Code-Choice and Identity Construction on Stage

Code-Choice and Identity Construction on Stage challenges the general assumption that language is only one of the codes employed in a theatrical performance; Sirkkü Aaltonen changes the perspective to the audience, foregrounding the chosen language variety as a trigger for their reactions.

Theatre is 'the most public of arts', closely interwoven with contemporary society, and language is a crucial tool for establishing order. In this book, Aaltonen explores the ways in which chosen languages on stage can lead to rejection or tolerance in diglossic situations, where one language is considered unequal to another. Through a selection of carefully chosen case studies, the socio-political rather than artistic motivation behind code-choice emerges. By identifying common features of these contexts and the implications of theatre in the wider world, this book sheds light on high versus low culture, the role of translation, and the significance of traditional and emerging theatrical conventions.

This intriguing study, encompassing Ireland, Scotland, Quebec, Finland and Egypt, cleverly employs the perspective of familiarising the foreign and is invaluable reading for those interested in theatre and performance, translation, and the connection between language and society.

Sirkkü Aaltonen is one of the pioneers in the study of drama and theatre translation. She is an affiliated researcher at the University of Vaasa, Finland and a visiting Researcher at Effat Socio-Cultural Studies Research Center at Effat University in Jeddah, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

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Sirkku Aaltonen

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To Sophia Lumi, the girl with four codes for bringing so much love, joy and happiness into my life.

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Introduction

This book is a study of the reasons for varying audience responses to a particular code, a language variety, which, for some reason, has been selected to be used on stage but, then, drawn the attention of audiences to it in such a way that it has left in its shadow all other aspects of the play. In this, my study differs from the majority of work in, for example, theatre studies, which have tended to dismiss language on stage as only one, and usually not even the most important code that together with other codes construct meanings for the play. In the present study, code-choice has either saved or destroyed a performance. The analysis of responses to particular language varieties in staged performances is aimed at discovering those factors and contexts that are likely to have contributed to differences in reception. The focus in the study will not be on the micro-level analysis of linguistic features of the staged variety, nor the accuracy of it, but rather a macro-level exploration of potential explanations of the response.

In order to map out potential explanations for strong audience reactions to the code-choice, we need to explore the context in which a performance, or theatre event, has taken place. For this purpose, the theatre historiographer Thomas Postlewait has provided a useful paradigm, which helps to divide the monolithic concept of *context* into its relevant constituent parts. It is the combination of the constituents in Postlewait's model that I will focus on in search for the success or failure of the chosen code. Before introducing Postlewait's model, I will look at some earlier studies into audience reception, which could be linked to their expectations of the performance they have chosen to see. These expectations have then been overshadowed by the stage speech, which has drawn all attention to it.

There are many reasons for audience members to decide on a visit to the theatre. One of the first scholars to conduct research into audience motivation to select a particular performance has been the East German Manfred Naumann (1933–2014),¹ who chose the production of Tennessee Williams' *A Streetcar Named Desire* at Piccadilly Theatre in London in 1974 as the object for his case study. His findings indicated, as could be expected, that the spectators' choice of that particular production was a combination of several

factors. Naumann's list consisted of factors such as the membership of a class or group, the audience's material situation (income, leisure time preferences, living and working conditions, general way of life), their level of education, knowledge and level of culture, aesthetic needs, age and even their sex. In particular, the spectators' choice appeared to be influenced by their attitude to other art forms, of which literature appeared to be the most influential one. The list is indeed, quite detailed, and most of the factors clearly have an impact on the decision and expectations of the audience. Some motivations are, however, quite vague, such as 'knowledge and level of culture' (how could that be estimated?), while others, such as 'the attitude to other arts' with its specification of 'the very literature the spectator is familiar with', appear very difficult to study and unravel.

Ambiguity and vagueness are mostly absent in a more recent study by Susan Bennett, who has linked the variation in audience response with their contact with theatre and other art forms, and also their position in the socio-cultural system.² Bennett categorises Naumann's findings into two major classes. The contact that audiences have with the theatre and other art forms is directly linked with their place of residence. For example, in urban situations, where cultural products – both mainstream and alternative – are available in abundance, audiences are likely to attach less importance to just one singular event, whereas in rural settings the performance is likely to be chosen with much greater care as the arrangements to attend a performance take time and money. Audiences may also vary in their theatre-going habits; there might be some who go to theatre regularly (every Friday, every première), while others may be subscription holders. In addition, there are the infrequent or special occasion attendees, and visitors for whom the visit is a rare opportunity; there are tourists who want to go to (or whose travel fee includes) a show (in London, often plays by Andrew Lloyd Webber or other musical spectacles), and so on. An important motivation for choosing a particular play can also be ideological. This may be the case, for example, with performances in fringe theatres or a unique one-off production by individual theatre groups in politically tense situations such as the rooftop performances during the Arab Spring in 2011.

The decision to see a particular performance may be an outcome not only of the above factors but also the pre-publicity, possibly a review of a dress rehearsal, a well-known director, a star actor, or a famous cast, the location of the venue and, depending on the country, either the domestic or foreign origin of the play. Visibility in the media of the actual run, the playwright, translator, company, director, actors or any special feature of the performance may attract audiences to the venue. Just as audiences have different expectations of the evening, so will their experience of the actual performances be different. It also needs to be remembered that audiences are not a monolithic and homogeneous entity, although individuals often share a similar cultural background or familiarity with the type of theatre. The response of audiences

is instantaneous but recorded only in reviews of the performances, and in exceptional cases, also in scholarly case studies or in historiographies. Some information might also be found in actor/director biographies. Even attendance always only gives evidence of one instance of the event and is affected by a number of personal factors. Performances can never be repeated in exactly the same way from one evening to another.

The aim of this study is to show how a particular language variety, chosen for the staging of a play, can become one of the strongest codes on stage to the point where audiences react to it. The use of language may have been selected by the producer intentionally or it may be the result of the interference of the mother tongue of an actor. In the analyses that follow, I am interested in cases where the language choice has served something other than a mere characterological function.

Audiences may express their disapproval at one extreme by a walkout, or reviewers by negative reviews, and, consequently the box office returns will be so low that the run will be shortened. At the other extreme, audiences may welcome the choice and hail it as a great achievement for language variety, which they see as part of identity formation and national feeling. The question I will pose in my analyses of several performances in different parts of the world at different times is why, and in what context, these two responses are likely to happen.

At this point, it is good to specify the fields of study involved in my analyses. My theoretical and methodological framework combines three disciplines. The study of performances and their audiences places the research in Theatre Studies. In that, I will refer mainly to work done by Thomas Postlewait on the context of a theatre event. Some of the performances involve translations and the search for successful strategies, which locate the work within Translation Studies. Last, but not least, my main paradigm for the study of audience reaction comes from Sociolinguistics and especially Allan Bell's work on Audience and Referee Design.

0.1 A theatre event in context

One way of understanding the audience reception of a theatre event is to approach it as part of a larger context. According to Postlewait, a number of links connect a theatrical context to its surroundings.³ First, there is the representational process of the theatrical event, which, through refraction, reveals aspects of the world, while also drawing on that world for the signifying context. Theatre events are capable of representing and being influenced by any aspect of the world in a multitude of modes, means and manners. They engage with alternative and possible worlds – the 'as if' version of existence – and suggest ways towards these versions of the world. The following diagram, outlined by Postlewait, illustrates the constituent parts of a theatre event:

Figure 0.1 The context of theatre event.

Credit: Thomas Postlewait.

The above representation of the theatrical event and its connecting context suggests the potential conditions that can contribute to the entire identity of the event as it is taking place at a specific time and place. Some conditions may exercise more power than others, and it is for us as researchers to determine which connections are the most important for our analysis. The focus of the present book is on the audience, and my task is to ask the right questions and find the places to search for explanations for audience reactions. A *theatrical event* can make sense only in relation to *the world*, while various aspects of the world can help to identify and give meaning to the theatrical event. It also has various agents who contribute to its birth, and both *agent* and *agency* introduce various strands of creativity, inspiration, imagination, originality, genius and their muses to the event. On stage, agency takes the form of performers and various designers who together create the illusion of the ‘as if’ world. No event in theatre exists or is born in a vacuum. A theatre event echoes previous performances, social and theatrical conventions, political ideologies, pressures and agendas and attempts to define the identity of the event, or through that, some aspect of it. All this together forms the condition of *artistic heritage*. The crux of the present book is in the *Reception* of the theatrical event, which may be recorded by eyewitnesses or accounts written by theatre reviewers and critics. Their writings are the only documents left to prove that the event ever took place, and they are, therefore, useful material for researchers. We must, however, remember that these documents are only part of the meaning of the event to the audience (which consists of different members) and also filtered through constraints set for them by the medium they are using (in a newspaper/journal), the space allowed to it, timely publishing (in a rush), personal opinions (likes and dislikes) etc. (see Section 1.4.2). Reception may also be shaped by political and social factors, governmental pressure, the values of a social class, aesthetic

tastes and the expectations of the audience, which are difficult to unearth except, maybe, in historiographies and biographies.

In Postlewait's model,⁴ the four binaries of audience (reception), agent, world and artistic heritage need to be turned into triads of:

- 1 agent, world and event
- 2 agent, artistic heritage and event
- 3 audience, world and event, and
- 4 audience, artistic heritage, and event.

These 90-degree angles of the four triangles meet at the centre, *the theatrical event*, and open avenues should exist between each and all of them. In the present book, no particular condition is predetermined as a possible explanation for the audience reaction to the language variety they hear in the theatrical event and to which they are reacting. I am proposing an assumptive hypothesis that the avenues from the event to the audience, the world and artistic heritage form a map where possible explanations to the reception can be found.

0.2 Language creates worlds

The theatre event brings together many codes which together (and separately) help audiences to make meanings of the event. As discussed above, contextual factors are also contributing to the readings that are on offer; the event takes place in a particular context of the world (maybe, more narrowly, society), artistic heritage of synchronic and diachronic performances, conventions and norms as well as attitudes to foreign plays and language varieties. Agency is also important: a star actor in a leading role, a famous director or a well-known cast may attract audiences, but equal interest might tempt audiences to see a rooftop play, a one-off performance in politically threatening circumstances. Neither guarantees, however, a positive response from the audience.

A performance itself is constructed out of many codes. An actor's body, voice, movements, silences, lights, music, setting, props, costume and make-up all create the event that audiences are invited to read and make sense of. The play provides the framework of the story and the plot. Speech is only one of the codes on stage, and often not even the most important one, but in the analyses in the present book, it has drawn all the attention to itself. In the performances in the analyses, the use of language variation has been chosen either intentionally or has come as an unintentional by-product of the actor's personal way of speaking, but it has still dominated the reception: the audience has rejected or accepted the style they have heard on stage. A third set of performances analysed in this book have taken place in contexts where the borderline between acceptance and rejection has become blurred and where it may be gradually disappearing altogether.

The way the characters use language is part of the building blocks of meanings derived from staged performance. The decision to use a particular code or language variety (dialect, accent or style⁵) may have been taken a priori by one of the agents – a playwright, translator or director, individually or together – and all, some or maybe only one of the characters may use this code. The choice of the code may be deliberate and aimed at serving a characterological function in the dramatic world of the play on stage. In this case, the code may provide audience members with an index, or pointer, to the residence or social class of the characters. Some codes, such as a foreign accent or a regional language variety (a dialect), have almost traditionally been a feature of comic theatre, where they have been employed to turn the characters into figures of ridicule, or at least to imply condescension towards them.⁶ In my research cases, language variety does not serve a characterological function.

