element to the screenplay and generates its images. It is therefore essential that the academy and film criticism emphasize the existence of a screenplay regardless of the arrival of a film in a movie theatre so that the status of a screenplay, *i.e.* screenwriting, can be upgraded to that of visual literature. With this, a greater stylistic-rhetorical critique of a script document, a deeper analysis of the message to be communicated and the peculiarities that characters must convey to viewers would come, thus increasing the interest in this discipline too often unjustly relegated to the status of a simple draft to be forgotten.

Declarations

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The Colonial Order Upside Down: "Darkest England" (1996)

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Abstract

Nineteenth-century British explorers are satirized in this reverse travelogue by South African novelist Christopher Hope. This article analyzes the novel, *Darkest England*, which turns colonialism inside out, sending a Bushman on a mission to the Queen of England - a hazardous journey indeed among the pugnacious, uncivilized muggles in that sodden land. The story, set in 1993, is narrated in the unexcitable tradition of 19th-century-explorer narratives by David Mungo Booi selected by his people to visit the Queen (Booi is the only one with a knowledge of English) to remind her of her grandmother Victoria's pledge to protect them from harm. The aim of this article is to analyze the relationship between two cultures, dominant and oppressed one in Swiftian satire manner on how members of these cultures view one another and how visitors to the metropole are treated in often quite horrifying, laughable, embarrassing and ultimately eye-opening way. The article suggests that both those who used to be oppressors and those who suffered must learn to get to know one another and find some *modus vivendi* in new circumstances observing heart more than reason.

Keywords: Colonial, postcolonial, other, satire, identity.

Introduction

With a lot of humor and storytelling flair, the British writer of South African origin, Christopher Hope, in the novel *Darkest England* (1996) probes all the stereotypes created about themselves and others by the representatives of the dominant discourse, in this case the colonial British. Hope constantly returns to Africa through persistent travels across its fascinating regions and through the themes of his novels, stories and nonfiction pieces. Christopher Hope is an extremely skilled creator of penetrating satire. Thanks to his South African background and the new themes and views he brought to British literature, Hope

offers a new, fresher perspective to critical and artistic judgment on major religious, political and cultural issues.

The novel's protagonist, the Bushman, David Mungo Bui, explores an often conceited nation that, although it has lost its empire, has not lost its imperial arrogance and self-assurance. The only thing Bui knew about "the remote and treacherous reaches of darkest England" (Hope, 1996, 186) before setting out and which should have been of great use to him was what he had heard from his master Burr Smith. These details concerned the glorious English history of which the English are so elevated and the almost failed endeavours to civilize the first inhabitants of the island. The first people who sailed to England from countries across the sea, the Bikers, "they failed in their heartfelt attempt to civilize the aboriginals and died in despair…" (Hope, 1996, 9), and when the Romans came "… they wept to see the foolishness of the natives, who shared wives among ten or twelve men, worshipped the moon, oaks and mistletoe, and measured out their lives in fortnights. To this day, said my master, the English have great difficulty in thingking in periods longer than fourteen days. If asked to think a few months into the future, they grow confused and resentful. If asked to think a year or two ahead, they grow mute and wan and retire to their beds or their alehouses" (Hope, 1996, 9).

From the very beginning Hope purposefully contorts the familiar image that the English have of themselves – England as the cradle of civilization that brought light and enlightenment to all corners of the world. As an agent of The Society for the Advancement of the Discovery of the Interior of England, David Mungo Bui hoards information about the climate, terrain and customs of the people before the field trip and, of course, like any explorer, he encounters prejudices typical of English expeditions from the time of empire. Bui needs to find out if it is true "It was said, for example, that the English feasted on babies at special times of the year. Was it true?, do they have a special attachment to brass, mirrors, chalice" and is it, as the only one of their people who visited England asserts, "a savage who waged constant war against his neighbors and often fell out among themselves" (Hope, 1996, 14-15). He was also warned that the tribes along the River Thames lived in caves that a person could not measure, "...down to the sunless sea" (Hope, 1996, 15) and that "...the rain is in love with England... " (Hope, 1996, 22). However, the main goal of his expedition is to remind the Queen of England of the promise of her predecessor and send help to his people who are on the verge of annihilation. In vain some "worldly" people reminded him that "the word of white men, in his opinion, was worth nothing more than sheep's shit" (Hope, 1996, 16) and that this paper had caused all the trouble in their country and divested the Boers of their rights. by birth, Bui, like a true honest explorer, adhered to the Great Queen's Paper Promise, and also made a promise to his people that he would accurately describe what he saw among the English, without any prejudice, however dark it was.

As soon as he landed at the London airport he began to get acquainted with all the peculiarities of his "hosts". He admitted that he had not seen so many planes since the last hunting season "…when farmers from across the Cape descended on the Karoo for the annual springbuck hunt, landing like flocks of

Egyptian geese on the gravel strip beside the Lutherburg municipal shooting range" (Hope, 1996, 25). Alluding to the English often excessive fondness for animals, especially dogs, Hope describes her narrator's astonishment at the many settlements around the airport and excuses the English for preferring their people to braves airport noise rather than their pets. Because of this, Bui solemnly declares that "...David Mungo Booi would rather be an Englishman's dog than a Boer's best friend!" (Hope, 1996, 26).

He realized that he would receive special treatment when he was directed to a long line at the airport with all the colored passengers, but also when, instantly after the document review, the only document that Bui had with him was a parchment with the seal of Queen Victoria or as it was known to the Bushmen as the "The old She-Elephant", they were solemnly handed over to the "official welcome" or "officials of the crown dedicated to keeping the queen's peace". Not being aware that in England he will first be introduced to an English prison, Bui contemplates the royal customs and promises they made in the colonies, dominions, realms and protectorates, but without the intention of allowing their distant children come to visit them one day. It seems quite right that Hope's narrator concludes that "in ancient English Royal Tradition, one might visit others, but others did not visit one" (Hope, 2008, 50).

However, it seems that even the most pessimistic English could not guess how many distant "relatives" would not only come to visit but also stay in their country. When David Mungo Bui also becomes one of those "distant relatives" who comes by "Royal Invitation" it will not be long before he sees that his hosts, in their praactical way, have divided the world into "Them" and "Us" making so a rough the distinction between natives and foreigners: "all foreigners are regarded as avoidance partners; all related natives are held to be joking partners, or kith and kin" (Hope, 1996, 72). Likewise, Bui is fascinated by the English creativity in inventing new and better nicknames for settlers: "curry-munchers", "Spearmen", "Paki". Only an "imaginative race"as Bui calls the English can have the gift for such a thing, and at the same time they are not ashamed or worried that they are not even able to pronounce their names. It is clear that this criticism is directed toward the account of the still deeply divided English society, despite all the ubiquitous and loud emphasis of the authorities on equality and multiculturalism.

