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Everyday Cosmopolitan Practices of Croatian Patriots in Late 19th Century Zagreb

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Abstract

The paper analyzes the diary of the Croatian writer Ivana Mažuranić which she wrote during her youth from 1888 till 1891, living in the Croatian part of the Austria-Hungary. The diary is analyzed within the context of ethnic tensions during the late imperial period with particular emphasis on the author's attitudes and feelings toward her own national belonging, other ethnicities and circulating languages. Through the analysis of both social relationships and cultural aspirations of the author and her plurilingual practices, the paper has attempted to approach the teenage diary of Ivana Mažuranić as an example of seemingly contradictory, but actually quite common co-existence of cosmopolitan attitudes and practices and strong national loyalty or even nationalism in the bourgeoisie of the late Austro-Hungarian Empire, which might be termed as cosmopolitan nationalism.

Keywords: Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, Austria-Hungary.

Introduction

Research dealing with the last phase of the Habsburg Monarchy (1867-1918), also known in that period as the Austro-Hungarian Empire or Austria-Hungary, tends to focus in a great number of cases on the development of national identities and on political conflict between presumed nationally defined collectivities, whose formation and consolidation was the goal of national movements. Due to the continuing influence of the concept of national history, as well as the role of historiography in the construction of national narratives, scholars researching culturally and linguistically heterogeneous areas of the Austro-Hungarian Empire often focus primarily on the situation and activities of one particular ethnic group (usually the one whose language they themselves speak and which is dominant in the country they come from and/or where the funds for the research come from (Bruckmüller, 2006, p. 2). The situation is similar in the Croatian-language

area. Of course, this indeed was a period of intense work on the formation and consolidation of Croatian national identity. Like in other national movements, it required to an extent the emphasizing and promotion of what were considered “authentic” elements of the “national” culture, while downplaying or trying to minimise the role of “foreign” influences. However, the fact that developing national “awareness” among ordinary people required a large, concerted and continued effort on the part of certain individuals and organisations shows, among other things, just how culturally heterogeneous the area was at the time. It also points to the plural, fluid and situational nature of ethnic and national identification, particularly in a culturally diverse environment, which is much harder to appreciate in approaches based on methodological nationalism (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002). In spite of the emphasis on “pure” Croatian national culture and a strong personal sense of national identity, as well as a critique of “foreign” cultural influences in all spheres of life, members of the more educated segment of the bourgeoisie, who were the main agents of the national movement, tended to also be well acquainted with and appreciative of various cultural forms which, from the purist national perspective, would be regarded as foreign. (It can arguably be said that it was precisely this kind of cosmopolitan education that made the success of their cultural, educational and political efforts possible.)

This paper is part of a wider project¹ that seeks to counterbalance the emphasis of “national” (Croatian) historiography on the national movement and the formation and consolidation of Croatian national identity in the Austro-Hungarian period by turning instead to the numerous and varied indications of transnational mobility and intercultural exchange in the urban centres of present Croatia during this time. Apart from materials from archives in Croatia and abroad, publications such as newspapers, magazines, almanacs, tourist guides, travel literature, diaries and memoirs are used as primary sources, since they provide both information and unique subjective perspectives and experiences of everyday life in these culturally mixed environments.

The paper presents an exemplary case study in this respect: the writer Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić² (1874-1938), the most successful and internationally well-known Croatian writer of children’s literature and one of the foremost Croatian female authors, whose teenage diaries (written at the age of 14-17)

1 This work was supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under Grant 3914 (Historical Perspectives on Transnationalism and Intercultural Dialogue in the Austro-Hungarian Empire) carried out at the Institute for Anthropological Research in Zagreb.

2 Born as Ivana Mažuranić, she acquired the surname Brlić through marriage. Since the subject of this paper is her teenage diary written before her marriage, she will be referred to here using only her maiden name, although she is generally known and referred to as Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić.

have recently been published (Mažuranić, 2010). Through an analysis of this material, we will attempt to show how practices which can be considered cosmopolitan can co-exist in an apparently contradictory way with performances of strong national identification and patriotism.

Cosmopolitanism and nationalism

Robbins (1998) points out the change in meaning and use of the term “cosmopolitanism” in recent scholarship, in relation to its classical meaning based on Enlightenment philosophy. In the classical sense, “cosmopolitanism” refers to a universal ideal of loyalty and identification with humanity as a whole, rather than a more narrowly defined collectivity, particularly the “nation”. This understanding of cosmopolitanism would entail ethical responsibility toward all people equally, without giving priority to members of one’s own nation; in fact, it would also entail the lack of any significant national identification or attachment to a particular geographical place or area, a specific culture, language and so on. This is seen as an ideal, which means that it is a normative concept, which is historically linked to the cultural, social and political context of the European Enlightenment. More recently, however, it has been pointed out that such a specific cultural form, regardless of its pretension to universality, cannot be considered relevant in a radically different context. Additionally, interest has developed in a more descriptive approach to cosmopolitanism, leading to the coining of the term “actually existing cosmopolitanism” (Malcomson, 1998), which refers to concrete practices, relations, attitudes etc. in concrete situations. This has resulted in a multiplicity of “cosmopolitanisms”, in place of only one universal conception of cosmopolitanism.

Another critique of the classical concept of cosmopolitanism is based on the idea that it presupposes a privileged class of well-off educated people who have the financial, cultural and social capital which allows them to be mobile and “detached”. Some comments from left wing political positions considered these “cosmopolitans” irresponsible and therefore incapable of participating in political life (which means also of playing a role in historical change) due to their supposed detachment from concrete collectivities and their interests. However, more recently it has been observed that cosmopolitanism and nationalism or some form of loyalty to the local and specific, as opposed to the global and universal, are not necessarily opposites, but that they can complement or even stimulate each other. This understanding of cosmopolitanism can disarm critiques of apolitical irresponsibility. Rather than “detachment”, “multiple attachment” or attachment “at a distance” often comes into play. As a result of capitalist globalization, people around the world are unavoidably connected in different ways, while not necessarily aware of it, with a great number of other geographical locations and therefore

with other people with their more local loyalties. Although Robbins (1998) explores contemporary social phenomena, this approach to cosmopolitanism can also be applied in the context of a multi-ethnic empire such as Austria-Hungary, which can be compared (with the necessary caveats) to countries in the contemporary globalized world, in the sense of both internal and external movement and connections between people, ideas, goods, services, institutions and organisations.

Robbins (1998) also points out that claims of the *a priori* significance of humanity as such are unjustified and unproductive and, instead of the universalist ambition of cosmopolitanism as identification with the entirety of the human species, he suggests a more “humble”, realistic and less strictly defined concept of cosmopolitanism as simply a form of identification and loyalty “broader” than the nation. This form of loyalty always needs to be approached in its specific historical context, with specific circumstances and factors which define its characteristics and “range”.

Skey (2013) adds to this the importance of taking into account the temporal and strategic aspects of cosmopolitanism and suggests that cosmopolitanism can be seen as “a perspective that is periodically articulated, in relation to specific needs, contexts or prompts, rather than being an inherent property of particular individuals, groups or situations” (p. 235; original italics). A more elaborate and specific description of cosmopolitanism is taken from Skrbis and Woodward (2013): “a set of structurally grounded, discursive resources which . . . [are] variably deployed to deal with issues such as cultural diversity, global [sic] and otherness” (quoted in Skey, 2013, p. 239). The “commitments individuals may have to ‘other’ cultures and people” therefore vary as “different forms of ‘otherness’” are encountered in their everyday lives (Skey, 2013, p. 236). Skey (2013) thus suggests using the concept of cosmopolitan practices, rather than cosmopolitan identity or cosmopolitanism as such, and emphasizes the importance of keeping in mind their fragility and limits, “as well as the relations of power that they (re)create” (p. 238).

The concept of strategic cosmopolitanism, as a set of attitudes and skills which serve a pragmatic purpose rather than being an ethical position, also takes centre stage in Ballinger’s (2003) account of Dubin’s (1999) work on Jews in Trieste during the absolutist Habsburg period. She critically approaches the established and widespread “myth” of Habsburg Trieste as a culturally heterogeneous environment where hybridity was the norm and where tolerance and openness to cultural difference prevailed. This idea, she warns, is a result of projecting contemporary understandings of multiculturalism and tolerance on a specific historical situation, which is also nostalgically idealised in the context of post-Cold War political projects in Central Europe. This is contrasted with a call for analysing “really existing cosmopolitanism” in Trieste (here the author also refers to Robbins), which is

far from this idealised image. Ballinger also points out, based on Dubin's research, the co-existence and mutual reinforcement between "cosmopolitan" and nationalist attitudes in the culturally heterogeneous Triestine commercial class. Although they benefited financially from their intercultural and transnational connections and supported the central imperial power, which created and maintained this state of affairs, part of the city's elite also advocated Italian national (and even Irredentist) interests in a bid to protect themselves from the threat that they saw in Germanisation and the growing political demands of Slavic national movements. Nationalism and cosmopolitanism therefore needn't be understood as "totalising identities", which are mutually exclusive and which encompass the totality of a person's existence, but rather as "interrelated ideologies upon which individuals may draw in different realms or moments" (Ballinger, 2003, p. 93). This is another way of formulating Skey's emphasis on the temporal and strategic aspects of cosmopolitanism. When we take into account the equally temporal and strategic aspects of nationalism (and any other ideology or practice), it is clear that cosmopolitanism and nationalism are not at all incompatible and do not form a pair of polar opposites.

A similar point is made, although not using the concept of cosmopolitanism, but focusing on linguistic practices, by Novak in his study of the language biographies of the central figures of the Croatian national movement (Novak, 2012a, 2012b). Through an analysis of their published and unpublished written material, including journal entries and private correspondence, Novak shows the dynamics of language attitudes and practice throughout the lifetimes of mainly bilingual (German-Croatian) individuals in a multilingual, culturally diverse environment. Although their political and cultural-educational activities were aimed at constructing and consolidating a Croatian national identity, a process in which the standardisation and promotion of the use of the Croatian language played a key role, many of them actually regularly used German in their everyday lives or published texts in German and were influenced in their thought and activity by Germanophone authors (see also Iveljić, 2016, pp. 337-338). By focusing on the bilingualism and language contact phenomena which affected the language use and attitudes of the very people who were central in setting the foundations of the Croatian national narrative, as well as the difficulties and struggles they went through in acquiring and using the (new) Croatian standard, Novak, in effect, shows how ideas of national cultural or linguistic "purity" are necessarily constructs which require a great, systematic and persistent effort.

Ivana Mažuranić and her social and cultural environment

Ivana Mažuranić was born in 1874 in Ogulin, a small town in what was at the time the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia.³ Toward the end of the 19th century, Croatia-Slavonia was going through a gradual (and, compared to other parts of Europe, belated) process of economic, social and cultural transformation from a feudal to a bourgeois industrial society (Gross, 1981, p. 346). The Mažuranić family played an important role in this process. Ivana's grandfather, Ivan Mažuranić, was the viceroy (Croatian: ban) of Croatia-Slavonia in the period 1873-1880 and he introduced many important and successful reforms, which helped to modernise the country. He was also one of the most important figures in the Croatian national movement (which was most active in the region in the late 18th and in the 19th century), not just as a politician, but also as an acclaimed poet. His important political and cultural role, as well as his strong character and intellect, exerted a decisive influence on his granddaughter. She was raised in a very patriarchal and religious (Catholic) spirit and strong feelings for her homeland and her people are markedly present in her writings from the very beginning (Ažman, 2013, pp. 4-5). As was common for girls in Europe at the time (Pilbeam, 2006, p. 91), Ivana Mažuranić did not receive much formal education. She attended two classes of public elementary school, while the rest of her schooling was organised at home with private tutors, mostly French-speaking. In spite of this unsystematic education, she appears to have been enthusiastic and very good at learning (Lovrenčić, 2006, pp. 43-44). Apart from French, she later had German, Russian and English lessons (Brlić-Mažuranić, 1930). This shows that, in spite of her family being quite conservative in terms of gender roles (Zima, 2014, p.131) and very involved in the national movement, they still considered it important to provide some form of education for their daughter and, in particular, it is obvious that the goal of this education was to achieve some level of "worldly" (in other words, cosmopolitan) cultivation.

After moving to Karlovac and then Jastrebarsko, the family eventually relocated to the capital of Croatia-Slavonia, Zagreb, in 1882. From about the mid-nineteenth century, Zagreb increasingly became the political, economic and cultural centre of the kingdom. Due to its role as the source and centre of the Croatian national movement, the city was regarded by many who considered themselves Croats as the most appropriate to become the capital of all "Croatian lands" (which usually encompassed Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia) (Gross, Szabo, 1992, p. 555). However, the city itself, as well as the region of North-western Croatia more generally, was multilingual (Jernej,

3 The official name was the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, although the first two regions were administered jointly as relatively autonomous within the Hungarian part of Austria-Hungary, while Dalmatia belonged to the Austrian part.

Glovacki-Bernardi & Sujoldžić, 2012). German was dominant in urban areas, since it was a prestige language associated with higher education, administration, the military etc. and the consequences of this can still be observed today in the great number of German-origin words used in ordinary daily oral communication in Northern Croatia (for more on German-Croatian language contact and specifically lexical borrowing, see e.g. Glovacki-Bernardi, 1996, 2007). Hungarian was present to a lesser extent in the public sphere and never acquired the status and social role of German, in spite of repeated attempts to make it the official language (Novak 2012b, p. 397; Jernej et al., 2012). In the largest part of North-western Croatia, the first language of most people was a South Slavic Kajkavian dialect, but the supra-regional Štokavian dialect, which was chosen, codified and promoted by prominent members of the national movement as the new Croatian standard language, was also gaining prestige (Novak 2012b).

In 1888-1891, the time when Ivana Mažuranić wrote her early diaries, the viceroy of Croatia-Slavonia was Károly Khuen-Héderváry, a Hungarian who pursued a policy of ruthless Magyarisation in order to subdue growing aspirations to Croatian national independence. The Hungarian language was increasingly being introduced in the public sphere (most importantly in the administration and the railway system), public freedom of expression was significantly reduced, the election process was manipulated in different ways in order to maintain a political structure which would support Khuen-Héderváry's policies and, in spite of a certain level of economic growth, Croatia remained financially dependent on Hungary.