One language can create many worlds, and the way language is used may serve a particular ideological function. I am using *ideology* to refer to a pervasive set of ideas, beliefs and images that a group employs to make the world more intelligible (or acceptable) to itself, leaving untouched the question of whether this representation is false or true. The use of a particular variety may be conceived as part of a conscious process of manipulation, but it can equally well operate as a frame, embedded in ‘common sense wisdom’, which helps to make sense of experience.⁷ Some examples will illustrate such ‘common sense’ truths of language varieties.

In American films, the villains tend to have a British accent, which makes them appear less trustworthy.⁸ On another occasion, a non-native accent was deliberately turned into a sign to serve characterological purposes: both Greta Garbo and Marlene Dietrich were changed into exotic, mysterious and even dangerous *femmes fatales* whose non-native English was wrapped up in further signs of their characterisation.⁹ As Irvine and Gal have expressed it, the ideological aspects of linguistic differentiation consist of those ideas with which participants and observers frame their understandings onto people, events and activities that are significant to them.¹⁰ These conceptual schemes are ideologies because they are suffused with political and moral issues and subject to the interests of their bearers’ social position. The choice between varieties is typically made into a situation in which powerlessness is linked with an ‘inferior’ variety.

The combination of ideology and power in language use can also have negative consequences. People can question the ideologies of their culture, but that is often difficult and can result in social stigma. When they are criticising the dominant ideology, they might sound illogical to those who hold that ideology.¹¹ There will be examples of that in discussions about the rejection or acceptance of a particular type of stage speech. Another problem is the ‘reality’ created by language. The *group’s ideology* is shared collectively and may include a high use of abstraction and euphemism.¹² It may make religions

murderous, nuclear weapons harmless and a dictator a well-meaning father of a nation. A contemporary example of this would be the attack against the Kurds on the border zone between Turkey and Syria to create a 'safe zone to Syrian refugees'. The operation has been named 'Peace Spring', although it has so far only led to the displacement of over 100,000 people and hundreds of civilian casualties. Political ideologies have also exercised influence over the arts and theatre and imposed both pressure and censorship on the repertoires and, through that, even code-choice.

In the cases of the present study, audience reaction has been recorded in *epitexts*,¹³ according to Gérard Genette elements 'outside' the bound volume – public or private elements such as interviews, reviews, correspondence, diaries etc. In the present study, the 'bound volume' is taken to refer to documents written by critics, scholars, audience members and so on, that are here assumed to represent audience response. However, we need to bear in mind the reservations to the readings they offer (for discussion of this, see Section 1.4.2). The explanation to the audience response will be searched in the context of the social, political and ideological component (world) as well as in the artistic heritage of the theatre events.

The choice of language variety by the producers is one of the most important ideological decisions, especially when society is diglossic, bilingual¹⁴ or multilingual, and one variety has more power and prestige than another. Such inequality can prevail between varieties within the same society, but also between societies which have been linked by a colonial past and whose language varieties have since separation developed in different directions.

Language is an important aspect of a nation's identity and, in post-colonial contexts, theatres have served an important role in promoting the vernacular language of a colonised people. The choice of a less prestigious code for a theatre performance has been one of the ways of giving voice to speakers whose own language has been considered underdeveloped and, consequently, even excluded from many functions which the more powerful counterpart has been serving.

Letting the characters on stage use the less prestigious variety grants them the right to function as an index of public recognition and status as a worthy means of expression and communication. Staging, then, becomes an ideological statement, which is why, for example, emerging nations have often used theatre (as well as literature) to prove that their own variety, which is sufficiently developed for both communication and use for the expression of complex ideas, forms an important part of their identity for which they demand recognition. The ideological power game between language varieties may also show in the translation of foreign texts for performance. Translation adopts, then, the function of a political index, proving that a formerly rejected code (a language variety), can express, for example, what the world's 'best' (canonised) playwrights have written in their own powerful language.

Language varieties do not exist in a vacuum, and they are always assessed from the viewpoint of both their speakers and hearers. On stage, the interaction is between the actors (characters): with each other (dramatic context) and also with the audience (theatrical context). Varieties can become linked with other characteristics as well. As Irvine and Gal point out, varieties can be perceived as indexes of the social identities and typical activities of their speakers.¹⁵ Speakers as well as hearers often assume that the source and meaning of the linguistic differences can index non-linguistic and social characteristics as well. They state that participants' ideologies about language locate linguistic phenomena as part of, and evidence for, what they believe to be systematic behavioural, aesthetic, affective and moral contrasts among the groups indexed. To express this in a nutshell, the choice of language variety is taken to reveal who and what you are.¹⁶

Languages and language varieties are not monolithic blocks but are diversified into many sub-groups. An individual language variety can have a number of regional and social varieties (sociolects) with the latter based on age, gender, social class, residence etc. For the purposes of the present book, varieties such as Finland-Swedish, Egyptian Colloquial Arabic or *Joual* are mostly regarded as homogeneous, as their further diversification would not have added anything to the findings.

A non-traditional and unexpected choice of a particular language variety in a staged performance can be met with either acceptance or rejection. If accepted, it might be the first tentative step towards introducing something new into theatre praxis, into theatrical tradition and artistic heritage. If rejected, critics will condemn its use, and audiences might even walk out of the performance. One of the most striking responses were the riots outside the Abbey Theatre in Dublin in 1907 to protest against the type of Irish English that the characters used in John Millington Synge's *The Playboy of the Western World* (for a discussion of the violent reaction, see Section 2.1). When I am looking for an explanation for the variation in audience responses, I assume that they derive partly from theatrical tradition (the choice in all cases is exceptional) and, most importantly, in society. The choice and reaction to it are indexes of an ideological stance. In stance-taking, people draw on linguistic resources which are directly related to the identity they endow on others or give themselves.¹⁷

The terms *code*, *style* and *language variety* have been chosen for the analysis because of their relative neutrality. *Code* has been adopted by sociolinguistics, in particular, to describe a situation where speakers may choose between varieties in interaction (e.g. *code-switching*). It can be defined as a reference to 'any system that two or more people employ for communication',¹⁸ which, as I will show later, comes close to the definition of *language* in theatre studies. A *language variety*, in this book, is used as an alternative term for *code*, although their viewpoints on ways of communication are different. A *language variety* can be defined as a specific set of linguistic items or human speech patterns

(sound, words, grammatical features etc.) which can be associated with some external factor (a geographical area or social group).¹⁹ Its starting point is therefore spoken (or written) ‘language’ and not, for example, non-verbal communication, proxemics (distance between speaker and hearer) or haptics (touch), which are all *codes*. *Style* as used in sociolinguistics refers to *the ways in which the same speakers talk differently on different occasions rather than the ways in which different speakers talk differently from each other*.²⁰ Actors may need to change their style of speaking and adopt, for example, an accent which is not theirs. Two more terms will also be used to describe language varieties, and I will define them, following Peter Trudgill and Arthur Hughes’ definitions: *dialect* refers to variations in grammar and lexis, whereas *accent* indicates distinctions in pronunciation.²¹

The term *code* in sociolinguistics corresponds to the use of *language* in Theatre Studies, where the latter can be used as a general term to cover any sort of communication system that could be described in codified terms. According to Marvin Carlson, this is a consequence of the extension of semi-otic theory to the use of *language* also to cover non-verbal channels such as gesture, costume, make-up, scenery, music, props, haptics, proxemics, chronemics and kinesics.²²

0.3 Dramatic context and everyday life

The linguistic world on stage is constructed by reflecting, or more precisely, to use André Lefevere’s term *refracting* the worlds the audiences knows as theirs.²³ This is done by applying certain rhetorical and authenticating conventions, which derive from an artistic heritage that both the producers and audiences are expected to be familiar with. Unfamiliarity with the conventions, or conscious deviation from them, leads to a different kind of theatrical experience, which, if accepted, might introduce something new to traditional ways of doing theatre. Familiarity, unfamiliarity with or deviation from authenticating and rhetorical conventions contributes to conjuring up meanings of the various languages or codes employed on stage.²⁴

Artistic heritage, or rhetorical and authenticating conventions, guide the way in which the illusion of the world of the fictional spatio-temporal context of the play is created. Elisabeth Burns defines *rhetorical conventions* as those relating to theatrical space, setting and time which enable the audience to understand the play.²⁵ They are rooted in an implicit agreement between the production team and the audience, and they concern those basic assumptions the audience makes of dramatic performances. Authenticity of performance on stage is based on the same principle as that which helps us to generate meanings in everyday life. According to Burns, there has to be the same intrinsic coherence that would exist in everyday life. Life is not total chaos but follows certain conventions and rules. We are not likely to find our post box full of money one morning and assume we could keep it, nor could we

just move our neighbour out of her house because we would like to move into it. We cannot just fetch our daily shopping from the market without paying for it etc. It is, of course, possible to see a performance in which the world is what we would like it to be, or the other way round, an exaggerated version of the madness and chaos that prevails in the world in our worst nightmares. Still, the main purpose of *authenticating conventions* is to convey the speech, manners and styles of life thought to prevail at the time of the play as well as to be appropriate to the rhetoric of the production of the play itself.

The awareness of rhetorical conventions and artistic heritage enables the audience to tolerate a certain amount of discrepancy in the world on stage. A symbolic tree can represent a forest, the chronology of events can be reversed, both the past and present can be visible simultaneously, and spatial shifts can be abrupt and only signalled by emblems, costume and props. Similarly, characterological features can be signalled by costume, make-up, emblems or props.

Discrepancy between spoken language in staged performance and the audiences' everyday experience of it becomes irrelevant, because the audience is familiar with the rhetorical conventions of the theatre. An important feature of theatre in most historical periods, but less common now, has been speech understandable to its audiences but distinctly different from what they themselves would ever have used. Characters on stage have spoken in verse or couplets, or some have spoken prose, while others have expressed themselves in couplets or embedded sonnets.²⁶

Even in realist theatre, language spoken on stage is never an authentic documentation of language spoken in the external world. Theatre and other art forms reflect speech but are always refracting it, turning it into a kind of *stage language*. Unlike Carlson, who separates *stage language* from the language that *reflects the linguistic world around the audience*, in this work all speech in theatre is seen as refraction, and thus *stage language*.²⁷ This applies to entire language varieties, and one or several of their components – lexis, grammar and accents – as well.²⁸ Although *the stage language* is meant to index actual varieties outside the theatre and, for that purpose, borrows certain of their features, it may still exaggerate or simplify them for theatrical purposes.²⁹ It is always tokenistic.

Every sign on stage carries a potential meaning. If '[i]n the first act you have hung a pistol on the wall, then in the following one it should be fired', cites the protagonist Anton Chekhov in the novel *What Language Do I Dream in?* and explains, 'every detail exists for a reason'.³⁰ A bandage on an actor's arm as well as his non-verbal communication are expected to carry a meaning, even if only being red herrings. According to Argyle and Poyatos, the most important communication channels in interaction between people include the verbal and vocal channels of speech, which are complemented by non-verbal and vocal paralanguage, non-vocal channels of kinesics (gestures),

posture, haptics (bodily contact), proxemics (spatial behaviour) and appearance. Some non-verbal channels can be used on stage only if they are commented on by characters themselves or the others. These include olfactory channels (smells: 'What a lovely perfume you are wearing!'), dermal channels (relating to the skin: 'Why are you blushing?') and thermal channels (rise in the body temperature: 'Your forehead is all hot!').³¹ In fact, both in everyday life and on stage, you *cannot not* communicate.