Hope could not avoid another idiosyncrasy of the islanders, which is the widely famous English sense of humor, which according to them surpasses the humor of all other nations because they like to make fun of themselves the most. Although charmed by the supposed superiority of the English, our "researcher" Bui cannot help but notice that the situation in reality is somewhat more complicated. The English laugh at themselves when they pretend to be other people, and the object of ridicule is usually physical defects or profanity. Listening to English jokes, it is crystal clear to Bui that "The English do indeed like laughing at themselves, but only because they hate others doing so" (Hope, 1996, 39).

A Profound Critique of Modern English Society Wrapped in Hope's Satire

As time passed and Bui became better acquainted with the customs and mentality of the English, his idealistic image at the beginning of the trip also darkened. An excessively narrow world view graced these people, their concepts of the world had shrunk like a leather cloak left out in the rain, and Bui really blamed the rain that fell almost every day during his stay at the "Royal Guest House" or, more simply, in prison. They will think that the excessive humidity may have affected their sense of distance, so that they thought of their island as very large, and often remembered wistfully the part they once played in the world. The writer is doubtless ridiculing the chief pride of English history—the English colonial glory which, though long since ended, still always entitles the English nation to occasionally feel superior. Bui is amazed at the number of soldiers the English keep even though they supposedly gave up fighting, all for the purpose of doing good deeds. The description of the torture of enemy prisoners was used by Hope as a contrast to the ubiquitous and overemphasized English love and nobility for animals and plants that apparently did not include humans.

English hypocrisy and shallowness, visible most clearly in their media, is shown in the novel on the example of the girl Alma wounded in a brutal war in some distant city. Although children in that same war were dying every day, Alma was chosen to show all the greatness, compassion and goodness of the English nation. Little Alma was not chosen by chance because the appearance of the victim was of great importance. "Plainer children were increasingly unpopular. The cry went out for the pretty ones" (Hope, 1996, 56). Our hero shrewdly observes, it seems already common, the English way of showing compassion for the suffering of others "Focusing only on one victim, not wasting one's compassion dozens of those who cannot be helped at all". Hope, certainly not by chance, deepens the case of little Alma by adding a military-political aspect to the story. As the press and political leaders on all sides agreed that something had to be done, the question arose as to whether military aid should be offered to help little Alma. And that is when the English media gets heated - a fierce debate is created, as this country is known for, some are for it, others are against it. The argument ends thanks to the English genius for compromises: almost everyone agreed, namely that children probably had as much right to national compassion as did suffering animals.

Bui absorbed by his friend Beth and her father that hypocrisy is not only a companion of issues of social and national importance, but also of everyday situations and not so important conversations. Quite wholeheartedly and in order to survive in his new environment, he was advised to use the favorite English postman's words "by the way" or "would you mind if...? " "Frankly speaking" is a must if you want to say something honestly without misunderstanding your intention. In this way, the English, according to Betty, convince listeners that they are not making any kind of emotional commitment to honesty or brevity, but are simply using the rules of conversation. Following the instructions closely, Bui realizes that the importance of being nice is something he still had a lot to learn about. He learned how much the average Englishman "respects" foreigners

by using a series of polite phrases from his second teacher - Bishop Ferbrader. By varying the phrases – "Being abroad makes me ill; Oh, really?; It's just a German racket; No, no, no, no! It's just not on; and Personally, I blame the French" (Hope, 1996, 230). Bui quite naturally fit into the environment and passed easily among all classes of English society. It was this training that helped him save himself from enraged MPs and ministers from the "Great Place beside the river", i.e. the English Parliament. The debate in the parliament concerned the increasing number of settlers who exceeded the number of the native population in certain cities. The latest danger came in the form of Bushmen or San nomads from South Africa or in the language of the ministers "The same vagabonds who had sorely troubled Her Majesty's forces during their late occupation of the Cape of Good Hope*?*" (Hope, 1996, 238). There was mirth in the House and all the Members jumped to their feet indignant at sharing their island home with bogus asylum seekers and all sorts of ganged up strangers. The agitated crowd reminded Bui of the sport fans he met on the train to London and he justifiably concluded that "the Members on the green benches were but the parliamentary faces of the gangs on the train" (Hope, 1996, 239). This episode ends in an unquestionably comic way: he is saved from being lynched by parliamentarians by his previous training. He got safely out of the menacing crowd by telling them in a pleasant tone that he personally blamed everything on the French.

Hope does not forget some of the urgent problems of contemporary English society: juvenile delinquency, adolescent pregnancies, the breakdown of marriage and the traditional family, as well as complete alienation. His narrator will adroitly observe that, based on what he has seen, the average citizen is in serious danger of being killed in the street by armed children. With this, the writer draws attention to a huge social problem in England - violence among young people, crimes on the rise and street confrontations that usually end with knives being drawn. Our guide through the novel will be amazed by such events in a highly developed country where the Queen loved her people and her servants, the soldiers and the police, were on the side of the people.

Alienation and isolation as inevitable problems of modern societies in England are masked by overemphasized respect and protection of privacy. When old Jed is found lying dead in his house for days, Bui cannot help but wonder that persons could die alone among their neighbors. Bui knew that for Englishpersons their houses were their castles, but were they also their graves? Bui will do his best to understand why old Jed's neighbors did not interfere with his right to privacy during his lifetime, but he will never understand why it drives them to such extremes and carelessness that the neighbor dies alone and abandoned.

That not everything is so black in this strange country, David Mungo Bui was convinced by the example of the state social assistance program thanks to which the unemployed received money and housing, but not only the unemployed and the sick. They received help also because they have children and even when they feel well. Here too, Hope will mock the far-famed English concern for citizens, which his narrator will compare to the pensions that are paid

in his country only to old people who have worked all their lives. Apparently the English idea is much more advanced, because pensions are given to those who are still young enough to enjoy them.

Observing male-female relations on the island, African Bui notices enviable differences in marriage customs compared to his culture where marriage precedes the conception of children. In England, according to him, one of the main rites of manhood was for young men to fertilize as many women as early as possible. The sequel is already familiar and expected to the reader, but completely incomprehensible to Bushman "They then declined all further responsibility, and decamped to some other place, there to continue the tradition, often with violence" (Hope, 1996, 108).