The diary

In light of this situation, as well as her own position as a member of the well-known, respected and patriotic Mažuranić family, it is no surprise that in her diary Ivana Mažuranić consistently expresses strong feelings for her country and her people, even, in one case, to the point of inciting nationalist violence:

If these boys were boys, but they're all weak. Why don't they go and fight, at once, with no particular cause, to show that they can fight too, and if anyone asks them why: 'because we're Croats and you're not' and when they've beaten up everyone who's not a Croat, all those people will leave this country where Non-Croats help themselves to everything by the shovelful and then let those who fought best rule. That would indeed be best. I would stand up to two or three Magyarons [people who support Hungarian rule in Croatia] and grab one by the neck, the other by the nose and with the third under my feet: 'are you a Croat? or not? (p. 24).

It is clear, however, when reading the rest of the diary, that this call to "beat up" and expel from the country anyone who is not a Croat can be seen

as hyperbolic, since several people from Ivana's own social circle are designated as members of other ethnic groups. It is more likely that the reference to "Magyarons" can be taken to indicate that "Non-Croats" does not refer to people of different ethnic origin, but rather to people whom she considers Croats, but who support Hungarian rule (and who, as "traitors of their own people", were the subject of intense critique and rage coming from the pro-Croatian side). She also expresses a certain general feeling of frustration and lack of enthusiasm in that particular diary entry, so perhaps the aggressive "outburst" can, at least partially, be attributed to her mood at the time of writing.

Another issue with regard to her strong and unflinching patriotic sentiment that comes to the fore is marriage. She seems to have many suitors at different points in time, but she is absolutely determined to marry only a Croat. Of course, considering her international social circle, this categorical determination is bound to come up against her own feelings at some point. For example, about a disappointed German suitor, whom she obviously likes, she says the following: "If God had created one of our Croats as a Hungarian and made him [the suitor] one of us instead, that would be better. But one shouldn't grumble." (p. 7). It's apparent from the way she writes about him that she is really making an effort to suppress her feelings, especially since he seems to be very much in love with her. So, although she's surrounded in her daily life by people of different nationalities and cultural backgrounds, this freedom and pleasure in a culturally diverse social circle stops short when it comes to marriage. As a more public and institutionalized relation than friendship and also one that is at the core of the family (itself one of the central institutions in a social structure and value system built on patriarchy, Catholicism and a strong national identity), marriage is an area where she willingly decides to put her beliefs and strict principles over her feelings and her actual way of life.

However, alongside these (and other) expressions of strong patriotic or even nationalist feelings, there are many instances in her diary which indicate everyday attitudes, practices and relations which can be considered cosmopolitan in the sense of going beyond or not privileging her own national group or even of a preference for the "foreign" or "non-Croatian" in particular situations. The presence of people of other nationalities in her social circle has already been mentioned. This can be presumed on the basis of their names or surnames (e.g. Sachs, Dr Wolff, Olessa, Galliuff, Alexis, Arabella...), but without the possibility of reaching a reliable conclusion, since the language area a name comes from does not necessarily map out onto a particular individual's national affiliation (Ivana herself had three middle names – Cornelia, Emilia and Henrietta [Lovrenčić, 2006, p. 26] – which sound like they could have easily belonged to people from any number of countries). It is much more reliable when Ivana herself mentions a particular nationality

with regard to someone she knows, as in the case of the German suitor. Another example is her good friend Stella, who she writes about quite often, mentioning once that “there is Hungarian blood in her”. In spite of the differences that she perceives between them (which are generally not seen as in any way related to differences in “blood”, apart from Stella being very “passionate” as a result of her Hungarian heritage), Ivana emphasizes how close they are and how much they like each other. Generally, nationality or cultural heritage don not come up as relevant at all when writing about her friends and acquaintances, as opposed to their characters or behaviour, which seems to indicate that the latter played a key role in her social relations and that she was not particularly prone to judging and categorising people, at least those in her social circle, based on their national affiliation. The significant exception to this is the abovementioned issue of marriage, where a person’s individual characteristics, no matter how appealing and admirable they may be, cannot override their non-Croatian affiliation (significantly, however, this does not lead to a prejudiced view of these individuals, only to a definite decision not to engage in romantic relations with them).

Ivana’s best and closest friend is Marietta, a poor French girl who came to Croatia to give private language classes. She and Ivana talk for hours (of course, in French) and share all of their intimate thoughts and feelings. Marietta eventually commits suicide because of unrequited love and Ivana is deeply shaken, saying that this was the moment when her childhood was gone forever. After Marietta’s death, she occasionally writes segments of her diary in French, addressing them to her deceased friend. Here is an example of this, where she starts writing in Croatian and continues in French (the originally French segment is given in both translation and original in italics):⁴

Monday, 24. February 1891

Really, I would be crying if I wasn't laughing ! Ah what laughter this is ! Ah ! where are you!... ah! what a love you had for him ! Ah ! I could not appreciate you yet then... don't be angry. Now I need you. But... you know... he is so beautiful, so beautiful... (Zbilja, plakala bi da se nesmijem ! Ah kakav je to smijeh ! Ah ! ou etez vous! ... ah! de quel amour l'aimiez-vous ! Ah ! je ne savais pas encore vous apprecier... ne vous fachez pas. Maintenant j'aurais besoin de vous. Mais... savez vous... il est si beau, mais si beau... (pp. 132-133).

Compared to her general writing style in the diary, this stands out as a particularly emotional segment, resembling a stream of consciousness, as though she was talking directly to her friend, in an attempt to recreate mentally the relationship she had with her. Since she complains how her mother never

⁴ Linguistically significant quotations from the diary that show Ivana's plurilingual practices are given in all instances with the Croatian original text in parenthesis.

talks to her about intimate matters, it would seem that her most private thoughts and feelings were for a certain period of time expressed almost exclusively to a person from a different country, with a different cultural background, and in a “foreign” language (in the sense of not being her first language). As a result of the fact that there were no Croatian speakers who she had the same degree of intimacy with, a “foreigner” plays the crucial role in her intimate emotional life and, consequently, the French language is almost as close and intimate for her as Croatian (which is why the label “foreign” is not actually appropriate). Of course, this particular relationship is not the only reason for this. Lovrenčić (2006, p. 45), for example, mentions that, while they were still quite young, Ivana’s father used to read Jules Verne to her and her siblings in French, which they knew well enough to follow the story. Also, in a short autobiographical text (Brlić-Mažuranić, 1930) written when she was somewhat older, the author says that the family had a significant number of foreign-language volumes in their library, which she enjoyed reading. Perhaps as a result of this, as well as of being tutored in French, her own first literary efforts only seemed to produce results when she would articulate her thoughts in French. Her first poems, written when she was 12, were in French, including, interestingly enough, a patriotic poem titled *Ma Croatie* (My Croatia).

Apart from the segments in French, she also frequently uses German words and expressions in her diary. Indeed, being a member of the Zagreb bourgeoisie, conversation in German would have been a routine part of her everyday life. This was primarily the case in social situations, since most of the German words in her diary are used in this context, in reference to interpersonal relations and behaviour. Here are some examples (original German is in italics):

I have already had fun with many of them [boys], many of them made my head spin for a moment, while I was having fun with them but ‘nothing more’. (Već sam se sa mnogimi zabavljala, mnogi mi je na čas smešao pamet, dok sam se s njim zabavljala ali ‘weiter nichts’) (p. 15).

Milan was in a ‘grumping mood’ and Bučar in a ‘sleepy mood’. (Milan je bio u ‘Hassenlaune’, a Bučar u ‘Schlaf-laune’) (p. 22).

We saw Archduke Johann, too. He ate with us, not at our table, a bit further. Doesn’t impress me at all. He’s quite sweet. (I nadvojvodu Johanna smo vidjeli. Jeo je s nama, ne kod stola baš, malo dalje. Imponiert mir garnicht. Dosta je hertzig) (p. 74).

After having spent some time in the company of several young women, whom she considered boring, unintelligent, overly polite and lacking in spirit, humour and liveliness, the author criticises them, using an expression probably originating in an anti-feminist discourse which must have been widespread in her social environment:

At least if they are all like those in whose company I yesterday had the honour of spending 240 minutes, then 'let the woman question remain the woman question'. (Bar ako su sve onakove kano one u kojih društvu jučer imah čast 240 minutah proboraviti, onda 'lasse die Frauenfrage Frauenfrage sein') (p. 16).

Other instances where she tends to use German words and expressions are when talking about her writing (the diary, as well as her first literary attempts), which she is both proud and yet very critical and sometimes even slightly ashamed of.

So many of them would laugh a lot if, indeed all young people would, if they read my diary. 'Sentimental, boring, really stupid, old story' Milan would say 'all young girls are the same'. (Koliki bi se vrlo smijali da, dapače svi mladi ljudi da moj dnevnik čitaju. 'Sentimentalno, dosadno, baš glupo, 'alte G'schicht' rekao bi Milan 'alle die Mädeln sind sich gleich'.) (p. 20).

God, God, how well I know what everyone would say about my diary. 'Unhealthy sentimentalism.' 'mawkish', 'novel-like', 'a fruit of idleness', all 'imagined', 'a young girl's ridiculous romanticism', and yet, and yet, maybe it's true, maybe it is...(Bože, Bože, kako ja dobro znam šta bi svi o mom dnevniku rekli. 'Nezdrav sentimentalizam.' 'Gefühlsduselei', 'romani uliveno', 'plod nerada', sve 'eingeredet', 'djevojački smiešni romantizam', a ipak, a ipak, možda je istina, možda je...) (pp. 113-114).

In some examples she combines two languages with Croatian - English and French in the first example and French and German in the second:

(...) yes it's a beautiful thing, poetry, but unfortunate. How the fashionable jeunesse dorée has already mocked it! (... da lijepa je stvar ta sirota poezija. Na kakve načine joj se ta fashionable jeunesse dorée nije već narugala!) (p. 20).

You know, today the word 'aprixomatif' is in my head all the time. God knows if it means anything or whether I heard it somewhere. But now 'aprixomative' literature. You know, I'm a 'timid talent or an untimid non-talent'. (Znaš, danas mi se uvijek riječ 'aprixomatif' mete po glavi. Bog zna jeli to šta znači, ili jeli sam gdje čula. Ali sada 'aprixomativna' literatura. Znaš, ja sam 'schüchternes Talent ili nichtschüchternes Untalent') (pp. 79-80).

Ivana's interest in languages comes to the fore during a trip to the Northern Adriatic coast in 1889, during which she made detailed notes of her impressions, later inserted into her diary. She loves traveling and shows a great interest and enthusiasm regarding foreign languages and cultures. She is eager to hear people speaking English in the port of Trieste and is intrigued when she hears a language she can't recognize. A situation encountered on

the train back from Trieste provides an interesting account of multilingual and intercultural communication:

A fat man came in and no one knows which language he's speaking. – This formidable personage is speaking Italian, but with no teeth. Now the car is completely full.(...) That conversation. These people all speak only Italian and they want all kinds of explanations and dad is explaining everything to them in French. Still they somehow understand each other. That formidable man turned out to be a Greek. Now there was a lot of explaining. We told this Greek man that grandma was Greek. The time it took him to understand this! Greek and French and Italian and all languages were used here. He kept talking and asking about something like "pecullo" and "mamiu", but we didn't know what he meant. Three other Italians are in there, but they don't understand him either it seems. I guess he speaks differently. It's funny. Like the Tower of Babel (pp. 69-70).

The author is obviously amused by the difficulties and funny situations arising from attempts at communication between speakers of different languages, but she also seems a bit overwhelmed by the continuous efforts needed in order to achieve some level of mutual understanding. The interesting thing, however, is that these attempts continue in spite of the difficulties; there is obviously a genuine mutual interest in communication and in finding or establishing common ground amid the differences (as in the mention of the Greek grandmother). In the end, the Tower of Babel is invoked, the archetypal reference for multilingual environments and issues of language-related communication problems and a common topos in discussions of Austria-Hungary.

In contrast to this situation, Ivana seems to breathe a sigh of relief two days later, on board a steamship called Hrvatska (The Croat), where she writes: "It feels good to hear only Croatian spoken here" and adds: "It's funny to say this when one hasn't even left Croatia at all"⁵ (p. 75). So, a great interest and enjoyment in the cultural and linguistic diversity of the world and an inquisitive desire to explore it co-exists here with a clear and strong attachment to the familiar, to "home", to what is felt to be "one's own". This attachment is additionally reinforced by the author's strong patriotic feelings and by the ideal that she subscribes to, shaped by the political situation in the country and by broader political, economic and sociocultural tendencies of the time, the ideal of the completely autonomous and self-governing nation-state, clearly dominated by one language, one culture and one people, which are seen as mutually analogous and internally homogeneous.

⁵ She apparently also considers Trieste a part of Croatia, although at the time it was the capital of the crownland of the Austrian Littoral in the Austrian part of the empire.

A cosmopolitan outlook persists, however, in the author's later life as well, which is apparent from her numerous private letters, kept as part of the Brlić family archive. She continued to read literature in several languages and for a period of time kept up a correspondence with authors such as Rudyard Kipling and Selma Lagerlöf. She also regularly read leading European newspapers and attended theatre performances and concerts whenever she had the opportunity (Ažman, 2013, p. 8). She still inserts German words, phrases and whole sentences in her letters, particularly those to her mother (who she writes to very often), which shows that communication (at least partly) in German was a habitual part of their relationship throughout Ivana's life (Majhut & Lovrić Kralj, 2013). Taking care of her appearance was also very important to her and she often wrote to her mother to arrange orders of clothing and accessories from Zagreb and Vienna, following current trends in Viennese and Parisian fashion magazines.⁶ Her love of travelling did not diminish either: in 1930 she writes enthusiastically to one of her daughters while travelling through Italy with her son Ivo, nostalgically remembering her visit to Italy 22 years earlier and lovingly enjoying the sight of her son seeing Venice for the first time and experiencing the awe that she herself had felt (Ažman, 2013, p. 14). Of course, throughout it all she also remained a dedicated patriot.