There might, however, arise a conflict between the intended and unintended readings offered by the agents' intentions and the audience's reception of them:

Agency and Reading

intentional
unintentional
intentional
unintentional

Audience and Reading

received (as intended/differently)
received
not received (or received differently)
not received (or received differently)

A performance is an open text which allows multiple readings, not all of which have been offered intentionally by the agents, that is, stage directors, actors, set designers, costume designers and light and sound designers. An intentional reading might suggest that a character is an honest rural worker, while an unintended reading of him might make him ignorant and lazy. An unintentional reading offered to an audience might be a plaster on an actor's arm, which is registered but never gets an explanation. An intentional reading offered in the dramatic context might be a secret relationship between two people, but the audience may not notice that or perceive it as only a one-sided attraction. An unintentional sign, such as a visible bruise on an actor's arm, which she got when she knocked her arm against one of the props, may go unnoticed or it might be read as a result of domestic violence. Moreover, there can always be multiple readings received according to the background of audience members. There are many sign systems operating on the stage simultaneously, and nobody will be able to pick up all the signs. Nor are they supposed to. One solution to this is repetition of important signs (codes) through different channels.

For the analysis in this work, the most important channel is that of spoken language and the choice of a particular code for the performance. The choice is in most cases intentional and well thought-out as certain varieties act as indexes of a range of features. The aim of the case studies in this work is to unearth explanations for readings of intentionally made choices of the code. There can be also unintentional codes, which derive from an actor's personal history. These, then, can also be either accepted or rejected.

0.4 Outline of study

The aim of this work is to explore the reasons why the choice of a particular language variety for staged performance has risen above all the other codes in a performance, drawing to itself a strong response from audiences. The evidence is collected from epitexts describing the events and the response. They also include interviews of playwrights and translators, as well as of a random selection of theatregoers. The performances are seen as theatre events in their surrounding context with the four components of agency, artistic heritage, world and audience. Audience is the central component in the model, and its relationship and profile is taken into account in looking for explanation(s) for a strong reaction. Another important cluster of theoretical tools consists of *Audience* and *Referee Design* and the identification of stage speech into *responsive* and *initiative styles*. Charles Ferguson's pioneering work on *diglossia* and its further development will benefit the study of contexts where two language varieties have enjoyed varying status as stage speech at different times. The common denominator in all performances is the fact that language varieties have not been used for characterological purposes but rather an ideological agenda (whose?). Response from audiences shows how they experience the use of the code on stage when it no longer serves as an index of the characteristics of an individual but rather points to the identity of an entire speech community.

Performances for the analysis have been chosen in such a way that they meet two criteria. First, the code does not serve to construct any individually identifiable characterological features in the play (e.g. a funny Irishman), and second, the response to the performance has focused mainly on the code-choice. The choice has been seen to carry a meaning in itself, quite separate from the dramatic structure of the play. In the contexts of the performances, two (or more) codes would have been available if the status given to the codes and their sociolinguistic, ideological and political context would have been different. The performances or clusters of performances drawn for the analysis include:

- 1 The first-ever theatre performance in Finnish, and the performances in Finland-Swedish in Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark (nineteenth century).
- 2 The use of Irish English on stage in the performance(s) of J.M. Synge's *The Playboy of the Western World* at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin and elsewhere (the first decade of the twentieth century).
- 3 The plays by the Quebecois playwright Michel Tremblay in *Joual* and its translation into Scots.
- 4 The play *Olga* by Laura Ruohonen in Finnish and the reception of its Scots translation in Scotland and Ireland.
- 5 The contemporary situation of Finland-Swedish on stage in Finland (and Sweden) and Colloquial Egyptian Arabic on stage in Cairo, Egypt.

The artistic heritage in all cases is very different linguistically, historically and ideologically. Despite these differences, my assumption is that it is possible to find some regularities in reasons for responses to the linguistic code that the performances have evoked.

The case studies in this book contain instances in which the code-choice has been perceived as an ideologically sensitive issue at reception. These cases fall roughly into three contexts. The first context surrounds an emerging national theatre and the identity of the new nation where the first steps towards recognition of national identity have involved the recognition of its language as a sufficiently developed means of expression for both literature and theatre (performances in group 1, 2 and 3). The second context is a search for a translational match for an ideological choice of a particular code in the original work (performances in group 3 and 4). The third case concerns variation in the reactions to the use of what has once been a less powerful means of expression (group 4).

Chapter 1 prepares the research framework for the analyses of how code-choice and possible explanations for it can be analysed. Language varieties always come with indexes of those who use them and those who observe them. The indexes form registers whose social meaning is agreed on by some part of the population. Constant repetition turns them gradually into stereotypes, which are food for the media, who enhance them and even create new ones. *Indexicality* is one of the key concepts of the study. Our speech functions as a pointer to extra-linguistic characteristics. This is illustrated in a section of previous studies of mediated speech. When studying staged speech, it is important to remember that it is never, even in the most realistic performances, authentic reproduction of the way people speak. Audiences are never monolithic entities but a mixture of members who are present for various reasons. Finally, Chapter 1 closes with a discussion of the use of epitexts, that is, texts surrounding the theatrical event, as evidence of audience response.

Audience response to code-choice on stage is divided into three categories. Chapter 2 focuses on cases where the audience has either expressed its rejection of the language variety with a violent response, or where the use of language has received a great deal of criticism for its unsuitability on stage. In all cases, the audiences have felt alienated either from the way that character speech on stage has reflected the world as they 'know' it to be, or it has gone against their expectations of what staged speech ought to be like.

Chapter 3 maps out cases where audiences have welcomed the code-choice with their approval. Despite being clearly inaccurate, the speech has been accepted as a step towards recognition of the identity of an emerging nation and its language. The chapter also discusses the way a translation strategy applied to foreign plays can help to support the national feeling.

Chapter 4 analyses cases where the code-choice for staged speech has either changed or is in the process of changing. The case studies have explored how socio-political and also economic reasons may lead to reconsideration of theatrical conventions. Code-choice in theatre is a powerful means of giving voice to those whose speech has, in the worst cases, been stigmatised or at least enregistered as an index of inferior quality, not only on stage, but also in other functions in society.

The book will end with the findings from the analyses and conclusions that can be drawn from them. The analyses will show that code-choice on stage is about a great deal more than an artistic decision made by the producers meeting the audience expectations concerning the art of theatrical expression.

Notes

- 1 Manfred Neumann, 'Literary Production and Reception', *New Literary History* 8(1) (1976), 121, cited in Susan Bennett, *Theatre Audiences*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1997), 52–4.
- 2 Bennett, *Theatre Audiences*, 100.
- 3 Thomas Postlewait, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 12.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 17.
- 5 For a detailed discussion about the meaning of *style* in sociolinguistics, see Allan Bell, Language Style as Audience Design, in Nikolas Coupland and Adam Jaworski (eds), *Sociolinguistics: A Reader* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 240–50.
- 6 Marvin Carlson, *Speaking in Tongues: Language at Play in the Theatre* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2006), 10–11.
- 7 The definition of *ideology* is borrowed from John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, The History of Events: Ideology and Historiography, in Stephen Page and Joanne Connell (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Events* (London: Routledge, 2011), 120. The Golds have based their definition on W.J.T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 4.
- 8 Lydia Willgress, British Accents are Perfect for Film Villains etc., *The Telegraph*, 22 January 2017, at www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/01/22/british-accents-perfect-film-villains-makes-appear-less-trustworthy/ (accessed 25 March 2019).
- 9 Allan Bell, Falling in Love Again and Again: Marlene Dietrich and the Iconization of Non-Native English, *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 15(5) (2011): 627–55.
- 10 Judith T. Irvine and Susan Gal, Language-Ideological Processes, in Nikolas Coupland, and Adam Jaworski (eds), *The New Sociolinguistics Reader* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 374.
- 11 Jason Jones and Jean Stilwell Peccei, Language and Politics, in Linda Thomas, Shân Wareing, Ishtla Singh, Jean Stilwell Peccei, Joanna Thornborrow and Jason Jones, *Language, Society and Power: An Introduction*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2004), 38.
- 12 See Ishtla Singh, Language, thought and representation, in Linda Thomas, Shân Wareing, Ishtla Singh, Jean Stilwell Peccei, Joanna Thornborrow and Jason Jones, *Language, Society and Power: An Introduction*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2004), 27–8.

- 13 Chris Koenig-Woodyard, Book review of Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, translated by Jane E. Lewin, *Érudit* 13 (February 1999). At: www.erudit.org/en/journals/ron/1999-n13-ron425/005838ar/ (accessed 25 March 2019); and Gérard Genette, Introduction to the Paratext, translated by Marie Maclean, *New Literary History* 22 (1991 [1987]): 261–272. A: www.jstor.org/stable/469037?read-now=1&refreqid=excelsior%3A166aefba7a0e5641516ae89590a95008&seq=2#page_scan_tab_contents, 262 (accessed 25 March 2019).
- 14 Some *bilingual cities*, are in fact *dual cities*, that is, those which are characterised by the presence of two historically rooted language communities who regard themselves as entitled to the same territory. Each language is supported by institutions of similar authority such as schools, universities, publishing houses, theatres, governmental recognition and places for leisure time activities. Both languages feel the need for self-protection. These cities can also be called *translational* as opposed to *bilingual*. For example, the city of Vaasa in Central Finland, where I live, is a typical *dual city* with both Finnish and Swedish-language institutions. See Sherry Simon, *Cities in Translation: Intersections of Language and Memory* (London: Routledge, 2012), 3.
- 15 Irvine and Gal, Language-Ideological Processes, 375.
- 16 The link between language variety and non-linguistic characteristics experienced by the speaker explains the *covert prestige* of the estimated over-use of a ‘non-standard’ variety. As Peter Trudgill has shown, men tend to under-report their use of the standard variant. This is at least partly due to the fact that some men associate non-standard speech (especially working class speech) with masculinity and ruggedness; Peter Trudgill, *On Dialect: Social and Geographical Perspectives* (New York: New York University Press, 1983), 177, is cited in J.K. Chambers, *Sociolinguistic Theory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 224.
- 17 Reem Bassiouney, *Language and Identity in Modern Egypt* (Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh, 2014), 44.
- 18 Ronald Wardhaugh, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, 5th edn (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 27.
- 19 See the discussion in Wardhaugh, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, 27–43.
- 20 Bell, Language Style and Audience Design, 240.
- 21 Peter Trudgill and Arthur Hughes, *English Accents and Dialects: An Introduction to Social and Regional Varieties of British English* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), 2.
- 22 Carlson, *Speaking in Tongues*, 6.
- 23 André Lefevere describes *refraction* as the way that writers and their work are always understood and conceived against a certain background. In other words, they are refracted through a certain spectrum, just as their work itself can refract previous works through a certain spectrum. See André Lefevere, Mother Courage’s Cucumbers: Text, System and Refraction in a Theory of Literature, in Lawrence Venuti, (ed.), *The Translation Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 2000), 234.
- 24 The terms *languages* and *codes* are here used of semiotic sign systems employed in the theatre.
- 25 *Authenticating* and *rhetorical conventions* have been discussed by Elisabeth Burns, *Theatricality: A Study of Convention in the Theatre and in Social Life* (London: Longman, 1972), 31 and 106–108.
- 26 Carlson, *Speaking in Tongues*, 7.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 6.
- 28 In sociolinguistic theory, the term dialect refers to differences in grammar and vocabulary, whereas the term accent refers to the way that words are pronounced. See, for example, Peter Trudgill, *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society* (London: Pelican Books, 1974), 5.

29 Carlson, *Speaking in Tongues*, 11.

30 Elena Loppin, *What Language Do I Dream In?* (London: Virago, 2016), 13.

31 Non-verbal communication channels have been discussed, for example, by Michael Argyle, *Bodily Communication*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1988); and Fernando Poyatos, *Cross-Cultural Perspectives in Non-Verbal Communication* (Boston, MA: Hogrefe & Huber Pub, 1988).

interpretation will always be partial. Notes by actors, stage directors and producers, as well as participation in the decision making on the selection of plays for the repertoire, would benefit the analysis of the background of the style choice considerably.