How complex is the relationship between men and women, and often between men and men, Bui learned from the former bishop Ferbrader. The first surprise that both confused and amused him was the information that a native English male loves his own sex immensely and that one less known danger of traveling among the English is their impulsive desire to fornicate with strangers. It is for this reason that Bui advises his San people to travel with their limbs well covered at all times. The reader will certainly see through Hope's intention to point out that the English nation is one of the leaders in the world in terms of the number of gay population. The bishop of course also has a "scientific" explanation for the wave of hatred against women of all ages that has swept the country. As the English often stayed abroad, they exercised their cruder pleasures there. The problem arose when the empire disintegrated and men were deprived of their traditional rights to oversee their possessions abroad. This turned them to domestic sources, but the kind of animalistic good humor that was in place "across the pond" proved disastrous at home. Getting drunk and attacking a passer-by was not a good look in England as it was in the Land of the Sun, and because of this, otherwise decent Englishmen now quite openly hated women. In this banter, Hope skillfully plays with the stereotype of English same-sex love, but also with the loss of imperial power that the former colonizers never fully got over. Hope's narrator loudly notes that nothing nourishes the English more than the knowledge that once upon a time they lived better than anyone on earth, and the memory of those days is a comfort of almost religious significance.

Towards the end of his journey, Bui will admit that the English know very little about their own culture and geography, and that they are more confused about their own country than the travelers who are the most ignorant. Deep-rooted taboos and fears characteristic of this "a very little country, more badly traumatized by loss of empire and loss of earnings than they are willing, or even able, to admit" (Hope, 2008, 229) live in this ignorance. This seems to be another of Hope's merciless attacks on both the English education system and the glorious colonial past.

Our narrator went through a lot before reaching his goal - the Queen's Palace. He endured the most difficult trials: on his arrival he was detained at Her Majesty's Pleasure, more precisely in prison; he was let fall on his head but luckily he was saved by a flying Bishop; he was attacked in the Mother of all Parliaments; he was captured by the Lord of Goodlove Castle , and women

performed experiments. In addition to all that, he was also locked up in an insane asylum and was attacked by football fans. However, it was only at the end that disappointment awaited him. He stepped into the Royal Chambers thanks to the coins he had in his pocket – and the Queen herself is an ordinary and easily accessible tourist attraction. He also managed to talk to her, and only then will he have the right to curbs the dream he has been dreaming all his life. "I saw before me an elderly lady in a headscarf, peering uncertainly at the world through a pair of thick spectacles, sipping a mug of cooling tea... " (Hope, 1996, 267). When he is in the dark of his quiet, darkened of the castle, because electricity is simply too expensive, brought up the problems the lady faced every day - the huge expenses that drove her into a deep depression, the attacks on her family, the ill-advised marriages and eccentric occupations of her children and relatives - Bui, in his persistently limited way, understood that the English people treat their ruler badly and that is why he, as the appointed representative of the Red Nation, unofficially offers her refuge and asylum in his country. The reader naturally understands the writer's message - the Queen is just a mannequin of old glory, a symbol of an institution that no one takes seriously anymore.

Hope's hero Bui, with all his naivety and honesty, was trying to teach these weirdos what happiness is. He transformed his friend Beth from a shy, troubled woman to a radiant beauty who showed her breasts to the world the way God intended. She rejected, it is true for a short time, all the comforts of civilization and went to Bui's blue tent erected by the hedge in an English garden in the country. She admitted to her father that she was finally free, and Boy David, as the English called him, noticed something on her face that he had never seen before: she was happy. How much Beth really enjoyed her new role, and how much it was for her a short-lived show of exoticism and strangeness, for which the English have a special fondness, is for the reading public to judge.

Conclusion

The satirical effect of the novel *Darkest England* is achieved, in Lars Eckstein's opinion, thanks to the fact that the author continuously alludes to a large number of earlier texts, above all to those on which David Mungo Bui grew up (Eckstein, 2007, 148). Bui's expedition in England is an obvious *replica* of British research in Africa. He plans to hire several "British natives" to carry his bags or be guides through the interior of the country in search of suitable land for his people. Also, he did not forget to bring various beads and trinkets with which he would win over the British Queen when he finally met her.

Hope informs us in the preface that his hero has undoubtedly read Livingstone's Missionary Travels and Stanley's In Darkest Africa, as well as the diaries of his namesake, Mungo Park, and even Conrad's "Heart of Darkness". By imitating these works both in style and content, and especially in the eurocentric attitude that has now been transformed into an Afrocentric one that judges English culture strictly from a Bushman point of view, Hope makes the writings of the aforesaid English scholars an object of derision and thereby undermines English culture. colonial tradition and question the viability of British ideas of cultural exclusivity and superiority.

From the beginning of his journey, Boy David did his best to convince the English that the brain is not the center of intelligence and that it only causes headaches. He tried to teach them, who have always been known for their coolness and restraint, that the intelligent life of the heart is the key to distinguishing good from evil. "I had to tell him at this point that the brain is not the seat of intelligence. It simply gives you a headache. It is the intelligent life of the heart that teaches us to know good from evil" (Hope, 1996, 41). Unfortunately, his noble mission did not have much success because he encountered people who, as he says, lived in delusions, completely insensitive to reason. Towards the end of the novel, Hope's painfully honest traveler and explorer, Bushman David Mungo Bui, draws one of the final conclusions about the hypocrisy and arrogance of these "great people":

"They, who by any measure may be said to lead lives of poverty, sadness, fear and restriction on an overcrowded island, sometimes never seeing the sun from one week to the next, at the mercy of increasingly savage youth who would tear their parents limb for a sixpence, and frequently do so, marooned at the mercy of clever and more powerful neighbors, enduring in the twilight of their past glories and fearful of the future, still contrived somehow to believe themselves the happiest people on earth and their system the best that the sons of man ever invented!" (Hope, 1996, 215-216).

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Benefits of English for Preschool Children.
The Case Study of a Bilingual School in Italy

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Abstract
The research aims at investigating the communicative abilities of Italian children in a bilingual (English-Italian) preschool, focusing on the benefits of bilingualism in children's cognitive, social, and cultural growth. After an introduction on the role of bilingual education in early childhood in promoting a child's life-long love of language and bilingual proficiency, through the support of some European documents and key studies in the field, the research design is presented. A variety of instruments were used, such as video recorded class observations, field notes and observation sheets, semi-structured interviews with L1 and L2 teachers and structured interviews with children, questionnaires for parents, as well as language knowledge tests for children and teachers. Children's lexicon development was taken into consideration, especially the frequency of use of English language, thus showing a significant growth of the perceptive and productive lexicon for the investigated age range. This provided evidence that the children in this study were still at the sensitive age for lexicon acquisition. The linguistic phenomena that, among the preschool children, were practised the most were: code-switching and code-mixing. This study provided new findings on the early acquisition of English language in bilingual children with the home language Italian. This language experience usually takes place along five dimensions: the materiality of language and its use, children's perceptions about them, beliefs about self and others in the speech community, emotional responses about language and about language users.