Conclusion: a cosmopolitan patriot

Fluent in several languages, interacting on a daily basis with a culturally diverse group of people in her private and social life and regularly exposed to elements of different cultures – in this sense the young Ivana Mažuranić is probably a more or less typical representative of the upper classes of the bourgeoisie in Croatia-Slavonia during the Austro-Hungarian period. Her interest in the political situation in Croatia, her strong sense of national identity and her emotional investment in the cause of the Croatian national movement are partly a result of her upbringing and particularly her grandfather's influence, but they are also an example of the growing tendencies towards national identification and aspirations to political independence in Croatia (and in other Slavic regions of the Empire) at the time. This paper has attempted to approach the teenage diary of Ivana Mažuranić as an example of this seemingly contradictory, but actually quite common co-existence of cosmopolitan attitudes and practices and strong national loyalty or even nationalism in the bourgeoisie of the late Austro-Hungarian Empire. In this sense, it is a study of "actually existing cosmopolitanism", of a specific social and cultural milieu shaped by various

6 After her marriage, she lived in the Brlić family house in Brod na Savi (today: Slavonski Brod) in Slavonia.

concrete factors, which in turn shape the varying practices, attitudes and relations of different social actors in very particular ways, making their everyday “cosmopolitanisms” historically contingent.

Ivana’s cosmopolitan attitudes could perhaps also be considered a form of strategic cosmopolitanism, in the sense of being a way to express and simultaneously justify her membership in the “cultured society” of a Europe-wide bourgeois upper class, which presumed a certain type and level of education (such as learning French and playing the piano) and the ability to socialise with people of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. The desire to express belonging to this class might have been all the stronger since, after her marriage, she lived in a small provincial town (hence the importance of following closely Parisian and Viennese fashion trends), but even Zagreb, although it was the capital of Croatia-Slavonia and not very far from Vienna and Budapest, was still peripheral in terms of the Empire as a whole. Apart from French, a level of proficiency in German would have been expected, since it was the main language used by the urban upper classes in Croatia-Slavonia. Of course, this strategic aspect of class-related cosmopolitan attitudes does not exclude other, less pragmatically minded reasons for engaging with “otherness”.

Ivana’s example also contributes to the critique of the abstract concept of “humanity” as the basis for a cosmopolitan worldview, since it exposes “varying commitments (...) to ‘other’ cultures and people” when “encounter[ing] different forms of otherness in [her] everyday li[fe]” (Skey, 2013, p. 236). For example, she mentions dancing a Hungarian dance (the *czárdás*) at a ball, has a partly Hungarian friend and even extends her prayers to Hungarians (p. 149), but her interest and affinity for the Hungarian people and culture do not go any further than that: she does not mention any interest in learning Hungarian or in reading Hungarian literature (in stark contrast to her great interest in some other languages and literatures). The French language, on the other hand, is a very important part of her intimate life, the first language that she felt she could properly express herself in when writing poetry. German, although it is equally or perhaps more present in her daily life than French, plays a much less personal role for her and seems to be used primarily in social situations. Consequently, her use of German in the diary often consists in received ideas or clichés (“let the woman question remain the woman question”, “all young girls are the same” etc.), which she partly accepts and partly rebels against (showing how she is not like “all young girls”).

Cosmopolitan attitudes as something that is periodically articulated, dynamic and situational, rather than a static and totalising identity, comes to the fore particularly in Ivana’s travel notes. While her great curiosity, openness and desire for new experiences and to expand her horizons in

different ways, particularly culturally and linguistically, are very apparent, still feeling “at home”, among “her own” people makes her feel at ease and comfortable. Skey (2013) also points this out based on his own research with a contemporary group of college-age students who are enthusiastic about travelling and had travelled a lot: “There is a very specific hierarchy of place, in operation, and while some foreign places can still provoke amazement and wonder, they, by implication, remain firmly distinguished from another far more significant spatial category, ‘home’. In this respect, the emphasis placed on mobility and cross-border flows, in the current literature, sometime flattens out the world, causing us to overlook the extent to which, for many, particular places matter because they are (seen to be) homely, comfortable and secure” (p. 243; original italics). Adding to Ivana’s general attachment to home is her politicised, but deeply felt patriotism, which, in a colonial situation where cultural and linguistic diversity is often associated with foreign rule and differences in power and prestige, makes her long for a Croat-dominated Croatian state. The same motive is behind her decision not to marry anyone who is not a Croat, in spite of her general acceptance of people of different cultural backgrounds.

The teenage diary of Ivana Mažuranić can therefore be seen as an example of cosmopolitan patriotism (one of the concepts that Werbner (2006, p. 496) writes about as “the crux of current debates on cosmopolitanism”; some others, with slightly different meanings, but the same general theoretical orientation, are: vernacular cosmopolitanism, rooted cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan ethnicity). It shows how cultural diversity and cosmopolitan attitudes and practices need to be seriously taken into account when researching individual and collective loyalties in Croatian lands during the late Austro-Hungarian Empire, not only in a negative sense, in the context of conflict and nationalism, but as elements of a dynamic and rich reality which created entangled and layered loyalties that are not easy to define or categorise, as much as proponents of the national cause (both then and now) would like to present it that way. It also shows that cosmopolitanism and patriotism or nationalism are not mutually exclusive opposites, but that they can perhaps be mutually reinforcing: as the “small nations” of Europe seek to be recognised and accepted by the larger, already established ones and they try to prove their right to this by referring to their “national culture”, by standardising a national language, by claiming a historical right to a particular territory etc., so the upper class bourgeois individual proves that they belong to an international bourgeois class, on the one hand, through their national pride and, on the other, through their “cultured” cosmopolitan attitudes and practices.

In conclusion, this paper attempted to provide an insight into the perspective of another type of participatory, cosmopolitan nationalism, which

contrasts its populist versions, and which seems to be widespread by the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century in the Habsburg monarchy. It challenges the theoretical opposition between nationalism and cosmopolitanism and shifts attention from identity work to the understanding of everyday social relations of ordinary people, who, while strongly nationalist, clearly displayed a cosmopolitan acceptance of the benefits of cultural diversity. This cosmopolitan nationalism which conceptualizes Habsburg multicultural society in terms of a mix of individuals (and their languages) rather than ethnic or national groups is highly instructive in view of contemporary understandings of inclusionary resources for the acceptance of ethnic diversity within a national framework.

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Technical Terms Generated Upon Meaning of Words Indicating Animals, Poultryes and Their Limbs

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Abstract:

The explication of any terminology from the knowledge point of view in relation with terminologies they are reflected to, points out the influence of exterior terminology over the frame within the terminology (terminologies) The value of terminology process is related to the construction of terms generating from common words, as the main and more qualitative way of constructing terms on which basis derivations of terms are created.

The project elaborates through numerous illustrations the process of terminology (the formation of terms generating from common words) as a qualitative way for terms formation. The words and terms related to each other are also compared with the Albanian Dictionary (1980). The words extracted from the Dictionary (1980) are presented as per their thematic-conceptual field Thereby, for example, from the words generated into terms upon meaning of the words indicating animals, poultryes or parts or limbs of animals or poultryes, which through the process of terminology generate into words with specialized meaning, a pretty rich thematic field, as it can be seen the terminologies of foreign languages, may appear as: muzzle₁ (hood of a car) (mech.), muzzle₂ (bucket of excavator; horn₁ (anvil) (mech.), horn₂ (clip) (mech.); tail₁ (petcock),tail₂ pitchfork handle) (agro.), claw (clamshell)(mech.) hoof₁ (spherical socket) (mech.),hoof₂ (roller bearing)(mech.);wool₁ (glass) (const.),wool₃ (wood) (const.); tail (of a swallow) (mech.).

Keywords: Technical terms, common words, Albanian words, animal, poultryes.

Introduction

Since the lexicology is created as a particular language science terminological lexicon has been distinguished as a part of a general lexicon, however the same is studied in the context of the general language lexicon. By the elapsed time, especially the last seven to eight decades, the languages of advanced terminology like (German, English, Russian, etc.) terminology has been acknowledged and identified as an integral part of the language, and special studies have been conducted for this purpose, both national and international, by scholars from numerous terminology schools (Vienna, Russia, Prague) and known scholars as Eugen Wüster, Helmut Felber, Juan C. Sager. Likewise, in Albania it was started with elaboration and compiling of terminological dictionaries since 1955, upon foundation of the Terminology Sector at the Institute of Linguistics and Literature in Tirana, and couple of years later in Kosovo. However, terminology studies have been mainly conducted in the context of the general lexicon, although terminology lexicon was the one principally to be referred to. These last three decades in Albania, as well as in Kosovo, studies have been conducted with focus on terminology, which are embodied in a series of monographs of this character, in Albania by Hëna Pasho, Agron Duro, in Kosovo: Pajazit Nushi, Sadete Pllana, Flutura Çitaku, Gani Pllana and numerous other authors, in particular in Albania by: Vilm Proko, Eda Shehu, Arian Shumeli.

Due to a number of difficulties the authors have had to overcome for compiling the dictionaries related to the specificity of the terminology field, they relied on the fact of gaining their knowledge on this very specific field, leading to a special experience achievement. Any researcher aiming this field primarily should master these two elements.

Naming of new concepts in the field of technique

Common words naming animals, poultries and parts or limbs of animals and poultries are often referred to, in order of naming new concepts in the field of technique, thereby gaining a specialized meaning. Usually naming of animals are not used directly as terms, but as a specifying element of a term indicating an object with features or form of functionality as theirs, such as: *horn (anvil) muzzle (hood of a car) talon (pothook claw)* etc.



Find below examples of common words *indicating animals, poultries and parts or limbs of animals and poultries*, which through the process of terminology generate into words with of specialized meaning.

In the dictionary of 1980 (Fjalor (Dictionary), 1980)	In terminological dictionaries
MUZZLE , ~ n. 1. The front part of animals' head, which is usually protruded and includes mouth, jaws and nose. Protruding muzzle (flat faced). The front usually protruded part of the vehicle, tractor, locomotive etc. <i>Hood of a truck (of a car). Excavator with steel bucket.</i>	<i>muzzle₁ (hood of a car) (mech.)</i> <i>muzzle₂ (bucket of excavator) (mech.)</i>
HORN , ~ n. 1. One of bony projection parts above the forehead of several animals which may be pointed, curved, twisted or branched; the substance of which these parts are composed. <i>Twisted (curved horn). The ship horn, the nose of a ship. A tool made out from animal horn in order to send sound signals.</i>	<i>horn₁ (anvil) (mech.)</i> <i>horn₂ (clip) (mech.)</i>
TAIL , ~ n. 1. The prolonged part at the end of animals' backbone which is flexible and mostly covered with long hairs, on large animals. <i>Tall (short) tail. Horse tail. Wooden handles. Shovel (hoe pickaxe) handle.</i>	<i>tail₁ (pitchfork handle) (agro.)</i>
CLAW , ~ n. 1. Rigid sharp claws turned backwards, many wild animals have on top of their fingers and poultries of prey; fingers with those claws. <i>Eagle's claws.</i>	<i>claw (clamshell) (mech.)</i>
HOOF , <i>Hooves</i> ~ n. 1. Horny covering part at the bottom of their feet, big toes of horses and ruminants. <i>One hoof (two hooves) animal.</i> Spec. The bottom part of something used as a plinth for other parts. <i>An immovable socket.</i>	<i>hoof₁ (spherical socket) (mech.)</i> <i>hoof₂ (roller bearing) (mech.)</i>
WOOL , ~ n. 1. The fleece of long hairs overlapping the skin of small cattle, camels etc., threads made out of them. <i>White (black) wool. Synthetic wool. Glass wool. Wood wool</i>	<i>wool₁ (glass) (const.)</i> <i>wool₃ (wood) (const.)</i>

TALON, ~ n. 1. <i>Anat.</i> A strong claw some poultries have on the rear part of the foot. <i>Eagle's talon.</i> <i>Part of anything curved as a claw. Pothook claw.</i>	<i>talon</i> (<i>pothook claw</i>) (mech.)
SWALLOW, ~ n. 1. A scissors bifurcate tailed bird with thin bill, flying speedily and very skillfully. <i>Swallow's nest. Wood small pin connecting plough's handle with pole.</i>	<i>tail (of a swallow)</i> (mech.)
STORK, ~ n. 1. <i>Zool.</i> A big migratory bird of white feathers, long neck and bill as well as with long legs inhabits in warm countries along lake shores, river banks or alongside swamps. 2. Tech. <i>A bit curved type of sickle, of long handle and not serrated,</i> usually used to mow corn. 3. Tech. <i>Conv. Type of crane, excavator or other mean, composed by a projected curved flexible part.</i>	<i>stork₁</i> (<i>crane</i>) (mech.) <i>stork₂</i> (<i>crane</i>) (hydro.) <i>stork₃</i> (<i>mower</i>) (agro.)
PARROT, ~ n. <i>zool.</i> 1. A bird of hot countries with yellow bill, long and curved downwards, multi-colored feathers, and the ability to pronounce words imitating human. <i>Green (red) parrot. Feather of a parrot.</i>	<i>parrot/pliers</i> (<i>tightening</i>) (mech.)
CJAP, ~ I m.sh. <i>zool.</i> CJEP, CJEPTE. <i>Male goat. White goat. Hornless polled male goat. Once a goat always a goat, with or without beard.</i>	<i>crane (goat)</i> (const. mech.)
GRASSHOPPER, ~ n. <i>zool.</i> Huge body insect with wings usually green in color, with long legs jumping skillfully, flies long distances and causes severe damages to the corps. <i>Green grasshopper. Dark grasshopper. Jumps like a grasshopper.</i> 2. tech. <i>small excavator, used for opening canals, trenches or houses basements, to remove soil etc.</i>	<i>grasshopper₁</i> (<i>opening canals</i>) (constr.) <i>grasshopper₂</i> (<i>to remove soil</i>) (const.)