In the analyses that follow, I will be using epitexts, that is, a critic's, reviewer's, reporter's or another researcher's reading of the audience response, and urge the readers of the analyses to bear in mind the challenges described above.

Notes

- 1 Keir Elam's concepts, discussed in Sirkku Aaltonen, *Acculturation of the Other: Irish Milieux in Finnish Drama Translation* (Joensuu: Joensuu University Press, 1996), 37–8.
- 2 Richard Schechner, *Performance Theory*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1988), 30.
- 3 More on this in Joanna Thornborrow, Language and Identity, in Linda Thomas, Shân Wareing, Ishtla Singh, Jean Stilwell Peccei, Joanna Thornborrow and Jason Jones, *Language, Society and Power: An Introduction*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2004), 158–9.
- 4 Miles Hewstone and Howard Giles, Social Groups and Social Stereotypes, in Nikolas Coupland and Adam Jaworski (eds), *The New Sociolinguistics Reader* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 270–3.
- 5 J.K. Chambers, *Sociolinguistic Theory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 225. Research into this has also been discussed by Hewstone and Giles, Social Groups and Social Stereotypes, 273–4.
- 6 The definition is drawn and modified from Andy Medhurst, Sexuality: Tracing Desires: Sexuality in Media Texts, in Adam Briggs and Paul Copley (eds), *The Media: An Introduction* (Harlow: Longman, 1998), 284–5.
- 7 For these three aspects of stereotyping, see Hewstone and Giles, Social Groups and Social Stereotypes, 271.
- 8 Katherine D. Kinzler, Kristin Shutts, Jasmine DeJesus and Elizabeth S. Spelke, Accent Trumps Race in Guiding Children's Social Preferences, *Social Cognition* 27(4) (2009): 623–34, at: <http://dsclab.uchicago.edu/documents/Kinzler%20et%20al.%202009.pdf> (accessed 10 July 2018).
- 9 Chi Luu, Does Your Accent Make You Sound Smarter? BBC, 23 May 2017, at: www.bbc.com/capital/story/20170523-does-your-accent-make-you-sound-smarter (accessed 27 March 2018).
- 10 Chambers, *Sociolinguistic Theory*, 214.
- 11 Asif Agha and Frog, An Introduction to Registers of Communication, in Asif Agha and Frog, *Registers of Communication* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2015), 14, at: <https://oapen.org/download?type=document&docid=641495> (accessed 13 July 2018).
- 12 Asif Agha, Voice, Footing, Enregisterment, *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* (2005), 38, at: www.researchgate.net/publication/227626997_Voice_Footing_Enregisterment (accessed 13 July 2018).
- 13 Agha and Frog, An Introduction to Registers of Communication, 14.
- 14 Chambers, *Sociolinguistic Theory*, 225.
- 15 Richard Cauldwell, What Does Your Accent Say About You? *Voices*, 9 June 2014, at: www.britishcouncil.org/voices-magazine/what-does-your-accent-say-about-you (accessed 17 May 2018).
- 16 Agha, Voice, Footing, Enregisterment, 51.

- 17 Howard Giles, The Process of Communication Accommodation, in Nikolas Coupland and Adam Jaworski (eds), *The New Sociolinguistics Reader* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 277.
- 18 Michael Silverstein, Indexical Order and the Dialectics in Sociolinguistic Life, *Language and Communication* 23 (2003): 194–5, at: www.glasgowheart.org/media/media_200300_en.pdf (accessed 13 July 2018).
- 19 Barbara Johnstone, Locating Language in Identity, at: https://works.bepress.com/barbara_johnstone/4/. 2010, 92 (accessed 10 June 2018).
- 20 Silverstein, Indexical Order and the Dialectics in Sociolinguistic Life, 193.
- 21 Reem Bassiouney, *Language and Identity in Modern Egypt* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 59–61 and 107–8.
- 22 Barbara Johnstone, Jennifer Andrus and Andrew E. Danielson, Mobility, Indexicality, and the Enregisterment of 'Pittsburghese'. *Journal of English Linguistics* 34(2) (2006), 81–3, at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0075424206290692> (accessed 15 June 2018).
- 23 Silverstein, Indexical Order and the Dialectics in Sociolinguistic Life.
- 24 Bassiouney, *Language and Identity in Modern Egypt*, 64.
- 25 Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson, Mobility, Indexicality, and the Enregisterment of 'Pittsburghese'.
- 26 Agha, Voice, Footing, Enregisterment, 46.
- 27 Hannah Furness, BBC News Presenter Thought 'Too Common For Telly' Because of Northern Accent, *Telegraph*, 17 July 2013. At: www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/10185882/BBC-news-presenter-thought-too-common-for-telly-because-of-northern-accent.html (accessed 13 August 2018).
- 28 Judith T. Irvine and Susan Gal, Language-Ideological Processes, in Nikolas Coupland and Adam Jaworski (eds), *The New Sociolinguistics Reader* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 375.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 376.
- 30 Reem Bassiouney, Constructing the Stereotype: Indexes and Performance of a Stigmatised Local Dialect in Egypt, *Multilingua* 37, no. 3 (2018): 225–54. <https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2016-0083> (accessed 13 June 2018).
- 31 David Evans, The Identities of Language, in David Evans (ed.), *Language and Identity: Discourse in the World* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 30.
- 32 These are the main points made by Michael Erard in EXCUSE ME? The Reason you Discriminate Against Foreign Accents Starts with What They do to Your Brain, *Quartz*, 25 February 2016, at: <https://qz.com/624335/the-reason-you-discriminate-against-foreign-accents-starts-with-what-they-do-to-your-brain/> (accessed 13 June 2018).
- 33 Irvine and Gal, Language-Ideological Processes, 376.
- 34 See, for example, David A. Dillon, Howard Giles and Jitendra N. Thakerar, Language Attitudes, Speech Accommodation and Intergroup Behavior: Some Educational Implications, *Language Arts* 57(6) (1980): 669–79; Reid Luhman, Appalachian English Stereotypes: Language Attitudes in Kentucky, *Language in Society* 19(3) (1990): 331–48; Howard Giles, Donald M. Taylor and Richard Bourhis, Towards a Theory of Interpersonal Accommodation Through Language: Some Canadian Data, *Language in Society* 2(2) (1973): 177–92; J. Louw-Potgieter and Howard Giles, Imposed Identity and Linguistic Strategies, *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 6(3–4) (1987): 261–86; Malcah Yaeger-Dror, Book Review: The Social Meaning of Language, Dialect and Accent: International Perspectives on Speech Styles by H. Giles and B.M. Watson (eds), *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 33(1) (2013): 99–108; and so on.
- 35 Chambers, *Sociolinguistic Theory*, 214.

- 36 Ken Nakata Steffensen, BBC English with an Accent: 'African' and 'Asian' Accents and the Translation of Culture in British Broadcasting, *Meta* 57(2) (2012): 511, doi:10.7202/1013959ar, at: www.erudit.org/en/journals/meta/2012-v57-n2-meta0432/1013959ar.pdf (accessed 15 July 2018).
- 37 *Theatre event* (*theatrical event*) is the term employed by many theatre scholars. According to Willmar Sauter, *theatrical event* includes the presentation of a performance and the attention of an audience and underlies the eventness of all encounters between performers and spectators; see Willmar Sauter, *The Theatrical Event: Dynamics of Performance and Perception* (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2000), at: <https://researchgate.net> (accessed 22 October 2018). Thomas Postlewait sees it as the meeting of agents, artistic heritage, audience and world; see Thomas Postlewait, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 11–18.
- 38 Allan Bell and Andy Gibson, Staging Language: An Introduction to the Sociolinguistics of Performance, *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 15(5) (2011), 557.
- 39 The Swedish theatre director Farnaz Arbabi changed the perspective of Vilhelm Moberg's emigrant epic of Swedes who left for America to describe present-day refugees fleeing to Sweden when she wrote and directed the play *Utvandrama*, 'emigrants' in 2006. In the play, the asylum seekers came from Bosnia, Russia, and maybe Iran or Albania and the lines of the Immigration Board Officers (and one shop assistant) were gibberish, that is, a kind of Pig Latin. Words, if they could be distinguished from the flow at all, and the lines indexed what the language in the new country sounded to the immigrants. See Sirkku Aaltonen, Constructing Narratives of Heteroglossia, *TRANS: Revista de Traductología* 13 (2009): 107–18, at: www.trans.uma.es/pdf/Trans_13/t13_107-118_SAaltonen.pdf (accessed 13 August 2018).
- 40 The 12 Dramatic Elements (Focus, Tension, Timing, Rhythm, Contrast, Mood, Space, Language, Sound, Symbol, Conflict, Climax); see Justin Cash, *The Drama Teacher*, at: www.thedramateacher.com/dramatic-elements/ (accessed 15 July 2018).
- 41 For a more thorough discussion, see Types of Utterance in Drama, at: www2.anglistik.uni-freiburg.de/intranet/englishbasics/DramaLanguage01.htm (accessed 9 October 2018).
- 42 Such staged authenticity has been discussed, for example, in Una Chaudhuri, When's the Play? Time and the Theory of Drama, *Theater* 22 (1999): 44–51.
- 43 Bell and Gibson, Staging Language, 568.
- 44 Peter Trudgill, Acts of Conflicting Identity: The Sociolinguistics of British Pop-Song Pronunciation, in Nicholas Coupland and Adam Jaworski (eds), *Sociolinguistics: A Reader* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1997), 251–65.
- 45 Conn Corrigan, The Worst Irish Accents in Hollywood Movies, *IrishCentral*, 15 May 2017, at: www.irishcentral.com/culture/entertainment/the-worst-irish-accents-in-hollywood-movies-125286393-237793271 (accessed 6 October 2018).
- 46 The search was undertaken 6 October 2018.
- 47 Ben T. Smith, 6 Accent Tips for Actors, *Dialect Blog*, 31 January 2011, at: <http://dialectblog.com/2011/01/31/6-accent-tips-for-actors/> (accessed 6 October 2018).
- 48 Nick Douglas, How to Lose an Accent, According to a Dialect Coach, *Lifehacker*, 31 August 2017, at: <https://lifehacker.com/how-to-lose-an-accent-according-to-a-dialect-coach-1798665417> (accessed 24 July 2018).
- 49 Sarita Malik, Race and Ethnicity: The Construction of Black and Asian Ethnicities in British Film and Television, in Raymond Briggs and Paul Copley (eds), *The Media: An Introduction* (Harlow: Longman, 1998), 311.
- 50 Phil Silverwitz, How to Speak with an Arabic Accent, *Classroom*, (n.d.), at: <https://classroom.synonym.com/how-to-speak-with-an-arabic-accent-12083441.html> (accessed 3 October 2018).