Introduction
Benefits of an early start. Cognitive, cultural and social resources
As recent research on the benefits of an early start has shown (Pierce et al., 2015), bilingualism in children has positive repercussions on brain development. The brain, indeed, is perfectly able to manage two or more

languages simultaneously right from birth, thanks to an innate predisposition that allows children to learn languages without making any effort and to remember throughout their lives the languages listened to in their earliest childhood. It is well-known that knowledge is organised linguistically. The ability to think and intellectualise is inextricably linked with the ability to communicate ideas. Physiologically and cognitively, language has primacy in intellectual activity; the brain of bilingual children is, in fact, more open to the sounds of other languages with a consequent development of the areas dedicated to learning and problem solving. To put it with Lara J. Pierce et al. (2015),

"the most rapid pace of learning takes place during the first years of life and during this time of heightened neuroplasticity the brain is optimally predisposed to collect and store basic information about the world (for example, simple visual elements and basic units of sound). Hearing a language during this time tunes infants' brains to the sounds of that language, and neural representations of these sounds are established".[1]

In addition, neurocognitive processes have also been investigated in relation to the so-called "phonological working memory" (PWM), which is responsible for storing and manipulating incoming speech sounds in memory. In subjects who speak more than one language, it has been found that PWM is activated with a higher frequency. In general, in children who speak a language other than the official ones in their societies and education systems, and as the two languages develop to literate mastery, possible cognitive advantages ensue, such as enhanced meta-linguistic awareness that can also be considered as a cultural resource for the entire society. This can occur through a combination of understandings of anthropological (ways of life), and conventional culture, both in elite and popular forms. Language is, therefore, both a form of culture and its instrument.

Language can thus be thought of as a temporal link with culture, carrying the past into the present and forging the future from the here and now, to paraphrase the English social critic Raymond Williams (1976), who has expressed this idea of language forming the link between archaic, residual and emergent cultural expressions. Construed positively, and directed towards socially cohesive and productive ends, bilingualism can increase cultural capital and the number of cultural expressions and perspectives available to citizens. In this way, bilingualism can be represented as a preparation for globalisation, an instantiation in local communities of the external or extra-national world. Moreover, the benefits of bilingualism (and of an early start, in particular) can also be considered in terms of social resource, as most human encounters are communicative and many political, legal, personal, marital and familial problems reside in difficulties of communication. In this context, language diversity supports the expressive capabilities of all citizens, and citizenship engagement with society can be enhanced.

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[1] Pierce, L. J., Chen, J. K., Delcenserie, A., Genesee, F., & Klein, D. (2015). Past experience shapes ongoing neural patterns for language. Nature Communications, 6(1), 1-11.

European documents

Currently, the role of bilingual education in early childhood in promoting a child's life-long love for language and bilingual proficiency seems to be unquestionable. In this paper, "bilingual education" is used as an umbrella term to define an education system in which instructions are given in two languages, one of which is the home language of some or all the children (Schwartz, 2018, p. vii).

In 2011, the European Commission argued that not only is learning a second language an advantage, but also it has an enormous potential for the development of children's identity, values, empathy, and respect. The term 'second language' is often used to describe the language learned after a first language, in contexts where the language learner is a resident of an area where the second language is in general use. In contrast, a 'foreign language' is a language that is learned in an area and context where that language is not generally used. As a matter of fact, each European country has since developed its own strategies to reach the objective of children's linguistic development. In the official document of the European Commission (2011) we read:

> "Children should be exposed to the target language in meaningful and, if possible, authentic settings, in such a way that the language is spontaneously acquired rather than conscious learnt". [2] But in Italy, due to the lack of national bilingual programmes at preschool level, this type of education is only found in private school contexts, and play, of course, is the main learning tool".

Based on these premises, some reflections on the reasons why English is the second language in bilingual schools should be emphasised. Not only is English the *lingua franca,* but also the five tenets of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 2010) must be considered:

- *"English is best taught monolingually*
- *the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker*
- *the earlier English is taught, the better the results*
- *the more English is taught, the better the results*
- *if other languages are taught, standards of English will drop".*

The proposed educational process actively involves three stakeholders: parents, children, and teachers (Schwartz, 2018). Parents play a significant role in lobbying for preschool bilingual education as a part of their family language policy. As a matter of fact, many school programmes introduce a foreign language very early as a response to parental aspirations to secure better prospects for their children, for whom foreign language competence is seen as a key element (King et al. 2008; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). Of course, children do not voluntarily choose either monolingual or bilingual

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[2]   http://ec.europa.eu/languages/policy/language-policy/documents/early-language-learning-handbook_en.pdf

kindergarten, but are subject to their parents' preferences. Finally, it is important to consider the three different components of the teaching act, i.e., the teacher, teaching methodologies, and materials. These three components should be adapted to the learners' needs and interests, so to be successful when trying to promote a motivating environment in the classroom.

The present investigation concerning the communicative abilities of Italian children in a bilingual (English-Italian) pre-school follows a previous longitudinal study that had focused on spontaneous acquisition of English as a foreign language by pre-schoolers through videos and cartoons (Leotta, 2019; Leotta & Di Gregorio, 2020). Indeed, this research represents a further contribution to the issue of formal English language learning in a bilingual preschool, where English is the second language. [3] The main objective of the present investigation is to focus on the benefits of bilingualism in relation to children's cognitive, social, and cultural growth.

Methods
Research design

      We will begin by demonstrating in what way is an early start learning of a second language an advantage. We will also refer to some European Union documents that emphasise the role of bilingual programmes within educational contexts. The research describes the sociolinguistic background of a bilingual preschool in the province of Catania, Italy. The investigation was carried out by our research group made up of linguists and psychologists, during the school year 2020-2021. The teaching strategies were examined, alongside the role of the teachers and parents in encouraging child motivation and attitude toward second language acquisition. Following on the method suggested by Prosic-Santovac & Radovic (2018), the data were obtained through class observation and child observation sheets, semi-structured interviews with teachers, a questionnaire for parents and a structured interview with children. A team of psychologists interpreted the data obtained, as well as children's interactions, their drawings, and their performance in general.