Conclusion

The meanings of terms generated upon the meanings of common words are reflected in the explanatory dictionaries of the Albanian language in the semantic structures of their words and are further elaborated into terminological dictionaries and in the written and spoken terminology lecturing.

The study of these words meanings, when appearing as terms such as *tail* (word) and *tail* (term) are distinguished as such during the use in the relevant field of knowledge, provides an opportunity to consider this lexical exfoliation in relation to the general lexicon, with other terminological lexicon groups, as well as with its functioning in the lecturing of each field.

The elaboration conducted in regard of different groups of terms through the explanatory dictionaries it is noted that the relation of technical terminology lexicon with the general language from one vocabulary to another, from the vocabulary of 1954 to the one of 1980, in relation of semantic-lexical developments have become more complicated, and even sometimes getting better differentiated between themselves. However, it can

be noted that since the Dictionary of 1954, the process of terminology has advanced equally with term formation (formation of new terms) and that based on this circumstance elaborations regarding these two processes can be conducted, relying on the entire substance of the Albanian language vocabularies. It should be underlined that in terms of the process of terminology, "the Dictionary of 1980" serves as foundation for elaborating the technical terms as well, as they present detailed elaboration of semantic structure of each word and within its frame are revealed more clearly individual terminological meanings likewise the cases of transfer from one meaning to another one (from common meaning to terminological meaning and vice versa). Therefore, this *Glossary* has served and serves as foundation for a broad elaboration of the relations established between common words of terms and terms created upon their meaning.

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Power Dialectics and Resistance in The Postcolony: A Reading of the Poetry of Emmanuel Fru Doh and Bill F Ndi

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Abstract

This paper discusses the complex nuances of power in the postcolony. By focusing on the poetry of two Anglophone Cameroon poets: Emmanuel Fru Doh, *Wading the Tide* (2009), *Not Yet Damascus* (2007), Bill F Ndi's *Bleeding Red: Cameroon in Black and White* (2010) and *K'cracy, Trees in the Storm and Other Poems* (2008), the paper examines how political power manifests itself in ways that the post colonial scholar, Achille Mbembe has described as "banal." That way, the paper situates itself within the context of postcolonial studies of state repression and resistance.

Keywords: Power, postcolony, repression, resistance.

Introduction

This paper studies the poetry of two leading Anglophone Cameroonian poets, Emmanuel Fru Doh and Bill F. Ndi by focusing on the "banality of power in the postcolony" (Mbembe: 102). The paper draws from Marxist as well as postcolonial ideas of how political power is gotten, how and who maintains it and for whom. Achille Mbembe, the reputed postcolonial scholar, has theorized extensively on power dynamics in the postcolony using Cameroon as his source of reference. Aware that Bill Ashcroft, Helen Tiffin and Gareth Griffiths have submitted that "post colonialism is a continuous moment of resistance and reconstruction" (2), the paper draws from Mbembe's theoretical insights especially when he submits that understanding the dynamics of political power means going beyond traditional notions of resistance. To him, one must understand, also, that the postcolonial power machinery seeks always to legitimize itself through a formulation of ideas that it builds into the collective psyche of the governed. Mbembe writes that in order to prevent any challenge, "the champions of state power invent entire constellations of ideas; they adopt a distinct set of cultural repertoires and powerfully evocative concepts; but they also resort, if necessary, to the

systematic application of pain (103). In the light of the quotation above, this paper examines how state power formulates the “constellation of ideas” that Mbembe names above, how these ideas are normalized through institutions of state, failure which there is an overt “systematic application of pain” in order to bring the ruled to subordination. It is this application of pain at best, or death at worst that Mbembe describes elsewhere as “necropolitics”. The body as a site of pain and death then becomes one of the systematic strategies in the exercise of power.

The Marxist critic, George Thompson, in his book *Marxism and Poetry* argues that “the poet speaks not for himself but for his fellow men, his cry is their cry which only he can utter...but if he is to speak for them, he must suffer with them, rejoice with them, work with them, fight with them” (65). The two poets, Doh and Ndi, have elected, through the medium of their poetry and from the backdrop of their Anglophone Cameroonian consciousness, to register the dilemmas, tribulations, hopes and fears of their people and of the broader Cameroonian nation. Theirs is a representation, through the power of imagery, how voices of dissent either gain currency or are diminished by state political power machinery.

In espousing the ideas of vulgar Marxist criticism, the Marxist critic, Terry Eagleton submits that

“...even those only slightly acquainted with Marxist criticism know that it calls on the writer to commit his art to the cause of the proletariat” (35). Doh and Ndi’s poetry issue first, from the perspective of the “common man” and even more so from the perspective of Anglophone Cameroon minority question with the perennial issues of assimilation and marginalization. Of this perspective, Fru Doh contends that writers of Anglophone orientation are a “...patriotic minority trying to set right a hypocritical system. (They write) literature which is largely protest and iconoclastic in nature” (81). From the backdrop of these views, one shall argue in this chapter that Doh and Ndi are extremely sensitive to the nature of state power, how it is exercised and legitimized, but also how voices, discordant to state political music, (in what constitutes resistance) are systematically brought to submission using what Charles Teke has described as “mechanisms of state disability...” (1). The analysis shall be done in two thematic clusters, namely: *State Power Machinery and the notion of Subordination*, “*Necropolitics*” as a *Parameter of Power*.

State Power Machinery and the notion of Subordination

A nation, as a political entity, seeks always to ensure its survival. Power, in all its ramifications, then, becomes central to this survival. How this power is gotten, how it is maintained, whether it becomes a source of obsession for those who wield it, often largely affects the lives of those less

powerful than those who exercise it. In understanding the nature of power in postcolonial settings, Mbembe has provided profound theoretical insights of its trimmings and trappings. He contextualizes the postcolony as those political entities just emerging from the colonial encounter where violence, the hangover of the decolonization struggle, has remained internalized in the minds of the people. He writes that

The postcolony is characterized by a distinctive style of political improvisation, by a tendency to excess and lack of proportion, as well as by distinctive ways identities are multiplied, transformed, and put into circulation. But the postcolony is also made up of a series of corporate institutions and a political machinery that, once in place, constitute a distinctive regime of violence. (103)

From this quotation, one can observe that the postcolonial state, with its “political machinery”, does everything within its power to subvert voices of dissent in order to ensure permanent subordination from the governed. This is where resistance sets in. In the face of economic, political and social repression, the citizens are bound to register their discontent. The poet, for the most part, soon finds himself summoned to articulate this discontent on behalf of the people. The poetry of Doh and Ndi in many ways reflects this dissatisfaction with the “power machinery” of post-independent Cameroon.

Doh’s *Wading the Tide* is replete with images of a (dis)functional state where images of impunity, looting and generalized eating reign supreme. As Bate Besong observed, the blame for this picture must be placed on the ruling class which has rendered the nation “invincibly tactless” (33). The poems in *Uprising* are particularly radical and partisan. The poem with the cryptic title “Kwashiorkor Graveyard” strikes an image of physical exhaustion, of complete dysfunction and breakdown. How come it is a graveyard that has kwashiorkor and not a child, one may ask? Has the otherwise beautiful landscape been reduced to a vast cemetery? Who should be held to account for this paralysis? These are the questions that spring to mind immediately one encounters such a title. Doh writes:

“Kwashiorkor Graveyard”

Thou graveyard of my pre-natal chair,

Thou preserver of my navel

Gifted in all to make me happy:

Fertility, fruitfulness.

Yet today thou art accused-

A kwashiorkor patient-lacking

In vital vitamins: minerals, oils/agricultural products/foreign exchange

Treason! It is the tapper who squanders the wine and says
bad weather

Affected the raffia palms; he drinks the oil and says the kernel were barren

Grey beards beginning to lie? (*Wading the Tide*:5)

The title of the poem is cryptic. The poet writes of his country as though it were a kwashiorkor patient. He laments that this beautiful country of his bears the metaphorical semblance of an abandoned graveyard. In the first four lines of the poem, he endears the country as “the preserver of my navel/gifted to make me happy.” Unfortunately for him, the highly endowed country, rich in “minerals, oils/agricultural products” has been sapped and rendered barren. This is “treason.” The “grey beards” who wield economic power have failed to show accountability. They are the metaphorical bad tappers who “squander the wine and say bad weather/affected the raffia palms. (ibid)”

The poet banks on his knowledge and mastery of local imagery to weave a threnody for his country. His country, a land of fertility and fruitfulness, has been reduced to the image of a kwashiorkor patient. The state is at the mercy of bad tappers who squander the wine and complain of bad weather. The poet, while expressing this discontent, is in many ways voicing the collective dissatisfaction of a vast majority of the people. In denouncing this economic/political injustice for instance, the reputed Cameroonian novelist, Mongo Beti, in a speech delivered to the Association of Nigerian Authors in 1991 stated that “Anglophones are victims of Biya. Do you know that it is thanks to the recent publication of the confidential report by the World Bank that Cameroonians now have a rough idea of the amount of petroleum extracted from their soil?...the dictatorship forces people to keep quiet” (21). The picture of lavish life style as opposed to the “kwashiorkor” of the country is at the very center of the exercise of power in the postcolony. Numerous ceremonies where there is lavish display of pomp institutionalizes the “fetish” nature of power and makes the poor masses see this as “natural” even as their children go without food and basic medical care. This is the view Mbembe holds when he asserts that “... the actions that signal sovereignty must be carried through with style and an adequately harsh firmness, otherwise the splendor of those exercising the trappings of authority is dimmed” (110).

The poem evokes deep seated economic disparity and the resultant anger characteristic of power relations in post-colonial Cameroon. The poverty stricken base looks on to those who hold the reins of power as demi-gods and must not complain of their poverty out of a feeling of fear. The leadership has turned itself into something that must be worshipped. In a view corroborated by Mbembe in *On the Postcolony*, there is a display of “fetish power” in the postcolony. That is to say, there is a belief that those in the exercise of state power are somehow powered by totemic strength and other forces of the supernatural realm. Hence they inspire an aura of fear. Mbembe’s

view is echoed when he writes that "...a fetish is, among other things, an object that aspires to be made sacred. In the postcolony, fetishistic power is invested... in the person of the autocrat" (112). Picking up this party image, in *Not Yet Damascus*, notably in the section titled *Persecution* Doh writes about a nation he describes is in lethargy. He writes:

"Their Turn to Party"

(For Linus T. Asong)

After raising our hopes/with Mosaic strides
Defying bullets, cannons and all/trekking ghost town streets
Even pointing out the Promised Land /what is this lethargy?

Who are we now to trust?/ who indeed God's messenger?
Pharaoh's magician at work/Moses and Aaron at War
And God's people marooned/what is this lethargy? (11-12)

The poet laments the excesses of a system that thrives on intimidation, torture and subjugation. The display of affluence is not the only weapon that psychologically subjugates the masses. The speaker, in a somber tone, which speaks of defiance and resistance, speaks of the endurance of torture experienced by many risking their lives, dreaming for a politically inclusive society. In defying the "bullets and cannons" (line 3), the poet, like the people, hoped for a promised land and is sad that this only turned into lethargy. The picture of lethargy is woven into a repetitive refrain and rhetorical question. Noted for what Linus T. Asong has described as "deceptive simplicity (xi)" of semantic and syntactic closeness to the ordeal of the "common man", Doh's poetry periscopes the political trajectory of his Anglophone Cameroon constituency in particular and the Cameroonian experiment in nationhood in general. The biblical image of the Promised Land is turned, paradoxically, to one of Babylonian captivity. However, such captivity is contrasted by "echoes of laughter from Mvomeka'a" (line 35). The poem, one may argue, depicts a picture of frustration on one portion of the country as opposed to the other, symbolically represented by Mvomeka'a, the native land of the seating Head of State of Cameroon, Paul Biya. On the one hand, there is laughter, on the other there is a "sullenness of a betrayed proletariat (line 36)". The Lion and Tiger images, one may argue, are a representation of the major political acrimony registered by the major players, Paul Biya and Ni John Fru Ndi, since the beginning of political pluralism in the early 90s in Cameroon. In his article "Interrogating the Union: Anglophone Cameroon Poetry in the Postcolonial Matrix", the ace Anglophone Cameroon writer and scholar, John Nkemngong Nkengasong examines the trajectory of Cameroon's socio-historical and political power. He writes that

Inspired by the urge to check dictatorship and the disintegration of national life that began with Biya's accession to power, and also wishing to show

Anglophones' abhorrence for Francophone governance, John Fru Ndi, one of the most notable Anglophone heroes in recent times, was the first to break through the hegemony by forcefully launching an opposition party called the Social Democratic Front (SDF) in 1990. Fru Ndi's daring move, as Konings and Nyamnjoh explain, was outrageously condemned by the Biya regime, which reacted with torture, shootings and incarceration, leading to the death of six young Anglophones. (214)

His article studies the poetry of Bate Besong and John Ngong Kum. The quotation above depicts what Doh writes above as the Lion and Tiger in struggle. Ni John Fru Ndi's support drew from grassroots charisma, complete in his vociferous attack of the image of eating, monolithic power in contrast with the collective pain of the people. This is a similar image that Ndi picks up in his poetry. His collection, *K'racy, Trees in the Storm and Other Poems* is remarkable for its versatile nature in that the poet wrestles with issues that one can describe, by sharing the opinion of Charles Teke, when he asserts that Anglophone Cameroon literature "...emanates from a postcolonial space and engages a wide range of issues with regard national, continental and global awareness" (128). However, the poet also focuses on the parameters of power and the resultant images of resistance to subordination. In the poem "Assassinating Democracy (Insurgence)", Ndi evokes the image of pain and suffering in the people's quest for democratic space. He writes:

Place: Bamenda

Day: 26th of May

Year: 1990

And six of ours/Went down!