- 51 For discussion of the construction of stereotypes in the media, see, for example, Adam Briggs and Paul Colby (eds), *The Media: An Introduction* (Harlow: Longman, 1998), 284–7.
- 52 Silverstein, Indexical Order and the Dialectics in Sociolinguistic Life, 194–5.
- 53 Hannele Dufva and Mia Halonen, Svetlana Rönkkö ja Tove Hansson: vieraan aksenttin performanssi mediahumorin resurssina [Svetlana Rönkkö ja Tove Hansson: Performance of Foreign Accent as a Resource of Humour in the Media], in A. Solin, J. Vaatovaara, N. Hynninen, U. Tillilä and T. Nordlund (eds), *Kielenkäyttäjä muuttuvissa instituutioissa [Language User in Changing Institutions]*. AFinLAn vuosikirja. (Jyväskylä: Suomen soveltavan kielitieteen yhdistyksen julkaisuja no 74. 2016), at: <http://ojs.tsv.fi/index.php/afinlavk/article/view/59724> (accessed 1 July 2018), 145–6, 148, 152–3 and 155.
- 54 Finland has a Swedish-speaking minority of some 27,000 in the mainland. Their Swedish has diversified from the Swedish spoken in Sweden (for further discussion, see Section 4.4).
- 55 Silverstein, Indexical Order and the Dialectics in Sociolinguistic Life.
- 56 Bassiouney, Constructing the Stereotype, 2, 5 and 10–11.
- 57 The inhabitants of the middle Nile valley – roughly the area from Cairo to Aswān – are known as the Ṣaʿīdī or Upper Egyptians. The Ṣaʿīdī as a group tend to be more culturally conservative, see, Egypt: Plant and Animal Life, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, www.britannica.com/place/Egypt/Plant-and-animal-life#ref935990 (accessed 17 April 2019). Ṣaʿīdī Arabic is a variety spoken by the Ṣaʿīdī people south of Cairo, Egypt, to the border of Sudan. It shares linguistic features with both Egyptian Arabic and the Qurʾān's Classical Arabic. Ṣaʿīdī Arabic carries little prestige nationally, but it continues to be widely spoken, see Ṣaʿīdī Arabic, Wikipedia, at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sa%CA%BDIdi_Arabic (accessed 17 April 2019).
- 58 *Stance* mediates between linguistic forms and social identities, and *stance-taking* is directly related to identity construction. A speaker uses language to take a stance and through that, give themselves a specific identity and impose on others a different one; see Reem Bassiouney, Politicizing Identity: Code Choice and Stance-Taking During the Egyptian Revolution, *Discourse & Society* 23(2) (2012) 109, at: www.jstor.org/stable/43496356?read-now=1&refreqid=excelsior%3A30358cbc1ea8749c9e6f810f750c8f5a&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents (accessed 15 July 2018).
- 59 Catherine Miller, Between Myth and Reality: The Construction of a Ṣaīdī Identity, in N. Hopkins and R. Saad (eds), *Upper Egypt, Identity and Change* (Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 2004), Section 1.3, 25–54. At: <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00150403/document> (accessed 16 October 2019).
- 60 Rosina Lippi-Green, *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology and Discrimination in the United States* (London: Routledge, 1997), especially Chapter 5. At: <https://freerangeresearch.files.wordpress.com/2012/10/ic-lippi-green-1997-teaching-children-how-to-discriminate.pdf> (accessed 7 October 2018), 88, 92 and 94.
- 61 Janne Sønnesyn, The Use of Accents in Disney's Animated Feature Films 1995–2009: A Sociolinguistic Study of the Good, the Bad and the Foreign. Master's Thesis, Department of Foreign Languages, University of Bergen, May 2011, 64–5, 79, 81–2 and 90–1, at: <https://bora.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956/5356/82634254.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> (accessed 18 July 2018).
- 62 Lynn Reinacher, Discrimination in a Land Far, Far Away: Stereotyped Dialects in Animated Children's Films (Kiel: Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel. 2016), 42–3, 69–70 and 71, at: www.anglistik.uni-kiel.de/de/fachgebiete/kultur-und-medienwissenschaften/popular-culture/materialien/animated-children2019s-films (accessed 7 July 2018).

- 63 Shalett Herman and Lewis Herman, *A Manual for Actors, Directors and Writers* (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1943); and Lippi-Green, *English with an Accent*, 83.
- 64 *Authentic speech* is a complex term in sociolinguistics as authenticity can apply to a number of features. I use the term to refer to everyday, unprepared speech, for example, in informal conversation which abounds with hesitation, pauses, repetition, corrections, interruptions etc. Stage speech uses these only intentionally and not nearly to the same extent as they appear in 'genuine' conversation.
- 65 See Svetlana Rönkkö on ihan paras! [Svetlana Rönkkö is the Best!], *Vauva.fi*, *Suomi* 24, 16 November 2014, At: www.vauva.fi/keskustelu/4320354/ketju/svetlana_ronkko_on_ihan_paras?page=1 (accessed 8 October 2018).
- 66 See 18 October 2014, at: <https://keskustelu.suomi24.fi/t/12745446/olen-nyt-seurannut-quotputoustauquot> (accessed 8 October 2018).
- 67 See Putous-Svetlana sai huomiota Venäjällä [Svetlana in The Fall received attention in Russia], *Iltaalehti*, 23 October 2014, at: www.iltalehti.fi/viihde/2014102318773267_vi.shtml (accessed 8 October 2018).
- 68 Steffensen, BBC English with an Accent, 511, 512, 514, 518, 519, 520, 521 and 524.
- 69 Bell and Gibson, *Staging Language*.
- 70 Allan and Gibson, *Staging language*; and Allan Bell, *Falling in Love Again and Again: Marlene Dietrich and the Iconization of Non-Native English*, *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 15(5) (2011): 628–31. Both in *Staging Language*, 555–72 and *Falling in Love Again and Again*, 627–55 respectively.
- 71 Dell Hymes' outline of *communicative competence*, see, for example, www.u.arizona.edu/~clin/anth276_04/anth276_handouts/HD3_hymes.pdf (accessed 19 October 2019). ESP3246On-Communicative-Competence-p-53-73.pd/21.
- 72 Bell and Gibson, *Staging Language*, give as their reference Erving Goffman, *Forms of Talk* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981). Bell, in *Staging Language*, 556–7.
- 73 Bell and Gibson refer to this in *Staging Language*, 556. As a reference, they give Dell Hymes, *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974).
- 74 Bell and Gibson, *Staging Language*, 568.
- 75 Postlewait, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Historiography*, 12.
- 76 Bell and Gibson, *Staging Language*, 559–61.
- 77 Allan Bell, *Language Style as Audience Design*, *Language in Society* 13(2) (1984), 159ff., at: www.jstor.org/stable/4167516; and Allan Bell, *Language Style as Audience Design*, in Nikolas Coupland and Adam Jaworski (eds), *The New Sociolinguistics Reader* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 271–2.
- 78 Figure 1.1 is a modification of Bell, *Language Style as Audience Design*, (2009) 271 and *Language Style as Audience Design* (1984), 159 respectively.
- 79 Bell, *Language Style as Audience Design*, *Language in Society*, 159–60.
- 80 *Ibid.*, 160.
- 81 *Ibid.*, 151.
- 82 For the component parts of a theatrical event, see Thomas Postlewait's paradigm, discussed in Section 0.1.
- 83 Bell, *Language Style as Audience Design*, 161.
- 84 *Ibid.*, 184–5.
- 85 For the concepts and paradigms, see Bell, *Falling in Love Again and Again*, 630–1.
- 86 The discussion in the paragraph is based on Bell, *Falling in Love Again and Again*, 630–1.
- 87 See Bell, *Falling in Love Again and Again*, 628–31.
- 88 Postlewait, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Historiography*, 3.

- 89 Mona Baker, *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account* (London: Routledge, 2006), 114 and 123.
- 90 For reservations to the use of epitexts for researching theatrical events, see Sirkku Aaltonen, Perspiring Translators Rowdy Audiences, and Ignorant Women: Narratives of the History of Egyptian Theatre, in Sirkku Aaltonen and Areeg Ibrahim (eds), *Rewriting Narratives in Egyptian Theatre: Translation, Performance, Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 24–5.
- 91 Thomas Postlewait, Historiography and the Theatrical Event: A Primer with Twelve Cruxes, *Theatre Journal* 43(2) (1991), 157–78, at: www.jstor.org/stable/3208214 (accessed 27 March 2019). The cruxes have also been discussed, for example, in Aaltonen, *Acculturation of the Other*, 184.
- 92 Postlewait, *Historiography and the Theatrical Event*. 177–8.

performance involved a translation, but also that was a case of breaking the norm of protecting the audience from *l'épreuve de l'étranger*.⁶¹ Instead of using the code which would have followed the Audience Design, it used the code of the neighbour, and thus an initiative style, which was also incompatible with the setting. Two out-groups put together, a recognisable foreign and an unfamiliar foreign, caused a clash. By mixing two out-groups in translation like this did not conform to the artistic heritage and audience expectations.

Notes

- 1 Richard M. Kain, *The Playboy Riots*, 184; cited in S.B. Bushrui (ed.), *Sunshine and the Moon's Delight: A Centenary Tribute to John Millington Synge 1871–1909* (Gerrards Cross, Colin Smythe, 1972), 173–88.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 185.
- 3 Nicholas Grene, *The Politics of Irish Drama: Plays in Context from Boucicault to Friel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), xii.
- 4 Nursen Gömceli and Allan James, 'Hiberno-English and Beyond in J.M. Synge's 'The Playboy of the Western World': A Literary Linguistic Analysis of its Dramatic Significance. *AAA: Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 40(2) (2015): 105–25, at: www.jstor.org/stable/24722042?read-now=1&refreqid=excelsior%3A4bebdb6cd94d7b2b525e7845faabdb98&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents (accessed 12 November 2018).
- 5 Gallous means 'fine' and 'splendid'. For an explanation, see Sirkku Aaltonen, *Gallous Stories: Two Transplants into Finnish of The Playboy of the Western World*, Tutkimuksia No. 173 (Vaasa: Vaasan yliopiston julkaisuja, 1993), 7.
- 6 Citations from John Millington Synge, *The Playboy of the Western World*, in J.M. Synge, *Four Plays and The Aran Islands*, edited with an Introduction by Robin Skelton (London: Oxford University Press, 1962 [1907]), 149.
- 7 Declan Kiberd, *Synge and the Irish Language* (London: Macmillan Press, 1979), 199.
- 8 Synge, *Four Plays and The Aran Islands*, 75.
- 9 Edward Hoare, Ireland's National Drama, *The North American Review* 194(671) (1911), 566.
- 10 All cited statements in this section are from Emily Ernst, *The Playboy Riots. The Abbey Theatre/Amharclann na Mainistreach*. In *The Playboy of the Western World: Dramaturgical Information for the Carnegie Mellon School of Drama's 2016 Production*. At: <https://cmuplayboy.wordpress.com/the-playboy-riots/> (accessed 12 October 2018).
- 11 *Ibid.*
- 12 Brendan Daly, Anniversary of Riots Over Synge's 'Playboy of the Western World'. *Irish Central*, 2018, at: www.irishcentral.com/roots/the-centenary-of-the-playboy-of-the-western-world-and-lady-augusta-gregory-134242998-237422191 (accessed 6 October 2018).
- 13 Abbey Theatre, History: A Brief Timeline. At: www.abbeytheatre.ie/about/history/ (accessed 6 October 2018).
- 14 Maureen Dezell, From Jeers to Cheers: Once Scandalous, 'Playboy' Now Seen as a Theater Classic. *The Boston Globe*, 31 October 2004, at: http://archive.boston.com/ae/theater_arts/articles/2004/10/31/from_jeers_toCheers/ (accessed 6 October 2018).
- 15 For more background, see The Irish Literary Revival in University of Cincinnati's Irish Literature Collection – from the sixteenth century to the present, at:

- <http://libapps.libraries.uc.edu/exhibits/irish-lit/sample-page/> (accessed 23 October 2019).
- 16 Irish English Historical overview, University of Duisburg-Essen, at: www.uni-due.de/IERC/IERC_Overview.htm (accessed 15 October 2018).
 - 17 Sean Cahill and Seán Ó Cathail, The Politics of the Irish Language Under the English and British Governments, The Proceedings of the Barra Ó Donnabháin Symposium, 2007, 119–20. at: https://as.nyu.edu/content/dam/nyu-as/ireland-House/documents/0111-0126_PoliticsOfTheIrishLanguage.pdf (accessed 22 October 2019).
 - 18 For a brief history of the Aran Islands, see The Aran Islands: A History, Claddagh Design, 4 June 2017, at: www.claddaghdesign.com/history/the-aran-islands-a-history/ (accessed 23 October 2019).
 - 19 John M. Kirk, What is Irish Standard English? *English Today* 27(02) (2011): 32–8. For features of Irish English, see Jeffrey L. Kallen, The English Language in Ireland: An Introduction, *International Journal of Language, Translation and Intercultural Communication* 1(1) (2012): 25–41, at: <https://ejournals.epublishing.ekt.gr/index.php/latice/article/view/2715/2481> (accessed 17 June 2018); Gömceli and James, Hiberno-English and Beyond in J.M. Synge's 'The Playboy of the Western World'; and Kiberd, *Synge and the Irish Language*.
 - 20 Aaltonen, *Gallows Stories*, 36–7.
 - 21 For a more extensive account of this as well as the source references, consult Aaltonen, *Gallows Stories*, 36–9.
 - 22 Edward Hirsch, The Imaginary Irish Peasant, *PMLA* 106(5) (1991), 1122–3. At: JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/462684 (accessed 23 October 2019).
 - 23 Zacharias Topelius, *Boken om vårt land: Läsebook för de lägsta läroverket i Finland. Andra kursen* [A Book of Our Country: Reading for the Lower Schools in Finland. Second Course]. 1937 (Orig. 1875), 175, at: <http://runeberg.org/tzbokland/0175.html> (accessed 15 November 2018).
 - 24 Marika Tandefelt, Finlandssvenskan i tusen år [Finland-Swedish During a Thousand Years]. *Språkbruk* 3 (1999). At: www.sprakbruk.fi/index.php?mid=2&pid=13&aid=2395 (accessed 17 March 2017).
 - 25 Michael C. Coleman, 'You Might All Be Speaking Swedish Today': Language Change in 19th-Century Finland and Ireland, *Scandinavian Journal of History* 35(1) (2010), 45–6, at: www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03468750903315215 (accessed 11 July 2017).
 - 26 *Ibid.*
 - 27 Marika Tandefelt and Fjalar Finnäs, Language and Demography: Historical Development, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 187–8 (2007), 39, at: www.vasa.abo.fi/users/fnnas/pdf-filer/ijsl.2007.049.pdf (accessed 13 October 2018).
 - 28 Tandefelt, Finlandssvenskan i tusen år [Finland-Swedish During a Thousand Years]; see also Section 4.1.
 - 29 Pirkko Koski, *Näyttelijänä Suomessa* [Being an Actor in Finland] (Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, 2013), 25–43.
 - 30 Ingrid Qvarnström, *Svensk teater i Finland: I Rikssvens teater* [Swedish Theatre in Finland: I Sweden-Swedish Theatre] (Helsinki: Holger Schildts förlag, 1946), 28–9.
 - 31 Koski, *Näyttelijänä Suomessa* [Being an Actor in Finland], 69.
 - 32 *Ibid.*, 141.
 - 33 Ingrid Qvarnström, *Svensk teater i Finland. I: Rikssvens teater* [Swedish Theatre in Finland. I: Sweden-Swedish Theatre], 28, author's translation.
 - 34 Ingrid Qvarnström citing the notes of the actor, director and theatre director August Lindberg, see *Svensk teater i Finland: I* [Swedish Theatre in Finland: I], 99.
 - 35 *Ibid.*, 100.
 - 36 I am indebted to Professor Allan Bell for this observation.

- 37 Jennica Thylin-Klaus, 'Den finländska svenskan' 1860–1920. Tidig svensk språk-planering i Finland ur ett idéhistoriskt perspektiv, 279. Doktorsavhandling i nordisk historia. Åbo Akademi 2012, at: www.doria.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/74848/thylin_jennica.pdf?sequence=1 (accessed 13 June 2017).
- 38 Koski, *Näyttelijänä Suomessa* [*Being an Actor in Finland*], 150–1.
- 39 Ilmari Räsänen, *Ida Aalberg* (Porvoo: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, 1925), 29–31.
- 40 Koski, *Näyttelijänä Suomessa* [*Being an Actor in Finland*], 90.
- 41 In Christiania (present-day Oslo, the capital of Norway) in 1885 and later in Bergen, her Finland-Swedish was accepted.
- 42 Räsänen, *Ida Aalberg*, 205.
- 43 *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* [*New Daily Everywhere*], September 1885.
- 44 Linda McLean, *Olga* (Original Laura Ruohonen, *Olga*. Unpublished manuscript, 1995), published as *A Traverse Theatre programme including the full script* (Edinburgh: The Traverse Theatre, 2001).
- 45 Loughlin Deegan, Rough Magic Theatre Company email 30 January 2006.
- 46 Peter Crawley, Lost in a Swirl of Past and Future, *The Irish Times*, 3 November 2003, 12.
- 47 Karen Fricker, *Olga*, *The Guardian*, 11 October 2003, at: www.theguardian.com/theatre1 (accessed 13 August 2006).
- 48 Fintan O'Toole, *Olga*, *The Irish Times*, 7 November 2003, 18.
- 49 Emer O'Kelly, Helsinki with Scottish Accents Makes a Curious Mix. A review sent by the Rough Magic Theatre with no date or source.
- 50 For example, Elisabeth McGuane, *Olga*: Stark, Powerful and Memorable, *The Sunday Business Post*, 16 November 2003, A7.
- 51 Mary Coll, *Olga*, *Irish Independent*, 14 November 2003.
- 52 J.O. Bartley, The Development of a Stock Character I: The Stage Irishman to 1800, *The Modern Language Review* 37(4) (October 1942): 438–47, at: www.jstor.org/stable/3716488?read-now=1&refreqid=excelsior%3A71b92fb2207d943a422b5f93746d6b5b&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents (accessed 17 October 2018).
- 53 *A bull* is any statement which is made ludicrous by its absurd logic, for example, 'May you never live to see your wife a widow.' or 'An Irishman would rather die than be buried outside Ireland.' Irish Bulls/literary curiosities, at: litcur.com/irish-bulls (accessed 15 October 2018).
- 54 Mariavita Cambria, 'Is it English What We Speak?' Irish English and Postcolonial Identity, *Studi irlandesi: A Journal of Irish Studies* 4 (2014), 22–3, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.13128/SIJIS-2239-3978-14665>, at: www.fupress.net/index.php/bsfm-sijis/article/view/14665/13739 (accessed 15 October 2017).
- 55 Hirsch, *The Imaginary Irish Peasant*, 1119.
- 56 Lady Augusta Gregory, *Our Irish Theatre: A Chapter of Autobiography* (London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1913), 8–9. The citation has been repeated in much scholarly work for many years, but I have chosen to refer to the first one.
- 57 Amal Riyadh Kitishat, Colonialism and the Recreation of Identity: The Irish Theatre as Case Study, *Journal of Language and Culture* 3(5) (2010), 85.
- 58 Swedish original reads *särades vid vart ord och icke utan bedrövelse kunde se det osmakliga spelet*. The playwright and stage director Bengt Ahlfors gave this remark as an example of a comment made on Finland-Swedish acting in the early days of the establishment of the Swedish Theatre (1866); see Bengt Ahlfors, *Ord, ord, ord! Tankar kring det finlandssvenska scenspråket* [Words, Words, Words! Thoughts Around the Finland-Swedish Staged Language], *Språkbruk* 4 (1995), at: www.sprakbruk.fi/-/4_1995 (accessed 12 July 2018).
- 59 Ahlfors, *Ord, ord, ord!*.

- 60 Scotland: Accents and Dialects of Scotland. In *The British Library*, at: www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/sounds/find-out-more/scotland (accessed 1 December 2018).
- 61 E.D. Blodgett, citing Berman Antoine in Preface to Louise Ladouceur, *Dramatic Licence: Translating Theatre from One Official Language to the Other in Canada* [Orig. *Making the scene: la traduction du théâtre d'une langue officielle à l'autre au Canada*], translated by Richard Lebeau (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2012), xi.

one hand, and Britain and Scotland on the other, are not the same, given Britain's (and thus Scotland's) imperial relation to both Canada and Quebec, England's historical and ongoing cultural subordination of Scotland (however effective or ineffective), and Canada's imperial relation to Quebec. She further continues that Bowman and Findlay intended their translations to promote and empower Scottish national identity and culture by liberating Scots voices and reinvesting the Scots language with national authority, to test and stretch the language through translation work, to show Scots' retention of qualities distinct from English, and to broaden] the Scottish literary canon. If, however, using *Joual* on stage for an entire play in Montreal in 1968 was part of a cultural, economic and/or political movement, using Scots on stage in Glasgow in 1990 was not. Harvie sees a selfish cultural motivation behind the responsive style chosen by Bowman and Findlay, that is, performing a play entirely in Scots, a country formerly colonised by both English-language and English-produced drama. It could be regarded cynically as a good selling line. In other words, for Scottish nationalists in Glasgow's year as European City of Culture, 1990, there was some benefit in selling Scotland as a unique nation to the European market.

Translation for theatre, like all translation, always has selfish motivations, and the interest in the 'original' text unavoidably takes the back seat in favour of what has been translated and how, which depends on the receiving theatre and stage. Especially as economic viability is decisive for most stages, the most important of all factors is the Audience Design. That decides where the threshold of tolerance towards otherness is set, and how it should be expressed. An unmarked and normative responsive style can conform to familiar stereotypes or remove traces of foreignness entirely. The adoption of initiative style works best in situations where the marked and non-normative style signals power. It may also succeed in contexts where unequal power relations are being renegotiated.

Notes

- 1 Ronald Wardhaugh, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, 5th edn (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 357.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 356–7.
- 3 The word *communing* has been used in the translation into English by Rosalind Gill and Roger Gannon of Henri Gobard's language typology to describe the main function of *vernacular language*. Gobard's typology has been cited in Annie Brisset, *A Sociocritique of Translation: Theatre and Alterity in Québec, 1968–1988*. [Orig. *Sociocritique de la traduction: théâtre et altérité au Québec, 1968–1988*]. The translation has been published by University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1996, 165. I have used *communing* throughout the book to refer to the familiar intimate language which holds speech communities (e.g. families, regions, groups) together by emphasising the solidarity within them.
- 4 Henri Gobard, cited in Brisset, *A Sociocritique of Translation*, 164–5.
- 5 Charles A. Ferguson, Diglossia, *WORD* 15(2) (1959): 325–40, at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1959.11659702> (accessed 20 May 2019). 336. See also the discussion in Section 4.1.