      The research was performed in Catania, Italy, where, although English as a foreign language is widely taught, the official language of education is Italian. However, cases of bilingual education, such as ours, do exist. During the period of observation, qualitative methods were employed for data collection in order to enable triangulation. A variety of instruments were used (Prosic-Santovac, 2017), such as video recorded class observations, filed notes and observation sheets, semi-structured interviews with L1 and L2 teachers and structured interviews with children, questionnaires for parents, as well as language knowledge tests for children and teachers.

      The characteristics of the teachers working in the classes under consideration and the related syllabi were evaluated. The final considerations focused on the frequency of use of the foreign language, the linguistic distortions

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[3] Italics mine

typical of the case (code-switching and code-mixing) and the way in which the L2 was expressed, orally and in writing.

Participants

The investigation was carried out at the private preschool "*Sole Luna*", located in the province of Catania, Italy. The school includes a nursery school with three groups (0-3 years), and a kindergarten (3-6 years) with two sections, one "Italian" and one "English bilingual". A total of 30 boys and 30 girls participated in the study, as well as 60 parents (one per each participant) and three English native teachers. All children belonged to Italian families speaking Italian L1 daily, except for a trilingual child (Italian father, Austrian mother, speaking Italian (L1), Austrian German (L2) and English (L3) at home). In general, all the children had someone in their immediate linguistic environment who could speak English; indeed, they were exposed to English language daily, also outside school.

All parents spoke English to a greater or lesser degree, although their level of knowledge of English language was not specifically assessed. Only one parent per child was asked to fill in the questionnaire. It provided data on education, occupation, gender, marital status, social status of the families, and it yielded that the families mostly belonged to an upper social stratum. This was expected, considering that bilingual preschool education is not widely available in Italy, and only socio-economically advantaged families are more able to afford early English or other languages.

Procedure

The observation period lasted 9 months, from September 2020 to June 2021, which is a whole school year. The investigators visited the kindergarten twice a week during regular teaching sessions, and field notes were taken. Additionally, each teaching session was video recorded, and each video observation lasted approximately one hour.

Interviews, partially based on Prosic Santovac (2017), were obtained with children and teachers. Particularly, the children were interviewed using the well-known Berkeley Puppet Interview method (Measelle et al., 1998), while, semi-structured interviews were held with the teachers. The Berkeley Puppet Interview (BPI) uses puppets to conduct structured and clinical interviews that assess children's perceptions of themselves, their families, and their school environments. This paper reports on the challenges faced, strategies used, and benefits enjoyed while using the tool of semi-structured interviews.

Teachers, instead, were asked questions related to five facets of student collaboration: intrinsic value, perceived value, noise, teacher intervention, and assessment. The interview responses were then used to create a dual perspective and to support data generated from a student survey. This approach helped researchers explore the potential of collaborative learning for sharing the cognitive load of the learning task. The beliefs of the teachers about bilingualism and early bilingual education, the role of parents in promoting bilingualism, literacy development in young children, and parental expectations were explored. Following the classroom observations, the

teachers were asked about their own and their learners' language use in the classrooms, their language mediation strategies and the model of bilingual education that were adopted in their class. They were also asked to describe what they considered to be effective language teaching and to comment on why they had used a strategy or another.

Results

In the preschool investigated in the present study, as soon as a new child arrives, his/her language needs are quickly taken into consideration, and appropriate support is organised. It might be that the child has some second language skills but needs in-class support to fully benefit from the class activities.

The learning objectives of the preschool program were: 1) counting from 1 to 10 (through the rhymes "*Five little ducks*", "*Five little monkeys jumping on the bed*", "*Ten in the bed*); 2) learning body parts (through the rhymes "*Head, shoulders, knees and toes*" and "*One little finger*"); 3) as well as playing active roles while speaking the L2; 4) dancing, walking, jumping, running while listening to "*If you're happy and you know it*", "*Make a circle*", "*Walking walking*", "*The wheels on the bus*", "*You are my sunshine*", "*Itsy bitsy spider*", "*Old MacDonald had a farm*" e "*Twinkle twinkle little star*". Furthermore, teachers provided adult guidance to what Vygotsky (1935) has defined as scaffolding, being "like a bridge used to build upon what students already know to arrive at something they do not know". They assisted children to complete a task or develop new understandings, so that they would later be able to complete similar tasks alone.

During the site visits, the linguistic phenomena that were observed among the preschool children were code-switching and code-mixing. Hymes (1974, p. 168) defines *code-switching* as a "common term for alternative use of two or more languages, varieties of a language or even speech styles" […]. In the words of Gumperz (1982, p. 59) - one of the pioneers in the field - "*conversational code-switching* can be defined as the juxtaposition, within the same speech exchange, of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems". Instead, code-mixing, also called lexical borrowing, can be defined as the mixing of two or more languages in the same sentence, and this was the case of questions and sentences belonging to our pre-schoolers, such as "*Possiamo andare upstairs?*" (Can we go upstairs?), "*Ho catturato una butterfly*" (I have captured a butterfly), "*Can I have the colori a matita, please?*" (Can I have the coloured pencils?).

As far as grammar use was concerned, data derived from this study evidenced that those preschool children often deleted modal verbs (i.e. I take/drink my water, please?) and made mistakes with possessives (they repeat what teachers say, i.e.: Please, go and brush your teeth" > May I brush your teeth, please?). In terms of spelling, children learned how to connect phonemes to graphemes and they often asked teachers how to write "I love you" and "Happy Birthday", as a caption to a drawing or any other gifts. Concerning listening comprehension activities, an e-book was regularly read along by a teacher, and children were encouraged to recognize the speaker's accent (usually

American), whereas the teacher's one was British. In this context, children were asked to listen to a story and provide a drawing on what they understood. Interestingly, the analysis of the questionnaire administered to the parents evidenced that children often act as mediators between family and school, and they sometimes even teach English to their parents. In other cases, instead, parents are responsible for guiding their children to deepen their knowledge of L2 even at home, thus contributing to the development of their bilingualism. As a matter of fact, the parents considered bilingualism as a resource and a tool to help children become open-minded, to be aware that differences are a potentiality, and to modify their point of view on the world.