And for the convictions/and gunned down

By the forces of regression/I know not what official history says

of them

But, May, the month we screamed out/ "Mayday"

In quest for liberation from the chains of tyranny

Deserves that attention worthy of any victory. (79)

The poem recounts the painful execution of fellow citizens by the powers that be simply because they held views contrary to the nation's central power command. The speaker gives details of place, historical time and the reason for the murder of these six young men. Those responsible for their murder are labeled as the "forces of regression" (line 9) Their crime: "the quest for liberation from the chains of tyranny" (line 13). But the official account of their death is a complete obliteration of historical reality. The poem depicts the disproportionate use of force against the harmless people. By giving a specific date, location and overall atmosphere, the poet evokes the period in the early 90s when, in Bamenda, the people stood up against monolithic power. Though inspired by that period, one finds similar occurrences playing

out all too often as the people continue to aspire for greater socio-political and economic freedom. The quotation from Nkengasong's article above clearly adumbrates this view. The poet gives the painful picture of "six of ours...gunned down", a reference to the six young men killed during the launching of the SDF in May, 1990. This unfortunate scenario has formed the subject matter of many Anglophone Cameroon poets. Poems like "Ntarikon Massacre (After Blood River Day)" by Bate Besong, Nkengasong's "On the Bamenda Massacre", Emmanuel Fru Doh's "Bamenda Chop Fire" all depict this struggle.

"Necropolitics" as a Parameter of Power

In his extensive study of the exercise of power, Mbembe argues that the systematic application of pain on the body is the cornerstone of power dynamics in the postcolony. The "fetish," aided by his "*commandement* and of its agents—the party, policemen, soldiers, administrators and officials, middlemen, and dealers" (111), often have the power to choose who lives and who dies, who to exact pain and who to sooth. This is often carried through so publicly in a way as to instill fear, build up a constellation of ideas to legitimize itself in the minds of the ruled. The postcolony, he further asserts, is characterized by "the economy of death." (114). The concept of "necropolitics", Mbembe's coinage, in which he defined politics as "the work of death" (12) is an extension of "biopolitics", a concept popularized by Michel Foucault. Of this politics of pain and death, Mbembe writes that the postcolony is characterized by

...an undisciplined army of dishonest police, informers, identity-card inspectors, gendarmes, men in khaki, and impoverished soldiery coerce the common people blatantly, seizing what they have no right to seize. They practice raw violence. Strictly speaking, it is no longer a question of forcing bodies to be docile or of maintaining order. It is not simply a matter of whippings and beatings, which, as discussed, are the lot of ordinary people in the prisons, police stations, and other houses of detention. There is, rather, simply the administration of a summary, barren violence for purposes of appropriation and extortion.... (124)

The picture painted here is as dire as it is gruesome. It resonates the Althusserian Marxist concept that agents of state power like Police, Party members and courts, are squarely on the side of the oppressor. The power of the state seeks to tire out bodies, to coerce and very often to kill. Charles Teke's article "Metaphors of State Disability in Anglophone Cameroon Literature: Assessing the Body in Bate Besong's *Beasts of No Nation* and John Nkengasong's *Black Caps Red Feathers*" expounds this concept in his study of the radical dramaturgy of two of Anglophone Cameroon's ace writers and critics, Besong and Nkengasong. From the outset of his article, he submits

that “the body... is a representational metaphor; it is a site of exaction/violence (179). Some of the poems in the collections depict the politics of the body. In “The Bloody Caps” for instance, Fru Doh writes:

The Bloody Caps are a shame/bastardized children of a green
And blue-black parentage/To help their father, a paramilitary gang
They claim to be/yet they distort their mother’s image
Whenever like dogs they are/unleashed to raid, rape and plunder
A disgrace they are, /effeminate bulls bellowing with
Excitement as they spew bullets/at our unarmed fathers, mothers
Sons and daughters. Security! (*Wading the Tide*: 8)

The speaker portrays men in uniform who, for the most part, are trigger happy. The blood metaphor captioned in the title of the poem, “The Bloody Caps”, reveals much about this group of law enforcement, the gendarmes, whose caps incidentally are red. They treat fellow citizens as though it were a captured people. Their concept of policing is to subject citizens to constant beatings and torture. No doubt then, the poet presents them as a “paramilitary gang”, whose job performance is a total disgrace to the nation because it distorts the “mother’s image”, the mother being symbol of the country. The poem, one will argue, depicts a mismatch between the ostensible professional calling of the men in uniform and what often obtains. The “bloody caps” is a symbol of the agents of the *commandement*, namely, the forces of law and order. They are compared to dogs that blunder and plunder. They rape and “spew bullets at unarmed fathers, mothers and daughters” in the name of security. Paradoxically they fail in the duties they are often legitimately invited to perform as the poet further remarks: “their answers to citizens in distress:/we are only two at the station/we can’t come; there is no vehicle here...wasted taxes” (ibid). The poet adopts a satirical tone in his denunciation of brutality and thereby echoes the themes of oppression and exploitation. It is this horrible pain inflicted on the citizens through rape and spewing of bullets that one considers the body as an object, a subhuman, known in postcolonial realities as the “thingfication of the subject”. Rape often leaves permanent psychological damage on the victim; consequently, it will be a miscarriage of social justice for such crimes to go unpunished. Yet it is extremely rare, in the context of postcolonial Cameroon, that alleged rape crimes perpetuated by Security Forces have been heard. Of course, this is a weapon of biopower and biopolitical control, intimidation and command.

In what Teke further enumerates as “...Strategies of Implementing Authoritarian Rule”, the scholar argues that one of the ways employed is “Confinement in claustrophobic space smaller than the body–incarceration and stifling conditions” (187). One can get graphic images of body destruction and death in Doh’s poem “And they Killed Che-Ngwa Ghandi”. The poem

recounts, in very horrific terms, the kidnap, brutal torture and subsequent death of a fellow citizen. The only crime the citizen is thought to have committed is to have raised his voice against incivility of the forces of law and order. Torture mechanisms include physical beating, psychological attacks with the intention of maiming or killing. That is what obtains in the poem. The poet writes:

	At best a smile And a soft spoken word of greeting Was all he could give to friends/and foe alike

	Politics was not his game/but church going Then suddenly his office is raided/the State of Emergency- An Enemy had named Ghandi one of the “vandals”/ But this
is a lie	And she the whore knew she had lied

	Without questions, like a common criminal/Ghandi was
whisked	Off in handcuffs up the station/we hear they hung him upside
down	We hear they beat him upside down/we hear with strange
instruments they tore	Out his toe-nails with chunks of flesh/to make him confess a
lie	We hear they beat the soles of his feet/we hear they urinated
on his wounds	We hear they refused him medical attention.../and Ghandi
died. (27)	

In the poem, the speaker mourns the fate of a fellow citizen, Che-Ngwa Ghandi, a victim of the repressive and authoritarian rule. The victim is described as a soft spoken person, who, even in the politically sensitive climate of his day, notably in 1990 Cameroon, was not much of a man of politics but became a victim. The speaker underscores this fact when he remarks that “politics was not his game/but church going” (line 6). Unfortunately, someone names Ghandi as a dissident voice, a “vandal”, and the agents of state power give him not much of a chance to defend himself. He is whisked off and subjected to the most degrading and brutal treatment imaginable.

In the second stanza of the poem, one gets the impression that politics is a “game,” often a dirty one. It is a game Che-Ngwa Ghandi did not get involved in, yet he was tipped as a vandal during the “State of Emergency” and whisked off. The image of torture comes home in the third stanza in particularly very graphic terms. Chunks of flesh are extracted from the victim,

he is beaten “upside down” and his torturers, agents of state power, urinate on his wounds. Their victim finally dies. The picture is as gruesome as it is harrowing. One must observe that the victim in the poem above is just an exemplification of an institutionalized network of torture, oppression and the culture of death. He is more than an individual. His case can be associated to maiming and killing that became routine during the struggle for political pluralism in the early the 90s in Cameroon in which play out each time the people register their discontent against social injustice. This brutality underscores Mbembe’s point in the section of his book, *On the Postcolony*, titled “Out of this World” in which he writes that

Where power has a carnivorous aspect, killing a human being and killing an animal proceed from the same logic. Like that of the animal whose throat is cut, the death inflicted on a human being is perceived as embracing nothing. It is a death of a purely negative essence without substance, the emptying of a hollow, unsubstantial object that, falling back into loss, “finds itself only as a lost soul. (200)

In the scholar’s view, power is considered “carnivorous.” Human life becomes worthless; consequently killing a human being is as similar to killing an animal. This is the unfortunate experience of Ghandi like many innocent citizens, victims of state repression.

The State of Emergency that the poet raises was imposed on the then North West Province of Cameroon after the Presidential elections of 1992 which was alleged to have been won by Ni John Fru Ndi of the Social Democratic Front. Nkengasong has submitted that in the politically turbulent 90s, “Dictatorship and execution were common...especially with the regime’s attempt to crush the Social Democratic Front, which was gaining ground across the country” (58). The calculated silencing of voices of dissent, Teke Charles has observed, “is a continuation of what earlier systems like slavery and colonialism instituted” (187). However, the difference is that “Colonialism was, to a large extent, a way of disciplining bodies with the aim of making better use of them, docility and productivity going hand in hand. In the postcolony, however, the primary objective of the right to punish (as represented by the execution of the condemned) is not to create useful individuals or increase their productive efficiency” (113). Seen in this light, the terrible pain the victim is subjected to in the poem above is not meant to make him a better (productive) individual. His body, which is subsequently thrown on the garbage heap, establishes a chilling memory on the governed and in the chain of command that forms the postcolonial exercise of power.

The “Claustrophobic existence” that Teke highlights above is much a physical aspect as it is a psychological one. For once the mind-set is psychologically maimed, the governed is automatically coerced to fear the invisible presence of the leader (autocrat) whose wishes his agents carry out

daily. The title of Doh's poem "Claustrophobia" speaks for itself. In the poem, the speaker finds himself a victim everywhere he turns. He writes:

Whenever I am in this vast world/I feel pressure encroaching
Violating my right to life/one of God's own creations
The persecution, rock solid, palpable/even as hypocrites smile with

me

From their lips instead of their belly
At one place I am Anglo-minority/And so I do not belong
And could very well go elsewhere/My responsibility it is to survive
Amidst the chosen ones/of the malnourished Francophonie assembly

Pray Lord, led Heaven be different/Bigger and free, free of race, colour and gender. (23)

The poem is about the ordeal of an individual as it is about the people of his homeland. The title suggests a feeling of angst as the speaker feels the yoke of socio-political and economic existence all combining to crush him. Hypocrites are all around him in strange political masks and garments. They smile with him from their lips instead of their "belly." At once, he has to bear the burden even of his area of origin as he remarks: "At one place I am Anglo-minority...so I do not belong." He can only hope that when his earthly existence is over, he may find rest. Sounds like resigning himself to his fate, but beneath this is an iron clad determination to change the prevailing mindset. In the poem one finds an existentialist threat to the very essence of life. The speaker feels "persecuted" wherever he turns. His persecution is borne of his ethnic origin, gender and race. He can only submit himself to the ordeal of waiting for his earthly existence to get through so that he may find peace in heaven, "Lord, let Heaven be different," he prays. It is perhaps from this backdrop that Ngeh Andrew takes the unique experience of the speaker to a generalized picture of the human condition in postcolonial Cameroon. He argues that the relationship between the ruler and ruled could best be described in the paradox of claustrophobia and agoraphobia. From the outset of his article, the scholar submits that

...the leaders used the political powers legitimized by the masses to amass wealth for themselves, oppress and subjugate the people. As a consequence, the masses are excluded from the socio-political and economic affairs of the respective nations that they govern...The leaders on the other hand who have indulged in socio-political misdemeanors like election rigging, muzzling and stifling of their opponents, corruption and embezzlement, the elimination of those with dissenting voices and the siphoning of state's funds are also afraid to go out. (83)

The social injustices raised in Ngeh's article are legion. There is a picture of rigging, stifling opponents, corruption, embezzlement and

elimination of voices of dissent (as discussed earlier in the poem, “And they Killed Che-Ngwa Ghandi”). However, apart from the fear to go out that Ngeh raises in his article, one may bring an alternative charge to bear on the leader(s) as to why they don’t seem to be in the constant presence of the masses, namely, the establishment of personality cult and thereby instill a constant feeling of fear in the masses. Whenever the leader(s) does/do appear, his/their cheer presence paradoxically creates applause at times from the same people who are being exploited. This applause is caused by the sense of fear and wonder with which the leader is held. Herein lies the paradox in the exercise of state power. Espousing this paradox, Mbembe, making extensive reference to the Cameroonian situation, writes about an occasion where the seating President of the Republic, Paul Biya, returned from a trip abroad and the then Mayor of Yaoundé, Emah Basil, invited the entire public to come applaud the President. The scholar writes:

It is part of the permanent public demonstration of grandeur that Cameroon shares with the other postcolonies of sub-Saharan Africa. In this sense, the return of Paul Biya was in no way unusual. The accompanying staging marked simply one instance of the dramatization of a specific mode of domination that dates back to the 1960s. This mode has had time to routinize itself, to invent its own rules—the aim, on each occasion, being to use an event in itself banal and anodine, in light of how such events are seen by the rest of the world, and turn it into a source of prestige, illusion and magic. (116-117)

In the light of this observation, one can submit that there are systematic strategies in the exercise of power that end up creating the same effect-psychological and physical claustrophobia. In this case the appearance of the President is meant to create “illusion and magic”, the citizens are marveled by his sheer presence.