- 6 Wardhaugh, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, 356.
- 7 Mark Fisher, Review of *The House Among the Stars*. *The Guardian*, 29 October 1992; cited in Steven Blanford, *Theatre and Performance of Small Nations* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2013), 40.
- 8 Jacob Judén, *Försök till utredande af Finska Språkets Grammatik* [*An Attempt to Investigate the Grammar of Finnish Language*] (Wiipuri: Cederwaller, 1818), 4. The original is in Swedish, at: https://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/fs1/object/display/bsb10589117_00006.html (accessed 13 January 2019). Cited in Finnish in Julius Krohn, *Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden vaiheet* [*Phases of Finnish Literature*] (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia, 86 Osa, 1897). Part 3, Chapter 1. Reproduced by Project Gutenberg, 2013, at: www.gutenberg.org/files/42453/42453-h/42453-h.htm (accessed 13 January 2019).
- 9 J.T. Irvine and S. Gal, Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation, in P.V. Krottskryt (ed.), *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Policies and Identities* (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 2000), 35–84, at: <https://web.stanford.edu/~eckert/PDF/IrvineGal2000.pdf> (accessed 6 October 2019).
- 10 Sirkku Aaltonen, Culture and Translation in Finland, in Werner Koller, Harald Kittel and Armin Paul Frank (eds), *Übersetzung – Translation – Traduction*, 1. Teilband, *Übersetzung – Translation – Traduction. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Übersetzungsforschung*. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter Mouton; Multilingual edition 2004/2011, Vol. 3, Part XXXII, 2141–2.
- 11 Krohn, *Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden vaiheet*, Kolmas luku. [*Phases of Finnish Literature, Third Chapter*].
- 12 References to all outside sources in Aaltonen, Culture and Translation in Finland.
- 13 Juha Vahtola, *Suomen historia: Jääkaudesta Euroopan Unioniin* (Helsinki: Otava, 2003); cited in Erkki Aho, Suomalaiskansallinen liike 1860–1894, *Vanha Historia*, September 2013, at: <http://vanhahistoria.blogspot.com/2013/09/suomalaiskansallinen-liike-1960-1894.html> (accessed 25 January 2019).
- 14 Although Finnish and Swedish are both official languages in contemporary Finland, for instance, street signs reveal which language dominates in the number of speakers: if the Swedish speakers form the majority, the Swedish street name comes first, and the other way round.
- 15 Seppo Zetterberg and Sallan Titta, *Suomi kautta aikojen* (Helsinki: Otava, 1992). Also in Valitut Palat Oy (The Reader's Digest) where Zetterberg was the editor-in-chief. 1992; cited by Erkki Aho, Suomen kielen asema, *Vanha Historia*, September 2013, at: <http://vanhahistoria.blogspot.com/2013/09/suomen-kielen-asema.html> (accessed 25 January 2019).
- 16 Julius Krohn, Nuoren ylioppilaan kirjeitä 1850-luvulta (ed. Setälä Helmi, produced by Tapio Riikonen) (Helsinki: Otava, 1918), at: www.gutenberg.org/files/45500/45500-8.txt (accessed 26 January 2019); cited in Antto Leikola and Rietrik Polén, monihyväinen fennomaani [R.P. Multi-Talented Fennoman], *Hiidenkivi: Suomalainen kulttuurilehti* 1(12), at: www.hiidenkivi-lehti.fi/Digipaper/OldNews.aspx?id=3469 (accessed 25 January 2019).
- 17 Timo Tiisanen, *Teatterimme hahmottuu* [*Our Theatre is Taking Shape*] (Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä, 1969), 50–7.
- 18 The information has been combined from a number of sources: Krohn, *Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden vaiheet*, Kolmas luku [*Phases of Finnish Literature, Third Chapter*]; Tiisanen, *Teatterimme hahmottuu* [*Our Theatre is Taking Shape*]. Silva Kiuru, 'Ilveily kahdessa näytelmässä': 1800-luvun teatteritermejä ['Buffoonery in Two Acts: Nineteenth-Century Theatre Terminology']. *Kielikello* 1 (2000), at: www.kielikello.fi/-/ilveily-kahdessa-naytelmassa-1800-luvun-teatteritermeja (accessed 29 January 2019); Suomen teatteritaide [Finland's Theatre Art], at:

- isusi.com/suomenteatteritaide/ (accessed 1 February 2019); as well as, Pentti Paavolainen, Nuori Bergbom: Kaarlo Bergbomin elämä ja työ I [Young Bergbom: Kaarlo Bergbom's Life and Work I] (Helsinki: Teatterikoulun julkaisusarja 43, 1843–1872), 391.
- 19 Paavolainen, Nuori Bergbom [Young Bergbom], 391.
 - 20 Krohn, *Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden vaiheet*, Kolmas luku [*Phases of Finnish Literature, Third Chapter*].
 - 21 Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754) was a Danish Norwegian playwright and historian regarded as the founding father of modern drama in the dual monarchy of Denmark and Norway.
 - 22 Kiuru, 'Ilveily kahdessa näytelmässä' ['Buffoonery in Two Acts'].
 - 23 More of Lagervall in B.F. Godenhjelm, Oppikirja suomalaisen kirjallisuuden historiassa [Textbook of Finnish Literary History] (Orig. published 1884 by Weilin & Göös. Digitalised from the fourth revised edition from 1900). Produced by Matti Järvinen, Tuija Lindholm and Distributed Proofreaders Europe. 2006, at: www.gutenberg.org/files/18481/18481-8.txt (accessed 29 January 2019).
 - 24 Tiusanen, *Teatterimme hahmottuu* [Our Theatre is Taking Shape], 75.
 - 25 Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä, *Suomalaisen teatterin historia I. Teatterin esihistoria ja perustaminen* [The History of Finnish Theatre: The Pre-History and Establishment of Theatre] (Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seuran kirjapainon osakeyhtiö, 1906), 259.
 - 26 More on Charlotte Raa's performance of Lea can be found in Sirkku Aaltonen, A Non-Native Accent in Intersemiotic Translation, In Ritva Hartama-Heinonen and Pirjo Kukkonen (eds), *Acta Translatologia Helsingiesia (ATH)* (Helsinki: Nordica/Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies, Swedish Translation Studies. University of Helsinki, 2020).
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 - 28 Aleksis Kivi, *Lea: näytelmä viidessä näytöksessä* kirjoittanut A. Kiwi. – Näytelmiä. 2 [Lea: A Play in Five Acts Written by A. Kiwi. – Plays 2] (Wiipurissa: Wiipurin Suomalainen Kirjallisuusseura, 1869). Helsinki: SKS Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, at: <http://neba.finlit.fi/kivi/index.php?pagename=teokset-listset&set=2849&item=3> (accessed 15 December 2018).
 - 29 Yrjö Hirn, *Teatrar och teaterstrider i 1800-talets Finland* [Theatres and Theatre Feuds in Nineteenth-Century Finland] (Helsinki: Holger Schildts förlag, 1949), 204 and 292.
 - 30 Paavolainen, Nuori Bergbom [Young Bergbom], 409–10.
 - 31 *Ibid.*, 422.
 - 32 *Ibid.*
 - 33 Hirn, *Teatrar och teaterstrider i 1800-talets Finland* [Theatres and Theatre Feuds in Nineteenth-Century Finland], 304 [author's translation].
 - 34 *Kuningatar K* [Queen C], 2003, at: www.tinfo.fi/en/Drama_translations_database_plays/17/Kuningatar_K (accessed 27 February 2019).
 - 35 *An Island Far from Here*, at: www.tinfo.fi/documents/saari_kaukana_taalta_2403111239.pdf (accessed 27 February 2019).
 - 36 Laura Ruohonen, *Sotaturistit* [War Tourists], *Drama Corner*, 2008, at: www.dramacorner.fi/en/finnish-authors/ruohonen-laura (accessed 27 February 2019).
 - 37 For more information about the production, 2009, see: www.linz09.at/en/projekt-2106461/maria_stuart.html (accessed 24 February 2019).
 - 38 The information about the translations and performances come mostly from the pages of Nordic Drama Corner, who are responsible for authorised translations,

- copyrights and permissions for productions. Their field of operation consists both Finnish and foreign playwrights and the protection of their rights. For information about Laura Ruohonen, see *Drama Corner*, at www.dramacorner.fi/en/finnish-authors/ruohonen-laura (accessed 24 February 2019).
- 39 TINFO: Theatre Info Finland, at: www.tinfo.fi/en/Drama_translations_database_plays/35/Olga (accessed 22 February 2019).
 - 40 Heikki Paunonen, Vähemmistökielestä varioivaksi valtakieleksi [From a Minority Language to a Varying Main Language], in Kaisu Juusela and Katariina Nisula (eds), *Helsinki kieliyhteisönä* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, Suomen kielen ja kotimaisen kirjallisuuden laitos, 2006), 69.
 - 41 Suomen kielen variaatio 1: Puhuttu ja kirjoitettu kieli, at: http://finnugor.arts.unideb.hu/segedanyag/vj_debrecen1.pdf (accessed 27 February 2019); see also Osmo Ikola, Yleispuhekielemme synt., in *Kielikello* 2 (1986), at: www.kielikello.fi/-/yleispuhekielemme-synty (accessed 23 February 2019).
 - 42 Paunonen, Vähemmistökielestä varioivaksi valtakieleksi [From a Minority Language to a Varying Main Language], 51–7.
 - 43 Laura Ruohonen, *Olga* (Unpublished manuscript, 1995), 6 and 53.
 - 44 Paunonen, Vähemmistökielestä varioivaksi valtakieleksi [From a Minority Language to a Varying Main Language], 13–99.
 - 45 *Ibid.*, 88, 91 and 99.
 - 46 The numbers in brackets indicate the page in Ruohonen, *Olga*.
 - 47 Ruohonen, *Olga*, 30.
 - 48 *Ibid.*, 32.
 - 49 *Ibid.*, 62.
 - 50 *Ibid.*, 62.
 - 51 *Ibid.*, 3.
 - 52 *Ibid.*, 67.
 - 53 *Ibid.*, 3.
 - 54 *Ibid.*, 18.
 - 55 *Ibid.*, 8 and 9.
 - 56 *Ibid.*, 14.
 - 57 *Ibid.*, 11.
 - 58 *Ibid.*, 6.
 - 59 *Ibid.*, 9 and 12–14.
 - 60 *Ibid.*, 21.
 - 61 *Ibid.*, 50.
 - 62 For discussion of *Olga*, see Sirkku Aaltonen, *Olga's Eightsome Reel in Edinburgh: A Case Study of Finnish Drama in English Translation*, in Sabine Coelsch-Foisner and Holger Klein (eds), *Drama Translation and Theatre Practice* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004), 121–35.
 - 63 What follows here, is based on Sirkku Aaltonen, Space and Place in Theatrical Contact Zones: How to Find Audiences for Untapped Reservoirs of Contemporary Drama from Small Cultures, in Maria João Brilhante and Manuela Carvalho (eds), *ACT 15. Teatro e Tradução: Palcos de Encontro* (Porto: Campo das Letras, 2007), 53–75.
 - 64 Bill Findlay, Translating Standard into Dialect: Missing the Target? in Carole-Anne Upton (ed.), *Moving Target: Theatre Translation and Cultural Relocation* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 2000), 35.
 - 65 A.J. Aitken, Scots and English in Scotland, in Caroline Macafee (ed.), *Collected Writings on the Scots Language* (2015 [1984]), 3–4. At: https://media.scotslanguage.com/library/document/aitken/Scots_and_English_in_Scotland.pdf (accessed 23 October 2018).
 - 66 *Ibid.*, 7–8.