The team of psychologists from our research group interpreted the observation sheets, the semi-structured interviews with L1 and L2 teachers and the structured interviews with children, the questionnaires for parents, as well as the language knowledge tests for children and teachers. The quantitative data resulting from such interpretation is beyond the aims of the present paper. However, a significant growth of the perceptive and productive lexicon for the investigated age range was evident, thus confirming what Lara J. Pierce et al. (2015) had already shown, that is that child's brain, when exposed early to additional languages, develops faster and better. As a matter of fact, in bilingual classes, children's lexicon development takes on a special importance, especially the frequency of use of the English language in peer interaction, and in our case study it showed a significant growth, for the investigated age range, in perceptive and productive tasks. Probably, this result was obtained through the constant monitoring of children's motivation – that is one of the keys to language learning, as children found themselves playing and forging friendships that transcended what would have been language barriers.

A pivotal role was played by the bilingual teacher, as she acted as a mediator, translating whenever children needed it. It is well-known that translation is a natural and inevitable process in second language learning, as it facilitates literacy development in young children, and promotes learner autonomy and self-confidence. Macaro (2009, p. 49) even claims that "some items of vocabulary might be better learnt through a teacher providing first-language equivalents, because this triggers deeper semantic processing than might occur by providing second-language definitions or paraphrases". In addition, translation is indeed a type of communication – not only interlingual, but also intercultural- that contributes to the development of social skills, i.e., through the process of welcoming someone to the group and helping the new arrival to feel at home, whatever language gaps there might be.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study provided new findings on the early acquisition of English language in bilingual children with the home language Italian. This language experience usually takes place along five dimensions: the materiality of language and its use, children's perceptions about them, beliefs about self and others in the speech community, and emotional responses about language and about language

users. All in all, the bilingual classrooms are inspiring places. Just seeing children's school-work on display, with captions and labels exhibiting proficiency in two languages, is mind expanding. However, this does not happen by itself and the pure quality of instruction is critical – every child must feel happy and confident to be open to the challenges as well as to the benefits of learning bilingually. This is the reason why research into the bilingual brain is strictly linked to the guidance of teaching methods.

Following on our class observation, the sample of our children used both languages to make sense of the world; they were very adaptive, deepening their understanding of the first language while acquiring the second, and improved in cognitive growth, such as attention management. Taken together, this target bilingual model, together with the teachers' and parents' agency, had a largely positive influence on children's knowledge, motivation and attitude towards language learning. Such attributes are good for the individuals involved and crucially helpful towards that elusive goal of international harmony, as bilinguals act as bridge builders, the go-betweens who can explain one culture to members of the other and act as intermediaries between the two.

Nonetheless, our research investigated a very narrow spectrum of literacy activities only, which were practiced with and by children in early childhood and systematically related to their vocabulary knowledge and/or development. Future steps in the study of the acquisition of English across bilingual children should include an investigation of morpho-syntax, where due to its language-specificity, more variation is expected among various groups of bilinguals.

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Reflecting on the Role of English in English Medium Instruction Degree Programmes

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Abstract
In the last decades, the growth of English-medium instruction degree programmes all over the world has been considered an opportunity by many institutions and stakeholders involved, e.g., institutional visibility abroad, increased enrollments and international staff. However, it has also raised questions and concerns about the role played by English in such contexts. Indeed, English-medium instruction is typically described as the use of English to teach and learn disciplinary content in non-English speaking countries where such programmes are offered. Under this view, language seems to be used merely as a medium to convey information and enable exchange. This paper describes the features of English-medium instruction and presents the numerous definitions and labels given to it. Comparisons are made with other educational approaches, namely Content and Language Integrated Learning and Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education, with which it shares the use of a foreign language to deliver subject content but differs in the aims and outcomes. This study identifies possible actions to be put in place to place much emphasis on language matters in English-medium instruction programmes.

Introduction

Over the years, higher education (HE) has undergone major changes to meet the needs for internationalizing the academic settings and educational resources. In Europe, the Bologna Declaration, which was signed in 1999 by several European universities, paved the way for multiple actions aimed at reaching that goal. These included the development of a standardised education system throughout Europe, which would facilitate the recognition of students' academic achievements across borders, the increase of mobility projects and

transnational academic networks and ultimately, the enhancement of students' intercultural and soft skills, as possible equipment for the global job market (Phillipson, 2009; Smit and Dafouz, 2012). The introduction of English-medium instruction (EMI) degree programmes, in countries where English is used as a foreign language (Macaro, 2018; Pecorari and Malmström, 2018), has been identified as an additional and powerful strategy to internationalize HE (Coleman, 2006).

Previous research on EMI has confirmed that one of the main reasons for academic institutions to offer degree programmes completely taught in English is to become more attractive, competitive and international in the global panorama, to obtain more prestige and visibility in university rankings and to increase their institutional incomes (Pulcini and Campagna, 2015; Valcke et al., 2017). As confirmed by Smit and Dafouz-Milne (2012), "[...] internationalization must be taken as one of the main reasons for using English as a medium of instruction across universities in Europe [...]" (Smit and Dafouz-Milne, 2012: 3), first, because it seems to be a concrete way to provide students with a diversified learning experience, with classmates and lecturers also coming from foreign countries, and second, to expand relations beyond national borders (Wilkinson, 2013). Indeed, most students who opt for English-mediated education are often driven by the need to learn in an international environment where they can develop and improve their intercultural and language skills in a natural way (Broggini and Costa, 2017; Galloway and Ruegg, 2020).

Despite its growing success, not only in Europe but in many other countries around the globe, issues and challenges have emerged as regards first and foremost the massive use of a single language, that is English, in several sectors and domains and more recently also in academia, through the provision of both single courses and entire degree programmes in English. Over time, this has clashed with the promotion of multilingualism promoted by the European Union (European Commission, 2018; TAEC literature database report, 2020) and has fostered a form of linguistic predominance over local languages (Phillipson, 2012), possible domain loss and impoverishment of minority languages (Hultgren, 2013). In addition to that, concern has also been expressed about the participants' limited language skills (Cicillini, 2021; Galloway et al., 2017), especially in those countries where the levels of English proficiency are lower than others (Campagna and Pulcini, 2014; Education First, 2021). Although English entry requirements and forms of language assessment are often put in place, both for students and teaching staff (Cicillini, 2021; Dimova, 2020), previous research has shown that language issues in EMI classes might emerge and undermine the effectiveness of teaching and learning (Drljača Margić and Vodopija- Krstanović, 2017; Hultgren, 2016).