One remarkable aspect that the poet raises in the poem above is the Anglophone minority question which forms his preoccupation in the second stanza when he remarks that “At one place I am Anglo-minority/And so I do not belong/I could as well go elsewhere.” This question has constituted a major preoccupation in Anglophone Cameroon literary circles. Many Anglophone creative writers, historians and sociologists have argued that the Anglophones’ complaints of marginalization, authoritarian command and assimilation are self evident and indeed the body of creative writing on this subject has been substantial. Ngeh and Jick, have asserted that Anglophone writers are essentially writing in an “unjust setting”, a consequence of the historical trend and the institutionalization of strategies that have provoked protests and resistance by Anglophone Cameroonians. For example, the concept of regional integration has been challenged as an attempt at assimilation, penetration and command. It is perhaps on such basis that Besong once wrote that

The foundation on which the Cameroonian Federation was built in 1961, was a power arrangement contoured to deal with a sociologically complex polity as presented in our multi ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversities. It was a type of national integration that recognized the two separate but equal parts and the central government in Amadou Ahidjo's Yaoundé as mutually coordinate and not as subordinate one to the other. (1/6)

Anglophone writers have challenged, as evident above, the centralization of power and command and have articulated this in the poetic medium. In the poem above, the speaker makes mention of him "going elsewhere" on account of his Anglophoiness. One may recall that for the numerous agitations Anglophones have registered against the system, (Often asking for a return to the 1961 Federal Structure), they have been met with iron resolve and at times arrogance. For example, one time mayor of Yaoundé, Emah Basil, is noted to have referred to Anglophones as enemies in the house while the Sultan of the Bamoums, Sultan Mbombo Njoya asked Anglophones to go elsewhere if they don't like it here. It is from the backdrop of this view that Besong once observed that Anglophone writers are "...writing within a society that does not even attempt to mask the mechanisms of occupation and social injustice, and where democracy has become a circus"(10). The statement above affirms Ngeh's view that writers of Anglophone extraction are essentially angry. Ndi affirms this view when he examines the problem of oppression and assimilation from an historical perspective. In his poem "Forced-Lock", one gets a perspective that is akin to Victor Epie Ngome's dramatic piece, *What God Has Put Asunder*. The poet writes that

It was nineteen sixty/Years have since passed near fifty
When we got married/with joy we're carried
Before the celebrant United Nations/they swore to witness us on all
occasions
And then you cheated on me/ Before these torn nations that be
When at the door knocks divorce/Arm Merchants desiring force
Behind you run/Supplying arms

Lets recall the facts with dates/starting with card games as baits
On 11 February you deceived me/ In 72 May 20 you tricked me
Today, I am the enemy/whereas you are slimy
Wanting to tear down our home/You shall always hear me groan
Given that my request is not unreasonable/I am not an object so
undesirable. (47)

The marriage metaphor is predominant in the poem. However, the marriage is not sanctioned on equal terms. One partner feels jilted and slighted. The jilted partner of the so-called marriage is no longer treated as a subject but

as object evident when the speaker observes that “I am not an object so undesirable”. The poet gets down to dates and cites the 11th of February, (1961) and 20th May of 1972 as the days she was “tricked” in the union. As George Nyamndi has observed “since the death of the Federal Republic in 1972, Anglophone Cameroonians have become unsure and insecure, restive and justifiably irritable...it is not a social problem between one Cameroonian and his next door neighbor, rather, it is a matter of governance, of political games playing (x)”. The first President of Cameroon, President Ahmadou Ahidjo referred to 20th May 1972, the day the United Republic was born, as a Glorious Revolution. Since that date however, the Anglophone community has registered aspects of assimilation, marginalization and exploitation as Piet Konings and Francis Nyamnjoh observe in their article “The Anglophone Problem in Cameroon”:

The political agenda in Cameroon has become increasingly dominated by what is known as the Anglophone problem', which poses a major challenge to the efforts of the post-colonial state to forge national unity and integration, and has led to the reintroduction of forceful arguments and actions in favour of 'federalism' or even secession. (207)

The scholars examine the genealogy of the problem, its manifestations, international/diplomatic implications and Government response to the issues raised. As evident above, the more moderate voices to the resistance was/is registered in the form of demands for a return to the Federal system as was the case at Re-unification in 1961. However, “...the persistent refusal of the Government headed by President Paul Biya to discuss any related constitutional reforms forced some to adopt a secessionist stand” (ibid, 207). One would note that the political system in place has often denied the existence of the problem, arguing rather, as it were, that whatever socio-economic challenges are faced in the English speaking section are equally evident in other parts of the country. This has in turn generated outrage and resistance against the centralized authoritarian system. As observed earlier, and with reference to Mbembe’s scholarly convictions, the postcolonial nature of power does not solely anchor itself on physical intimidation of dissent. It also relies on the “formation of a constellation of ideas” (106). These ideas are worked into the mindset of the citizens in ways that one can only consider as official propaganda. With its ownership of some of the major avenues of the dissemination of information such as the media, state ideology is used to water down dissent and “normalize” its strategies of perpetuating power. While this finds resignation in some quarters, it courts violence in others.

Conclusion

This paper has examined how the poets, Doh and Ndi, have given treatment to the mechanisms of power in the postcolony. Achille Mbembe’s

intriguing book *On the Postcolony* with its insightful analysis of power dynamics in the postcolony provides an understanding of its complex nuances. Their poetry is a bold testament against institutionalized injustice, repression and marginalization.

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Terminological Lexicon of Economy in Albanian Language as a Special Knowledge Field to Compare with English

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Abstract

The terminology of economy has advanced steadily over these last two decades in Albanian languages. The terminological lexicon of economics as a special knowledge field is identified within an assigned scope in accordance with the conceptual system of such a field. For word-terms as a way of formation, the morphological way occurs, mainly with affixing and composing. With affixation, terms are formed with prefixes, with suffixes and with prefixes and suffixes simultaneously.

Keywords: Terms, lexicon of economy, a special knowledge field, Albanian languages, English languages.

Introduction

It is not an infrequent occurrence that in language one concept is expressed by many symbols or several concepts are expressed with one symbol. Therefore, to identify the elements on the level of expression (terms) in such a system, where each element of this level of expression (each term) should answer only to one element on the level of content (a concept), requires that we always start off from the elements of content (the concept). Therefore concepts are the basis for identifying the terms of the system.

The nature of each structured conceptual field is a microsystem of concepts linked by logical connections established between them, conditions the need for the regulation and systemization upon this basis of units of the level of expression (terms). The new features, that the terminological lexicon of a special knowledge field gains is a system of units built according to the relevant system of the concepts, also determined by the constructional side of the terms and the form of their morphological representation. Thus, for example, the vocabulary of these terminological subsystems consists mainly

of structural terms with nominal foundations. Units that appear in other parts of speech, like adjectives, verbs, adverbs can be accepted as terms, when connected to the term-forming system with nominal/noun units, as: *economic* (Alb. *ekonomik-e*), *economically* (Alb. *ekonomikisht*), *economic* (Alb. *ekonomike*) (econ.) (Pasho, 1984, p. 49-72) or when we mark specific concepts of the field: *crippled* (Alb. *i gjymtë*), *malleable* (Alb. *i lakueshëm*) (ling.).

The development of economics terminology in Albanian language

The elaboration of the terminology of economy was done in the lexical - semantic direction, as well as in the direction of structural word-formation.

In the lexical direction, the terminology of economy became enriched with terms that named the new notions in this field, ***national economy*** (Alb. *ekonomi kombëtare*), ***national wealth and national income*** (Alb. *pasuri kombëtare dhe të ardhura kombëtare*), ***national output*** (Alb. *prodhim kombëtar*), ***national products*** (Alb. *produkte kombëtare*), etc.

Another fund of terms are those that designate a characteristic occurrence of the economy, such as ***capital*** (Alb. *kapital*), ***export of capital*** (Alb. *ekspotim i kapitalit*), ***capital investment*** (Alb. *investim i kapitalit*), ***inflation*** (Alb. *inflacion*), ***bankruptcy*** (Alb. *falimentim*), ***enterprise; company*** (Alb. *sipërmarrje*), ***enterprise*** (Alb. *ndërmarrje*), ***progressive tax*** (Alb. *taksë progresive*), ***consumption tax*** (Alb. *taksë konsumi*), ***road tax*** (Alb. *taksë e rrugës*), ***tax file*** (Alb. *taksa e lëndës*), ***tax profit*** (Alb. *tatim i fitimit*), ***income tax*** (Alb. *tatim në të ardhura*) etc.

Special fund terms constitute terms that designate the following:

Notions that reflect changes in two key areas of the economy, industry and agriculture: ***light industry*** (Alb. *industri e lehtë*), ***heavy industry*** (Alb. *industri e rëndë*), ***service industry*** (Alb. *industri e shërbimeve*), ***key industry*** (Alb. *industri kyçe*), ***industry in crisis (declining industry)*** (Alb. *industri në krizë/rënie*), ***industry*** (Alb. *industri*), ***agricultural economics*** (Alb. *ekonomi bujqësore*), ***agricultural use*** (Alb. *punime bujqësore*), ***agricultural*** (Alb. *bujqësor*) etc.

Notions and characteristic occurrences for the financial and accounting system: ***functional finances*** (Alb. *financa funksionale*), ***strategic finance*** (Alb. *financë strategjike*), ***financial*** (Alb. *financiar*), ***financing*** (Alb. *financim*), ***long-term financing*** (Alb. *financim afatgjatë*), ***medium-term financing*** (Alb. *financim afatmesëm*), ***short-term financing*** (Alb. *financim afatshkurtër*), ***internal financing*** (Alb. *financim i brendshëm*), ***deficit financing*** (Alb. *financim i deficitit*), ***export financing*** (Alb. *financim i eksportit*), ***investment financing*** (Alb. *financimi i investimit*), ***external financing*** (Alb. *financim i jashtëm*), ***funding the project*** (Alb. *financim i projektit*), ***funded with interest*** (Alb. *financim me kamatë*), ***credit financing***

(Alb. *financim me kredi*), **funding from the state** (Alb. *financim nga shteti*), **accountant** (**accountant**) (Alb. *kontabilist; llogaritar*), **responsible accountant** (Alb. *kontabilist përgjegjës*), **public accountant** (Alb. *kontabilist publik*), **administrative accounting** (Alb. *kontabilitet administrativ*), **financial accounting** (Alb. *kontabilitet financiar*), **bank accounts; accounting** (Alb. *kontabilitet i bankës*), **human resources accounting** (Alb. *kontabilitet i burimeve njerëzore*), **branch accounting** (Alb. *kontabilitet i degës*), **inventory accounting** (Alb. *kontabilitet i inventarit*), **company accounting** (Alb. *kontabilitet i kompanisë*), **cost accounting** (Alb. *kontabilitet i kostos*), **accounting personnel** (Alb. *personeli i kontabilitetit*), **accounting activity** (Alb. *veprimtaria e kontabilitetit*) etc.

Notions and new occurrences in the field of trade: **global trade** (Alb. *tregti botërore*), **maritime commerce** (Alb. *tregti detare*), **foreign trade** (Alb. *tregti e jashtme*), **free trade** (Alb. *tregti e lirë*), **invisible trade** (Alb. *tregti e padukshme*), **general trade** (Alb. *tregti e përgjithshme*), **electronic commerce** (Alb. *tregti elektrionike*), **east-west trade** (Alb. *lindje-perëndim*), **trade stocks** (Alb. *tregti me aksione*), **retail** (Alb. *tregti me pakicë*), **cash trade** (Alb. *tregti me para në dorë*), **wholesale trade** (alb. *tregti me shumicë*), **international trade** (Alb. *tregti ndërkombëtare*), **intercontinental trade** (Alb. *tregti ndërkontinentale*), **private trade** (Alb. *tregti private*), **transit trade** (Alb. *tregti transit*), **north-south trade** (Alb. *tregti veri-jug*) etc.

Formation of terms

For word-terms as a way of formation, the morphological way occurs, mainly with affixing and composing.

With affixation, terms are formed with:

- With prefixes,
- With suffixes and
- With prefixes and suffixes simultaneously.

Somme terms of economics with prefixes in Albanian:

bashkë- (**co-**): **bashkëbanim** (Engl. *cohabitation*), **bashkëpartner** (Engl. *co-partner*), **bashkëpjesëtar** (Engl. *partakers*), **bashkëposedim** (Engl. *co-owning*), **bashkëpronësi** (Engl. *co-ownership*), **bashkëprodhim** (Engl. *coproduction*), **bashkëpronar** (Engl. *co-owner*), **bashkëqiramarrje**, **bashkëthemelues** (Engl. *cofounder*), **bashkëtrashëgimi** (Engl. *co-heritage*), **bashkëveprim** (Engl. *interaction*) etc.

ç- (**de-**) **çregjistrim** (Engl. *deregistration*), **ç'vleftësim** (Engl. *deevaluation*) etc.

kundër- (counter): *kundër rofertë* (Engl. counteroffer), *kundërpadi* (Engl. counter charge), *kundërveprim* (Engl. counteraction), *kundërvlerë* (Engl. counter value), *kundërpaguesë* (Engl. refund) etc.

mbi- (over/super): *mbikëqyrës* (Engl. supervisor), *mbingarkesë* (Engl. overload), *mbiprodhim* (Engl. overproduction), *mbishpenzim* (Engl. overspending), *mbitaksë* (Engl. overtax), *mbitatim* (Engl. overtaking), *mbivlerë* (Engl. overvalue) etc.

ndër- (inter-): *ndërhyrje* (Engl. intervention), *ndërkëmbyeshëm* (Engl. commutable), *ndërmarrje* (Engl. enterprise), *ndërrprerje* (Engl. interruption) etc.

nën- (sub-): *nënkomision* (Engl. subcommission), *nënqira* (Engl. sublease), *nënqiradhënës* (Engl. subleser), *nënqiramarrës* (Engl. subtenant) etc.

pa- (pre-): *paradhënie* (Engl. advance), *parakusht* (Engl. precondition), *parandalim* (Engl. prevention), *parapagues* (Engl. subscriber), *parapëlqim* (Engl. preference), *paratestim* (Engl. pretesting) etc.

për- (re-): *përfaqësim* (Engl. representing), *përfitim* (Engl. profit/benefit), *përfitues* (Engl. beneficiary), *përkrahje* (Engl. support), *përpilues* (Engl. compiler), *përqindje* (Engl. percentage), *përshtatje* (Engl. adjustment), *përpjesëtuar* (Engl. apportioned) etc.

ri- (re-): *riatdhësim* (Engl. repatriation), *riblerje* (Engl. redemption), *riciklim* (Engl. recycling), *ridërgim* (Engl. resending), *ri financim* (Engl. refinancing), *rillogaritje* (Engl. recalculation), *rimatje* (Engl. remeasurement), *rimbursim* (Engl. refunding), *riorganizim* (Engl. reorganization), *riprodhim* (Engl. reproduction), *rishitje* (Engl. resale), *rivlerësim* (Engl. re-evaluation) etc.

Some terms of economics with suffixes in Albanian:

-im- *administrim* (Engl. management), *anketim* (Engl. survey), *ambalazhim* (Engl. packing), *amortizim* (Engl. amortization), *asgjësim* (Engl. liquidation), *auditim* (Engl. auditing), *autorizim* (Engl. authorization), *baraspeshim* (Engl. balance), *bllokim* (Engl. blockage), *bojkotim* (Engl. boycott), *debitim* (Engl. debit), *detyrim* (Engl. debt), *doganim* (Engl. clearance), *çregjistrim* (Engl. cancellation), *eksportim* (Engl. export), *falimentim* (Engl. bankruptcy), *faturim* (Engl. billing), *financim* (Engl. finance), *furnizim* (Engl. supply), *harmonizim* (Engl. harmonization), *importim* (Engl. importation), *industrializim* (Engl. industrialization), *inspektim* (Engl. inspection), *inventarizim* (Engl. inventory), *kapitalizim* (Engl. capitalization), *kategorizim* (Engl. categorization), *këmbim* (Engl. exchange), *kombinim* (Engl. combination), *kompensim* (Engl. compensation), *liberalizim* (Engl. liberalization), *likuidim* (Engl. liquidation), *magazinim* (Engl. storage), *mbiprodhim* (Engl. overproduction), *monopolizim* (Engl. monopolization), *mosintervenim* (Engl. non-intervention), *mospëlqim* (Engl. dislike), *nacionalizim* (Engl. nationalization), *optimizim* (Engl. optimization),

organizim (Engl. *organization*), *parandalim* (Engl. *prevention*), *përcaktim* (Engl. *identification*), *përfitim* (Engl. *benefit*), *përpunim* (Engl. *processing*), *planifikim* (Engl. *planning*), *prodhim* (Engl. *production*), *programim* (Engl. *programming*), *qarkullim* (Engl. *circulation*), *racionalizim* (Engl. *rationalization*), *ratifikim* (Engl. *ratification*), *riciklim* (Engl. *recycling*), *rieksportim* (Engl. *re-export*), *riinvestim* (Engl. *reinvestment*), *riorganizim* (Engl. *reorganization*), *sekuestrim* (Engl. *seizure*), *simulim* (Engl. *simulation*), *skontim* (Engl. *discounts*), *specifikim* (Engl. *specification*), *sponsorim* (Engl. *sponsorship*), *standardizim* (Engl. *standardization*), *subvencionim* (Engl. *subsidization*), *shfuqizim* (Engl. *repeal*), *shifrim* (Engl. *coding*), *shpenzim* (Engl. *expense*), *shpërblim* (Engl. *compensation*), *tatim* (Engl. *tax*), *transportim* (Engl. *transportation*), *vëllim* (Engl. *volume*), *verifikim* (Engl. *verification*), *vlerësim* (Engl. *evaluation*), *zbatim* (Engl. *implementation*), *zotërim* (Engl. *possession*), *zhbllokim* (Engl. *unblock*), *zhvillim* (Engl. *development*), *zhvleftësim* (Engl. *devaluation*) etc.

-je- *ardhje* (Engl. *trip*), *hyrje* (Engl. *entrance*), *dalje* (Engl. *exit*), *bartje* (Engl. *transfer*), *blerje* (Engl. *purchase*), *hapje* (Engl. *openings*), *humbeje* (Engl. *loss*), *llogaritje* (Engl. *calculation*), *marrëveshje* (Engl. *deal*), *pajisje* (Engl. *equipment*), *prishje* (Engl. *demolition*), *prejardhje* (Engl. *backgrounds*), *shkelje* (Engl. *offense*), *shitje* (Engl. *sale*), *zbrazje* (Engl. *discharge*), *zbritje* (Engl. *discount*) etc.

-or(e), (s)or (e)- *administrator* (Engl. *administrator*), *buxhetor* (Engl. *budgetary*), *debitor* (Engl. *debtor*), *doganor* (Engl. *customs*), *depositor* (Engl. *depositor*), *factor* (Engl. *factor*), *kontraktor* (Engl. *contractor*), *njehsor* (Engl. *meter*), *pronësor* (Engl. *property*) etc.

-ar,-(t)ar- *arkëtar* (Engl. *treasurer*), *besimtar* (Engl. *believer*), *kamatar* (Engl. *usurer*), *kapar* (Engl. *deposit*), *llogaritar* (Engl. *accountant*), *prodhimtar* (Engl. *productive*), *pronar* (Engl. *owner*), *thesar* (Engl. *treasury*), *tregtar* (Engl. *trade*) etc.

-(ë)s- *llogaridhënës* (Engl. *accountable*), *vartës* (Engl. *subordinate*), *nxjerrës* (Engl. *extractor*), *shitës* (Engl. *salesman*) etc.

-ues- *auditues* (Engl. *Auditor*), *depozitues* (Engl. *Depository*), *eksportues* (Engl. *exporter*), *importues* (Engl. *importer*), *kontraktues* (Engl. *contractor*), *ofertues* (Engl. *bidder*), *parapagues* (Engl. *subscriber*), *prodhues* (Engl. *producer*), *themelues* (Engl. *founder*), *zhvillues* (Engl. *developer*) etc.

-shëm-i *pagueshëm* (Engl. *payable*), *i shlyeshëm* (Engl. *settled*), *i taksueshëm* (Engl. *taxable*) etc.

-i,-si,-(ë)ti *-paaftësi* (Engl. *disability*), *pasuri* (Engl. *wealth*), *pavarësi* (Engl. *independence*), *mjeshtëri* (Engl. *mastery*), *pronësi* (Engl. *ownership*), *tregti* (Engl. *trade*) etc.

Some terms of economics with prefixes and suffixes simultaneously

Formations with prefixes or suffixes simultaneously are rare, like the following:

zhdoganoj (Engl. *cleared*), *shpronësoj* (Engl. *expropriate*), *nënngarkoj* (Engl. *under load*) etc.

Terms with composition

A good place in today's economy terminology is held by composite or compound words, for the creation of which our language provides numerous opportunities.

Such terms as: *aktbetim* (Engl. *affidavit*), *aktpunim* (Engl. *act paper*), *barasvlerë* (Engl. *equivalence*), *bashkëdebitorë* (Engl. *joint/co debtors*), *bashkëfinancim* (Engl. *cofinancing*), *bashkëkontraktues* (Engl. *co contractor*), *bashkëkreditor* (Engl. *co creditor*), *dëmshpërblim* (Engl. *compensation*), *garancidhënës* (Engl. *guarantor*), *huadhënie* (Engl. *lending*), *huamarrës* (Engl. *borrower*), *huamarrje* (Engl. *borrowing*), *kartëkredi* (Engl. *credit card*), *kartëmonedhë* (Engl. *banknote*), *kundërofertë* (Engl. *counter offer*), *letërpagesë* (Engl. *payment bill*), *shitblerës* (Engl. *dealer/trader*), *tatimpagues* (Engl. *taxpayer*), *urdhërdërgim* (Engl. *delivery order*), *vetëfinancim* (Engl. *self-financing*), *urdhërblerja* (Engl. *purchase orders*), *urdhërshitje* (Engl. *warrant sale*) etc.

Semantic method of forming terms:

With the semantic method we create:

Word-terms like:

çmim (price), *para* (money), *shpenzim* (expense), *humbje* (loss) etc.

Word-terms like:

degë banke (Engl. *bank branch*),

fuqi blerëse (Engl. *purchasing power*), *fuqi* prodhuese (Engl. *manufacturing power*),

marrëdhënie ndërkombëtare (Engl. *International relations*), *marrëdhënie* tregtare (Engl. *trade relations*),

arrëveshje ekonomike (Engl. *economic agreement*), *marrëveshje* financiare (Engl. *financial agreement*), *marrëveshje* furnizimi (Engl. *supply agreement*),

marrëveshje kompensimi (Engl. *compensation agreement*), *marrëveshje* tarifore (Engl. *tariff agreement*),

shoqëri financimi (Engl. *joint financing*), *shoqëri* konsumi (Engl. *consumer society*), *shoqëri* monopoli (Engl. *monopoly society*), *shoqëri* shumëkombëshe (Engl. *multinational society/corporation*), *shoqëri* tregtare (Engl. *trading business*) etc.

Syntactic Method

In this way compound words/terms are formed, like:

bilanc fillestar (Engl. *initial balance*), **bilanc** i eksportit (Engl. *balance of export*), **bilanc** i importit (Engl. *import balance*), **bilanc** i falimentimit (Engl. *balance of bankruptcy*), **bilanc** i pafavorshëm (Engl. *adverse balance*), **bilanc** i pagesave (Engl. *balance of payments*),

kontratë dërgimi (Engl. *contract delivery*), **kontratë** e posaçme (Engl. *special contract*), **kontratë** e skaduar (Engl. *contract expired*), **kontratë** e veçantë (Engl. *separate contract*), **kontratë** furnizimi (Engl. *supply contract*), **kontratë** livrimi (Engl. *contract delivery*),

kredi bankare (Engl. *bank loans*), **kredi** eksporti (Engl. *export credits*), **kredi** fikse (Engl. *loans fixed*), **kredi** financiare (Engl. *loan financing*), **kredi** importi (Engl. *import loans*), **kredi** komerciale (Engl. *commercial loans*), **kredi** mallrash (Engl. *credit cargo*),

llogari bankare (Engl. *bank account*), **llogari** e bllokuar (Engl. *blocked account*), **llogari** e përkohshme (Engl. *temporary account*), **llogari** e posaçme (Engl. *special account*), **llogari** e tërheqjes (Engl. *withdrawal account*), **llogari** huaje (Engl. *loan account*), **llogari** interneti (Engl. *internet account*), **llogari** kalimtare (Engl. *interim account*), **llogari** kompensimi (Engl. *compensation account*), **llogari** kursimi (Engl. *savings account*), **llogari** rrjedhëse (Engl. *checking account*) etc.

Conclusion

It is noticed, especially as long as the beginning of this millennium, that the number of foreign words has increased in the terminology of economy, especially from the English language, with the increase of branches and of economic disciplines or with the knowledge expansion in the existing disciplines or branches.

Terms that have been used a long time in language, have virtually become like words of the general language. This evolves as a result of linguistic and cross linguistic factors. This terminology has developed and elaborated parallel with the development of a unified national literary language.

In this occasion only a few terms were reviewed that we most often have had the opportunity to come across in the economics literature. These include terms that designate social and economic orders, such as feudalism, capitalism, socialism, communism; terms which designate bodies, organizations, institutions such as: bank, arbitration etc.; terms which designate manifestations as: competition, consumption, crisis, rate etc.; terms which designate other economic categories and documents such as budget, equity, loan, contract, etc. What gets emphasized is also the subsidiary of

terminology for the enrichment of the Albanian language in a lexical-semantic direction as well as in a structural direction.

The fitting term gives form and life to the notion, making it expand and stand the test of time.

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Linguistic Analysis in Newspapers

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Abstract

Mass media play a significant role in the development of modern culture by being agents of public awareness and potential catalysts of social change and further, shapers of public opinion in matters of national importance. Mass media are the hallmarks of an enlightened and progressive society.

Keywords: Telegraph, Newspapers, Journalism, Inverted Pyramid style, Linguistic dimension, and Stylistic dimension.

Introduction

Mass media play a significant role in the development of modern culture by being agents of public awareness and potential catalysts of social change and further, shapers of public opinion in matters of national importance. Mass media are the hallmarks of an enlightened and progressive society.

Today mass media include newspapers, radio, and television as the main categories. Of these, newspapers happen to be the first mass medium to appear. The first newspapers appeared in Germany in 1609. Most of the early newspapers were strictly regulated by the government, and hence did not report local news or popular events. However, at the time of outbreak of civil war in 1641 in England, the common people eagerly looked forward to reading about the major events of the war in the newspapers. This prompted John Milton to produce his famous treatise *Areopagitica*, in which he fervently appealed for the freedom of press. The impact of this treatise was so profound that the newspapers were freed from government control and newspapers began to flourish and diversify into various formats. The newspapers acquired a new format of headlines with embellished illustrations. Yet, the headlines tended to be somewhat lengthy and verbose.

With the advent of the telegraph, the time lag between the time of happening of an event and the time of reporting it was considerably reduced. Further, there was an increased level of competition between the newspapers. The increased pace and competition led to brevity and precision, which led to a change of format of headlines. Gradually, the newspapers turned to objective journalism, in which the facts of the events mattered and nothing else. In due course, the newspapers evolved the so called Inverted Pyramid style, in which the most fundamental facts are stated in the headlines briefly and the other details are stated in the succeeding paragraphs.

Winkler (2014:47) states that successful headlines have one or more of the following five elements:

- a) Surprise
- b) What's at stake
- c) Names that make news
- d) Conflict
- e) Conflict resolution

It is not necessary that every headline must have all of these five elements, but it is essential that every headline must have at least one of them. Winkler warns that a headline with none of these elements risks having the fewest readers.

The purpose of a headline is to attract the readers' attention in as much brief period as possible. It should entice the reader into reading the main story. The best headlines are often precise, clear, graceful, and catchy. Writing about the magic of headlines, Panneerselvam states that the requirements of a headline are accuracy, intelligibility, and vigor. He is of the opinion that 'headline writing exemplifies the craft of journalism. it is a unique blend of science and art'. He explains that a headline is science in content, facts, and accuracy, and sums up that 'an elegant, factually correct headline attracts more readers to a particular story'.