Generally speaking, the success of EMI programmes undoubtedly involves English, being the medium through which subject-content is delivered and its improvement might take place, as expected by most of the students enrolled in such programmes. However, since the focus of English-mediated education is on developing disciplinary literacy through English, it is still uncertain whether students' English improvement occurs or not. This uncertainty

is also noticeable in the various definitions given to EMI and presented in the next section, which do not usually refer to any language outcomes and to the students' language development.

Comparing EMI, CLIL and ICLHE

The practice of using a foreign language to teach and learn at all levels of education has been given numerous labels and definitions, which encompass English-medium Instruction (EMI), Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education (ICLHE). The major differences among the three approaches include the language and pedagogy used to teach and the level of education where they are employed.

Starting from EMI, various definitions and labels have been proposed, which highlight the different nuances of the phenomenon and the novelty of this research field but also the lack of consensus among EMI scholars as regards its terminology (Macaro, 2018). The acronym EMI stands for English-medium instruction. Several labels and near synonyms can be found in the literature, as also argued by Macaro (2018), who discussed this instability in terminology and offered a list of terms (Table 1) found in publications on EMI. Following Macaro's work (2018), Table 1 shows an update of the most frequent labels used to refer to EMI.

Table 1. List of labels

Labels	
English medium instruction	English-medium programs
English-medium instruction	English medium programmes
English medium of instruction	English as the lingua franca medium of instruction
English as the medium of instruction	
English as a medium of instruction	English medium content classes
English language as medium of instruction	English-taught programmes
	English-mediated programmes/settings
English-medium (higher) education	English-medium university
English-medium teaching	English-only programmes/degrees
English-medium higher education	
English-medium courses	

As shown in Table 1, some labels differ only in their orthography, for instance: *English medium instruction, English-medium instruction, English medium of instruction, English as the medium of instruction, English as a medium of instruction* and *English language as medium of instruction,* which emphasize the role of English as the language of teaching. Other labels focus on the setting where it takes place, that is higher education, e.g., *English-medium (higher) education*; *English-medium higher education*, *English-medium university* or on the programmes and courses where content is taught through that language, as *English-medium courses*, *English-medium programs*, *English medium programmes*, *English medium content classes*, *English-taught programmes*, *English-mediated programmes/settings* and *English-only programmes/degrees*. Similarly to labels, a number of definitions of EMI has been offered to describe the multiple aspects of this approach. The most representative are grouped in Table 2.

Table 2. Definitions of EMI

Definition	Source
English-medium instruction is characterized by four main features: 1. English is the language used for instructional purposes. 2. English is not itself the subject being taught. 3. Language development is not a primary intended outcome. 4. For most participants in the setting, English is a second language.	(Pecorari and Malmström, 2018: 499)
EMI is a setting in which English skills are not specified as a curricular outcome, are rarely planned for, and are not systematically taught, but which are nonetheless expected to be acquired.	(Pecorari and Malmström, 2018: 502)
The use of the English language to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English.	(Macaro, 2018: 19)
EMI implies that content—which is given in English—is the priority. Some incidental language learning is expected due to exposure but without any specific language learning goals. English (language) learning is not assessed.	(Aguilar, 2017: 726)
Teaching content through a language other than that normally used by the students is variously known as L2-medium instruction (in the case of this study, English-medium instruction).	(Costa and Coleman, 2013: 4-5)
(...) [when] English is the medium of instruction rather than studied as a foreign language.	(Tarnopolsky and Goodman, 2012: 58)
English-medium instruction is when non-language courses in for instance medicine, physics, or political science are taught in English, to students for whom it is a foreign language. As often as not, it is also taught by a lecturer who does not have English as a first language (L1).	(Hellekjaer, 2010: 11)

The majority of them emphasise the use of English as the medium of instruction in non-Anglophone contexts, where it is often a foreign or a second/third language. It is the means through which subject content is delivered, mostly but not exclusively at university level where much of the research on EMI is set; to a lesser extent, some studies are also carried out in primary and secondary schools (Pecorari and Malmström, 2018). As regards the language, some scholars underline the instructional role played by English in such classes, where the focus is not on strengthening language skills but on the delivery of discipline-related subject content. Indeed, as claimed by Hellekjaer (2010), EMI lecturers are experts in their field but do not usually have English as their L1 and do not teach the language. Within this context, language development and improvement are not intended outcomes and are not usually mentioned in the course syllabi. However, as Aguilar (2017), Pecorari and Malmström (2018) maintain, although improving students' English skills is not an intended goal, some degree of language development is expected by students, probably because of the long exposure to the language input received in class. This is what has emerged from several surveys that investigated students' motivations to choose English-mediated programmes (Galloway and Ruegg, 2020; Drljača Margić and Vodopija- Krstanović, 2017). Under this view, Aguilar (2017) claims that English learning may take place incidentally and without direct language

instruction, a concept discussed in many studies on second language acquisition (SLA), according to which, if meaningful input is provided, in-class learners may develop their language skills in a natural and uncontrolled way (Krashen, 1981).

Following the concept of incidental learning, the use of English for educational purposes is seen by many as an opportunity to develop skills unconsciously and almost effortlessly. However, some doubts may arise first of all, because in EMI classes, language outcomes, even if often expected, are not part of the curricula, no direct language teaching is provided and lecturers are not often in the position to provide language support to their students. In addition, few studies have focused on the role of EMI in students' proficiency and on the extent to which incidental learning may take place in EMI and in which forms. Indeed, little is known about the aspects of the language that may have a positive impact on subject learning. This might be in the forms of direct teaching of *English as a Foreign language* (EFL) or of *English for Specific Purposes* (ESP), which would concentrate either on the basics of the language or on more specialised aspects, such as disciplinary discourse and technical terminology (Costa and Mastellotto, 2022).

In addition to EMI, other terms can be found in literature to refer to a foreign language used for instructional purposes (Table 3), as "content-based instruction" (CBI), used especially in North America, CLIL and ICLHE, predominantly but not exclusively adopted in Europe. Although the terms are sometimes used interchangeably, there are some differences to be considered and addressed.