In the present paper, our aim is to study the headlines in Telugu newspapers with reference to the characteristic features discussed above. No particular newspaper has been selected exclusively for the study, since the general trend of headlines in all Telugu newspapers is much the same. We also wish to point out that the headlines in Telugu newspapers do not resemble the headlines in English newspapers. The headlines in Telugu newspapers and the headlines in English newspapers differ with respect to a few minor features, as follows:

English headlines	Telugu headlines
1.Verbs in simple tenses are used.	1.Verbs are rarely used.
2.Passive structures are often used with auxiliary verbs dropped.	2.Passive structures are never used
3.Often use infinitives	3.Nominalized structures are very common.
4.Pun usually derives from lexical ambiguity.	4. Pun is usually achieved through graphic devices like highlighting, use of inverted commas
5. Slang is often avoided	5. Slang may be used
6. Dialectal words are not common.	6. Dialectal words are common.

Headlines are, in a sense, summaries of the news stories that follow them. This practice is offshoot of the Inverted Pyramid style journalism, in which the most important information appears at the top as the headline and in the lead paragraph. The additional information and facts are provided in the subsequent paragraphs, and the least important information comes toward the end of the story. Over the years, the headline writing has indeed become an art, and a science too, as pointed out by Panneerselvan.

Irrespective of the language, headlines in every language certain structural principles, viz., a) Brevity b) clarity c) catchiness. Linguistically, the headlines may vary from language to language.

The headlines in Telugu newspapers may be analyzed along two dimensions:

- a) Linguistic dimension
- b) Stylistic dimension

Linguistic dimension

Along the Linguistic dimension, the headlines may be categorized in to several types as follows:

- A. Concatenation of nouns
- B. Nominalized structures
- C. Parallel structures
- D. Finite verb structures
- E. Use of loan words
- F. Foregrounded structures
- G. Use of nonfinite structures

Stylistic dimension

Along the stylistic dimension, the headlines may be categorized in to the following types:

- A. Use of pun by quotation marks and by lexical ambiguity
- B. Rhyming structures
- C. Use of figures of speech

- D. Use of mythological epithets
- E. Use of rhetoric questions

In the following pages, the above categories will be discussed with examples of headlines. This categorization is not exhaustive because each situation demands a different type of headline from the journalist. We must keep in mind that the primary motivating force in writing headlines is creativity coupled with catchiness. At the same time, the headline cannot be verbose.

Linguistic dimension

1. Concatenation of nouns:

Sometimes, two or more nouns are put together to form a headline.

These nouns may show various types of case relations, and hence may carry a case marker on one of the nouns to show the causal relation.

e.g.: -

a) Beachlu bangaru batule (బీచ్ లు బంగారు బాతులే)

‘Beaches are golden ducks’

In this headline, there are three nouns, one of which *bangaru* functions as an adjective to the following noun, *batulu*. In fact, beaches are metaphorically equated with golden ducks.

The identicalness of beaches and golden ducks is emphasized with the emphatic marker ‘e’.

b) prangana niyamakaala mandagamanam (ప్రాంగణ నియామకాల మందగమనం)

‘slow progress of campus recruitment’

2. Nominalized structures

Probably, nominalized structures are the most prolific of all the headlines. In this kind of headline, the verb is relativized and is placed before the subject or object. This structure sums up the whole sentence.

e.g.: -

a) Adugantina charitra (అడుగంటిన చరిత్ర)

‘the history which hit the bottom’

This headline narrates the sad tale of Srisailem Dam, which recorded the lowest storage of water in several years. This situation, called Dead storage, means the water level is almost at the bottom of the reservoir. The journalist recalls that Srisailem Reservoir had a glorious history of catering to the needs of lakhs of acres. All of this is summarized in this headline.

b) panniru posina palani (పన్నీరు పోసిన పలని)

‘Palani who sprinkled rose water’

This headline tells us about the events in Tamilnadu politics. In the ruling AIADMK party, after the demise of the former Chief Minister Jayalalitha, two strong contenders, Palani Swamy and Pannir Selvam, for the post of Chief Minister emerged. In Telugu, the word panniru also means ‘rose water’. Recently these two contenders arrived at a consensus and joined hands. This happy ending of the political drama is captured by the journalist by making use of pun on the word *panniru*.

1. Parallel structures:

A parallel structure has two parts, both of which are identically structured, and have approximately the same number of syllables. This headline is best suited when the headline reports a dilemma.

e.g.: -

a) Ammakaalu diilaa...aadaayam elaa (అమ్మకాలు డీలా..... ఆదాయం ఎలా)
‘sales are dull... income how’

This headline narrates the situation of the Power distribution companies in Andhra Pradesh. The metered sales of power to the industries has come down in the recent months, and hence the power distribution companies are facing heavy losses. This predicament is captured by this parallel structure.

b) kuravani vaana...peragani saagu (కురవని వాన పెరగని సాగు)
‘did not rain...cultivation did not increase’

In parallel structures, the two parts of the headline are of equal syllabic weight and balance each other. In this headline, the fact that there have been no rains in spite of its being rainy season, and consequently the cultivation did not increase. The sad plight of the farmers is clearly brought out by this headline.

1. Finite verb structures:

Compared to the other kinds of headlines, especially nominalized structures and concatenation of nouns, finite verb structures are less frequent. Yet, Finite verb structures this structure is preferred when reporting a crucial statement by an important person, or when reporting a heart-rending incident.

e.g.: -

a) Preminchanante champesaadu (ప్రేమించనంటే చంపేసాడు)
‘(he) killed when (she) said not loving’

This headline narrates a heart-rending incident of one-sided love which not only failed, but ended tragically. It is reported that a boy loved a girl, who did not reciprocate his love. But the boy kept pestering her to accept his love. When the boy heard that the girl was engaged to another boy, he became enraged and stabbed her and her brother to death and committed suicide. In the entire incident, the most important points are that it is a case of one sided

love, and the boy could not take it in his stride and turned in to a beast. The whole tragedy is captured by this headline.

b) votetone khatam cheyaali (ఓటుతోనే ఖతం చెయ్యాలి)

‘finish (him) by vote’

In a constituency bye-elections are being held and in the extreme heat generated by the poll, one politician remarked that the other politician deserves to be shot dead. In reply, the other politician retorted that the politician who made that remark must be finished by voting against him. Here, the second politician also retorted that his opponent must be finished, but politically. This important statement is summed up in this headline.

2. Use of loan words:

Telugu borrows extensively from English and Hindi. Such borrowed words are very frequently used in headlines. Sometimes some of these borrowed words may not be intelligible or may not be popularly known to the readers. Yet, the newspapers used such words in the headlines.

e.g.: -

a) company khallas (కంపెనీ ఖల్లాస్)

‘company is finished’

This headline tells us about a company which is making losses and about to become insolvent. To indicate the impending insolvency of the company, the writer of the headline uses an Urdu word, which is totally unfamiliar to the readers. In fact, the readers can only understand what the word ‘khallas’ means only from the context and from the rest of the story. Yet, the journalist uses this word because he is familiar with it.

b) Pathakaalapai mukhyamantri nazar (పథకాలపై ముఖ్యమంత్రి నజార్)

‘Chief Minister’s attention on programmes’

The governments in India, periodically, announce a number of welfare programmes and allot huge funds for the implementation of those programmes. Sometimes, the funds are likely to be embezzled by unscrupulous officials. To stop this, the Chief Ministers turn their attention, from time to time, to the programmes and oversee their implementation. The Urdu word ‘nazar’ means ‘view, overview, attention’. But this Urdu word could have been avoided because it is not known to many Telugu speakers. Instead, the corresponding Telugu word ‘Drishti’ could have been used.

3. Foregrounded structures:

In a foregrounded structure the normal word order SOV is altered, and sometimes the complements may be brought forward. Any item that is placed initially gains importance and is in focus.

e.g.: -

a) Ennikala kosame kaapulato aatmiiya samaavesam (ఎన్నికలకోసమే కాపులతో ఆత్మీయ సమావేశం)

‘for the sake of elections with kaapus cordial meeting’

The normal word order of this construction would have been *kaapulato aatmiiya samaavesam ennikala kosame*. But the message given here is that the meeting is only for the sake of elections and is not genuinely motivated. Hence, to highlight this the phrase *ennikala kosame* is foregrounded.

b) ADgaa chesindi 17 rojule (ఎ.డి. గా చెసింది ౧౭ రోజులే)

‘as AD(assistant director) having worked only 17 days’

A corrupt official worked in the capacity of Assistant Director only for 17 days, but in the short duration, he embezzled crores of government funds. Here the finite verb *chesaadu* is nominalized and brought forward to highlight it.

7. Use of nonfinite structures:

This is not a very common practice. Non-finite verbs are used without any following finite verb as a headline. Normally this sort of headline appears when some exciting thing happens and if the journalist feels a finite structure would not be able to express the excitement.

e.g.: -

a) Kuppakuulchi...danchikotti (కుప్పకూల్చి ... దంచుకొట్టి)

‘having collapsed... having beaten’

This headline tries to capture all the excitement when the Indian team defeated the Srilanka team in the recently held one-day match. The Indian team not only bowled well and collapsed the Srilanka team, but also batted well to win the game. A finite structure would not have expressed the excitement, and hence, the non-finite structure is used.

II. Stylistic dimension

1. Use of pun by quotation marks and by lexical ambiguity:

The Telugu newspapers are fond of using this type of headline. A particular word, or a portion of the word is either put within quotation marks, or highlighted by using a distinct color. The word as a whole, or a part of it may convey some other meaning which may be relevant to the news story at hand. Sometimes this relation is transparent, but sometimes it is far-fetched.

e.g.: -

a) choriilanu aaptaam (చోరిలను ఆపుతాం)

‘thefts will be stopped’

The news story reports that the police department of Andhra Pradesh developed a computer application (aap) to stop thefts. Incidentally, the Telugu word ‘aapu’ means ‘to stop’, which is similar to the abbreviation *aap*. Hence,

aap is used instead of ‘aapu’ to imply that it is the *aap* that is meant. But unless readers go in to the story, this is not clear. However, the word *aap* is highlighted in red color to make it clear.

b) ‘sikka’ mudi padindi (సిక్కి ముడి పడింది)

‘tight knot happened’

This headline indicates the crisis in Infosys, as a result of its CEO, Vishal Sikka, resigning to his post. The surname Sikka resembles the Telugu word *chikku* ‘tight, hard’, only partially. But Telugu newspapers never miss an opportunity to make use of pun, however far-fetched it may be. In this case, unless the readers know that Vishal’s surname is Sikka, the pun is not transparent to them.

2. Rhyming structures:

Rhyming structures are also a favorite type of headline for Telugu newspapers. This includes not only rhyme but also alliteration and assonance.

e.g.: -

a) saanukuulam...saamarasyam (సానుకూలం ... సామరస్యం)

‘favourable...amicable’

After the bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, a number of post-bifurcation problems remain to be solved. The Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana together met the Governor to find a solution for the problems. In the meeting, they decided to solve the problems favourably and amicably. Since the essence of the meeting is to resolve all problems favourably and amicably, that is chosen as the headline. Here the beginnings of the two words are similar, which is known as alliteration.

b) uppu ruupam...apurupam (ఉప్పు రూపం ... అపురూపం)

‘shape of salt... rare’

The largest crystal model of the arrangement of atoms in sodium chloride has been made by an Austrian scientist and is put on display in Hyderabad. This headline is a caption below the photo of the crystal model. The morph *ruupam* is repeated at the end of both words and is a rhyme.

3. Use of figures of speech:

Often Telugu newspapers make use of a number of figures of speech like simile and metaphor, drawing the figures of speech from mythology.

e.g.: -

a) vaarini mingindii ‘blue whale’ bhuutame (వారిని మింగింది ‘బ్లూ వేల్’ బూతమే)

‘it is the blue whale demon that swallowed them (killed them)’

Recently, an online game called Blue Whale is instigating the teenagers to commit suicide. The news story reports two more such deaths and attributes them to the online game, comparing the Blue Whale game to a demon and using the relevant verb *mingu* 'to swallow'. The figure of speech used here is a metaphor.

b) malachukunte swargadhaamaale (మలచుకుంటే స్వర్గదామాలే)
'if moulded properly, virtually heavens'

Andhra Pradesh has a long sea coast. Along the sea coast, there are a number of beaches, and if they are properly equipped and moulded, they turn in to virtual heavens and attract hundreds of visitors. Here the beaches in Andhra Pradesh are metaphorized to heavens.

4. Use of mythological epithets:

It is very common thing for Telugu newspapers to draw examples from Indian mythology and customs.

e.g.: -

a) satamaanam ikigaay (శతమానం ఇకిగాయ్)
'hundred years for work'

The Japanese word *ikigaay* means the purpose of life. It is reported that for most Japanese, their motto and purpose of life is to keep working. It is this work culture that increases their long life. Most Japanese live for hundred years and more. The Telugu word *satamaanam* is a traditional Hindu blessing to live for a hundred years. In this headline, the Indian expression *satamaanam* is used to indicate the long life of Japanese.

b) jaatiiya parvadinaana kiichaka parvam (జాతీయ పర్వదినాన కీచక పర్వం)

the act of Kichaka on the festive occasion of Independence day'

Kichaka was a character in Mahabharata, who tried to molest Draupadi, when she was in Viratanagara incognito. On 15th of August when a school girl was going to her school in Chandigarh, a criminal-minded person abducted the girl and molested her. Anybody who does this kind of act is referred to as Kichaka in Indian context.

5. Use of rhetoric questions:

Rhetoric questions are not information seeking questions. The person who asks a rhetoric question either knows the answer, or wants to accuse the other person of negligence. In political speeches we often notice such questions.

e.g.: -

a) udyoga prakatanala uusedii (ఉద్యోగ ప్రకటనల ఉసేది)
'where is the mention of job recruitment notices?'

There is a going dissatisfaction among the unemployed people because the government, having made a promise of jobs to everyone, has so far not issued any job recruitment notice. This headline is intended to accuse the government of turning a deaf ear to the demands of the unemployed people.

b) vittanam pai eedii chittam (విత్తనం పై ఏది చిత్తం)

‘where is the attention on seeds?’

The Andhra Pradesh Government seed corporation is not able to supply good seeds that can sprout. The seeds bought from the private agencies are not genuine and the farmers are incurring losses on account of such seeds. This headline asks a rhetoric question, accusing the government of negligence in this regard.

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