Table 3. Definitions of CLIL and ICLHE

Definition	Source
"CLIL is a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language".	(Coyle et al., 2010: 1).
"CLIL is an umbrella term to refer to diverse methodologies which lead to dual-focused education where attention is given to both topic and language of instruction".	(San Isidro and Lasagabaster, 2019: 2)
CLIL "refers to situations where subjects, or parts of subjects, are taught through a foreign language with dual-focused aims, namely the learning of content, and the simultaneous learning of a foreign language".	(Marsh, 2002: 2)
"The CLIL acronym suggests an integration between language and content".	(Costa, 2016:16)
CLIL "refers to any dual-focused educational context in which an additional language, thus not usually the first foreign language of the learners involved, is used as a medium in the teaching and learning of non-language content …"	(Coyle, 2008: 97)
CLIL "(..) integrates language and content along a continuum, in a flexible and dynamic way".	(Pérez-Cañado, 2012: 318)
"(..) ICLHE in which, alongside the disciplinary course objectives, there are also some secondary linguistic goals"	(Costa, 2021: 7)
"Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education (ICLHE) is more used with respect to the type of pedagogy adopted and its specific features".	(Costa, 2009: 85)

"CBI is a teaching approach to second language teaching in which teaching is organized around the content or information that students will acquire, rather than around a linguistic or other type of syllabus.	Richards & Rodgers (2001: 204).

Most of the definitions of CLIL highlight its dual function of integrating content and language in class, where different teaching methodologies are employed to combine the two; part of the school curriculum is usually taught through a foreign language, which is developed along with disciplinary content. Under this view, instructors can exploit teaching opportunities for encouraging students to notice certain language features. The medium of instruction is not fixed, it is not usually the participants' L1 but a foreign language that students should partially know and develop while learning other subjects. This distinguishes CLIL from EMI, where the "E" of the acronym makes it clear that English is the language of instruction. Nonetheless, previous studies have emphasised the predominance of English over other languages in CLIL programmes (Coleman, 2006).

As a consequence, language and content development are pivotal to the success of CLIL programmes, as well as in content-based instruction, where there is even greater interest in language development (Continuum of EMI, Thompson & McKinley, 2018). In general, CLIL is often referred to as "a set of educational classroom practices in the different contexts of the European continent [...]" (San Isidro and Lasagabaster, 2019: 2), employed to achieve the final objectives. Unlike EMI, in CLIL contexts, explicit language objectives go hand in hand with disciplinary ones.

The educational settings where CLIL generally takes place are primary and secondary schools, in which learners often share the same L1. This is confirmed by Doiz and Lasagabaster (2020), who maintain that CLIL is used more at pre-university level as compared to EMI, even though this is not always the case. In higher education, instead, the ICLHE approach often replaces CLIL (Smit and Dafouz-Milne, 2012), with which it shares the direct teaching of content and language and the use of an additional language. However, differences exist between the two as for the level of education and the type of activities and teaching strategies employed, as also claimed by Costa (2009: 85), who maintains that "ICLHE is more used with respect to the type of pedagogy adopted and its specific features". Comparing it to EMI, some common traits can be identified which regard both the university setting where they are employed and the type of students, who are both international and local using the language of instruction as the medium of communication and exchange. Instead, the main difference lies in the outcomes, which in the case of ICLHE also include learning and improving the language of instruction, while in EMI this is rarely mentioned.

Discussion

The increase in methodological approaches that use a foreign language for instructional purposes at all levels of education is a recent phenomenon that has evolved in the last decades in many parts of the world, including Europe,

where it has rapidly increased soon after the Bologna process in 1999. The input to internationalise the academic environment has encouraged most of the European universities to develop innovative strategies to respond to the need of internationalising higher education. As a result, one of the most common ways to achieve that goal has included the implementation of EMI programmes at university level, considered by some as "the only ways towards accomplishing the Bologna goals" (Ljosland 2007: 339). Actually, offering English-mediated education has considerably increased the number of foreign students and lecturers and fostered a multicultural and multilingual environment within the universities involved.

Among the main pros and cons of promoting education through a foreign language, concern has been expressed about its role in classes, especially like EMI ones, where no reference is made to its functioning. This has also been argued by Macaro (2019: 263) who claims that: "the role of language in an EMI context is an extremely complex one and it is possible that it is even more complex in a higher education (HE) context (Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra, 2013) than in a secondary school context which is the educational phase usually (but certainly not exclusively) associated with CLIL". Indeed, while in CLIL contexts, students usually have similar language competence, age and a common mother tongue, in EMI this is not always the case. This is firstly because, although access to EMI programmes is usually regulated by English entry requirements set at a specific language threshold (Cicillini, 2021; Dimova, 2020), students admitted to the programmes often have different English levels and language backgrounds. Actually, dealing with different degrees of in-class language proficiencies may be challenging and may require a careful and strategic planning of lessons and activities. Secondly, while CLIL settings are usually homogeneous in terms of students' literacy, age and L1, EMI is populated by a number of both international and local students, who bring to class multiple social, language and cultural backgrounds. Lastly, in CLIL classes at school level, language teaching is part of the curriculum together with other subjects, often taught in the form of English as a foreign language (EFL), which consists in teaching the standard norms of the language to non-native English people (Jenkins, 2006). On the contrary, at university level, since the rationale behind EMI is not based on the learners' language development but on the use of English as a means of communication, students are not provided with any direct language instructions.

In light of the above considerations, the complex role of English in EMI classes should be recognised and discussed further in future research. Although English language objectives are neither mentioned nor considered in the EMI syllabi, developing linguistic skills is among the major motivating factors to undertake a university programme in English, probably because of the extensive exposure to the language and the lecturers' input. For this reason, different actions could be put in place for ensuring high educational standards, which may encompass: the shift from EMI to ICLHE, in which subject content and language are integrated and equally developed: the inclusion of precise language goals in the syllabi to be achieved by the end of the programmes; the identification of

students and lecturers' needs as regards their language proficiency; and the provision of language support and direct language teaching, possibly offered by language experts who could cooperate with their content colleagues. This might also include a focus on various aspects of the language used in the disciplines studied, for instance, by providing the students with English for specific purposes (ESP) classes (Costa and Mastellotto, 2022).

Conclusion

This research set out to describe the main characteristics of EMI and of similar methodological approaches – CLIL, ICLHE, CBI – especially with reference to the language aspect. English, which is usually the medium of instruction in those settings, plays a central role in the organisation and success of the degree programmes and in the learners' academic performance and progress. Especially for students, English is not just a means through which learning takes place, but it is a subject and a competence to develop and strengthen, other than being one of the main motivating factors to choose English-mediated education.

As a consequence, since the provision of EMI programmes is likely to increase in the future, careful planning of more detailed language goals within the academic syllabi is necessary to meet the students' expectations and needs and to guarantee high-quality education. Moreover, as research on the language factor in EMI is still limited, future studies should concentrate more on the impact EMI has on the acquisition of subject-matter expertise, on the ways language improvement may be supported by both content and language lecturers, and on feasible teaching strategies to adopt in such educational contexts.

Declarations

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