- 67 *Ibid.*, 7.
- 68 Kirsi Korhonen, Arts Manager at the British Council in Helsinki, interviewed Laura Ruohonen, Linda McLean and Katherine Mendelsohn about *Olga's* journey to the Scottish stage, and the interview, *Dramatic Encounters: Finland Meets Scotland*, was published in *Contrasts*, 2002, 6–7, 7. of Finnish plays.
- 69 *Ibid.*
- 70 Linda McLean, Kirjailija-kääntäjän mietteitä teatterikännöksen syntymisestä [Author-Translator's Thoughts about the Birth of a Theatre Translation], in Sirkku Aaltonen (ed.), *Matkalippu maailmalle: Suomalaisten näytelmien kääntämisestä ja viennistä [A Ticket to the World: About the Translation and Exports of Finnish Plays]* (Helsinki: Like, 2010), 192.
- 71 McLean, Kirjailija-kääntäjän mietteitä teatterikännöksen syntymisestä [Author-Translator's Thoughts about the Birth of a Theatre Translation], 192.
- 72 All are examples from the translation by Linda McLean into Scots of Laura Ruohonen's *Olga* for the performance at the Traverse Theatre in Edinburgh in 2001. The examples are from the handout text of the play that audience members could buy in the foyer. The examples can be found on the pages of the written play in the following order: 13, 29, 22, 23, 31, 16 (two examples), 42, 24 and 31.
- 73 Alan Chadwick, First Across Finnish Lines, *Metro* 4 December 2001.
- 74 Susan Mansfield, Elective Affinities, *The Scotsman*, 27 November 2000.
- 75 Rory Ford, Eileen's Eager from Start to the Finnish, *Edinburgh Evening News*, 30 November 2000.
- 76 LG. *Olga*. *The Guardian*, 1 December 2001.
- 77 No writer's name given, My Scotland: Eileen McCallum, *The Scotsman*, 1 December 2001.
- 78 Andrew Burnett, Finns That Make You Go Hmm. *Sunday Herald*, 1 December 2001.
- 79 Jackie McGlone, Theatre Choice: *Olga*, *Scotland on Sunday*, 1 December 2001.
- 80 Neil Cooper, Life's Just One Big Drama, *The Herald*, 2 December 2001.
- 81 Chadwick, First Across Finnish Lines.
- 82 No writer's name given. *The List: Glasgow and Edinburgh Events Guide*, 13 December 2001–3 January 2002.
- 83 Tom Dibdin, Thought-Provoking Play is a Winter Wonder Land, *Edinburgh Evening News*, 6 December 2001.
- 84 Elisabeth Mahoney, Theatre: *Olga*, *The Guardian*, 6 December 2001.
- 85 *The List: Glasgow and Edinburgh Events Guide*.
- 86 Mahoney, Theatre.
- 87 Andrew Burnett, A Sticky End ... and a Hopeful Beginning, *Sunday Herald* 19 December 2001; Joyce McMillan, A Kind of Love in a Cold Climate, *The Scotsman* 12 December 2001.
- 88 Director Lynne Parker in Chadwick, First Across Finnish Lines.
- 89 The Traverse, at: www.traverse.co.uk/about-us (accessed 16 March 2019).
- 90 Scottish Arts Council, at: www.scottisharts.org.uk/1/international/aims.aspx (accessed 16 March 2019).
- 91 Brisset, *A Sociocritique of Translation*, 8.
- 92 Patrycja Bobowska-Nastarzewska, Québec French: the Struggle for National Identity, in P. Nowak and P. Nowakowski (eds), *Język, Komunikacja, Informacja [Language, Communication, Information]* 4 (2009), 11–12, at: <https://repozytorium.amu.edu.pl/bitstream/10593/4493/1/01-Bobowska.pdf> (accessed 6 February 2019).
- 93 This division is used in Janet Holmes, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, 3rd edn (Harlow: Pearson, Longman, 2008), 128–31.

- 94 Claude Verreault, Français international, français québécois ou joulal: quelle langue parlent donc les Québécois?, 120. Dans Andrée Fortin (dir.), *Produire la culture, produire l'identité?* (Sainte-Foy: Les Presses de l'Université Laval coll. Culture française d'Amérique (CEFAN), 2000), 119–31; cited in Melita Prins, *The Joul Effect: A Reflection of Québec's Urban Working-Class in Michel Tremblay's Les Belles-sœurs and Hosanna*. Unpublished MA thesis, Arizona State University (2012), at https://repository.asu.edu/attachments/93536/content/tmp/package-0igg_D/Prins_asu_0010N_11515.pdf (accessed 2 June 2019), 23–4.
- 95 Prins, *The Joul Effect*, 5; and Bobowska-Nastarzewska, Québec French.
- 96 Quebec Culture, at: <https://quebeccultureblog.com/?s=joulal&submit=> (accessed 4 October 2019).
- 97 Mathieu Pigeon, under the supervision of Dominique Marquis, internship director, Université du Québec à Montréal, The Quiet Revolution. At: http://collections.museemccord.qc.ca/scripts/explore.php?Lang=1&tableid=11&tablename=theme&elementid=109__true&contentlong (accessed 2 October 2019).
- 98 Ruth Kircher, Thirty Years After Bill 101: A Contemporary Perspective on Attitudes Towards English and French in Montreal, *Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics* 17(1) (May 2014): 20–50, at: <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/CJAL/article/view/21582> (accessed 2 October 2019), 23.
- 99 Michèle Lalonde, *Speak White* (Orig. 1968, translated from French by Albert Herring, 2001–2012). Available in English, at: <https://umaine.edu/teaching-canada/wp-content/uploads/sites/176/2015/06/1-Speak-Whiteen.pdf> (accessed 6 February 2019); and available in French, at: <https://poussiere-virtuelle.com/speak-white-poeme-michele-lalonde/> (accessed 6 February 2019).
- 100 Available at: <https://homeforarestleeds.wordpress.com/2011/10/17/monday-poems-speak-white-and-speak-what/> (accessed 11 February 2019); and also www.tlaxcala-int.org/biographie.asp?ref_aut=4633&lg_pp=en (accessed 11 February 2019).
- 101 Claude Bélanger, Events, Issues and Concepts of Québec History: The Quiet Revolution. Marianopolis College (1999, revised 2000), at: <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/Quebechistory/events/quiet.htm> (accessed 13 February 2019).
- 102 *Ibid.*
- 103 Quebec Culture, at: <https://quebeccultureblog.com/?s=joulal&submit=> (accessed 4 October 2019).
- 104 The analysis of *Sainte Carmen de la Main* is based on the study of François Roy, The Usage of Working-Class Sociolects as Literary, Cohesive and Protestative Language in Michel Tremblay's *Sainte Carmen de la Main*, David Fennario's *On the Job* and Vittorio Rossi's *Scarpone*. Département des Lettres et Communications (Sherbrooke: Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines Université de Sherbrooke, 2012), at: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/51338555.pdf> (accessed 2 October 2019), 28–55.
- 105 *Ibid.*, 30–2.
- 106 *Ibid.*, 26.
- 107 *Ibid.*, 37.
- 108 Prins, *The Joul Effect*, 32–4.
- 109 Paul Laurendeau, Joulal, *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, (2016 [2011]), at: www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/joulal (accessed 13 February 2019).
- 110 Gaetan Charlebois, Joulal, *Canadian Theatre Encyclopedia*. Updated 2014, at: www.canadiantheatre.com/dict.pl?term=joulal (accessed 13 February 2019).
- 111 The citation comes from Zora Neale Hurston's novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, where she uses the description to describe the plight of black women:

So de white man throw down de load and tell de nigger man tuh pick it up. He pick it up because he have to, but he don't tote it. He hand it to his womenfolks. De nigger woman is de mule uh de world so fur as Ah can see.

(orig. 1937; reprinted 1968, 29)

Cited and discussed in Sirkku Aaltonen, 'De Mule uh de World': Patterns of Dominance in Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, in Gerald Porter (ed.), *News that Stays News*. Proceedings of the University of Vaasa. Research Papers No. 137. *Philology* 15 (1989), 29.

- 112 Green Shield trading stamps first became popular in the United States. Sperry & Hutchinson began offering stamps to United States retailers in 1896, who bought stamps from S&H and gave them as bonuses with every purchase based on the amount purchased. The stamps were given away at petrol stations, corner shops and supermarkets. When the customer had collected sufficient stamps in collectors' books, s/he claimed merchandise from a catalogue or S&H Green Stamps shop. Green Shield Stamps were almost everywhere in Britain in the 1960s and 1970s. If you bought your groceries at certain shops, the retailer gave you stamps to stick in a book. Once you had collected enough, you exchanged the books for gifts. *Green Shield Stamps* were also a British sales promotion scheme that rewarded shoppers with *Canadian Tire* money (officially Canadian Tire 'money' or CTM), which is a loyalty programme, operated by the Canadian retail chain Canadian Tire. It consists of coupons, issued by the company, which resemble real banknotes and can be used in Canadian Tire stores, although they are not considered a private currency. This information has been collected from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Canadian_Tire_money; www.retrowow.co.uk/retro_britain/green_shield_stamps/Green_Shield_Stamps.html; and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Green_Shield_Stamps (accessed 2 April 2019).
- 113 Prins, *The Joul Effect*, 38 and 49–50.
- 114 *Five nights*, Radio programme. Broadcast 5 July 1972 with the reporter Judith Walle; at: CBC Digital Archives www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/michel-tremblay-defends-joul (accessed 17 January 2019).
- 115 Walle, *Five nights*.
- 116 Jim Burke, 50-Year Anniversary: Reflections on the Worldwide Hit, *Montreal Gazette*, 13 October 2018, at: www.pressreader.com/canada/montreal-gazette/20181013/282282436262044 (accessed 13 January 2018).
- 117 Bill Findlay has explained the title of *Guid Sisters* a pun on guid, 'good' and guid sister, 'sister-in-law'; see Martin Bowman and Bill Findlay, Translating Register in Michel Tremblay's Québécois Drama, in Bill Findlay (ed.), *Frae Ither Tongues: Essays on Modern Translations into Scots* (Topics in Translation 24) (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2004), 70.
- 118 Bowman and Findlay, Translating Register in Michel Tremblay's Québécois Drama, 67.
- 119 Cited in Bowman and Findlay, Translating Register in Michel Tremblay's Québécois Drama, 68.
- 120 *Ibid.*
- 121 Burke, 50-Year Anniversary.
- 122 Bill Findlay, Translating into Dialect, in David Johnston (ed.), *Stages of Translation* (Bath: Absolute Classics. 1996), 203.
- 123 Findlay, Translating into Dialect, 208.
- 124 Kathryn A. Woolard and Bambi B. Schieffelin, Language Ideology, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23 (1994): 55–82, at: www.jstor.org/stable/2156006 (accessed 23 October 2019).

- 125 Bowman and Findlay, Translating Register in Michel Tremblay's *Québécois Drama*, 70.
- 126 *Ibid.*
- 127 Findlay, Translating into Dialect, 210–16.
- 128 *Ibid.*, 203–4.
- 129 For the model, see Sirkku Aaltonen, Retranslation in the Finnish Theatre, *Cadernos de Tradução* 11 (2004): 141–59.
- 130 Hanna Suutela, *Impydet: Näyttelijättäret Suomalaisen Teatterin Palveluksessa* (Helsinki: Like, 2005), 28 and 31.
- 131 The structure is a modification of Richard Schechner's discs describing the difference between the concepts of *performance*, *theatre*, *script* and *drama*. It can be found in his article Drama, Script, Theatre and Performance, *The Drama Review* 17(3) (1973): 5–63.
- 132 I will use the words translation, retranslation and rewriting as synonyms, while being aware of their differences in the relationship with their source text.
- 133 When *Incendies* by Wajdi Mouawad was translated from French into Finnish for the performance at the Finnish National Theatre in 2008, the translator Reita Lounatvuori started work a year earlier on Mouawad's text, which had been published by Leméac/Actes Sud-Papier in 2003. During the process, she acquired the play's English translation *Scorched* by Linda Gaboriau published in 2005, where she found out that Mouawad had revised the script during the first rehearsals and requested that successive translations be based on this new script. For details, see Sirkku Aaltonen, Theatre Translation as Performance, *TARGET: International Journal of Translation Studies*, Special issue *Translation in the Theatre* 25(3) (2013): 385–406.
- 134 Evidence of this in the articles by translators in David Johnston (ed.), *Stages of Translation* (Bath: Absolute Classics, 1996).
- 135 Aaltonen, Retranslation in the Finnish Theatre.
- 136 The concept of *reactualisation* has been employed by Annie Brisset to refer to manipulation of the space and time actualiser, which transposes the space and time of the original play into a reality familiar to the audience in Brisset, *A Sociocritique of Translation*, 111.
- 137 Catherine Boyle, Theatre in Translation Part 1: The Script, *Theatre Art Life*, at: <https://theatreartlife.com/lifestyle/theatre-in-translation/> (accessed 7 July 2017).
- 138 Bowman and Findlay, Translating Register in Michel Tremblay's *Québécois Drama*, 68.
- 139 Jennifer Harvie, The Real Nation? Michel Tremblay, Scotland, and Cultural Translatability. In *Theatre Research in Canada –Recherches Théâtrales au Canada*, Volume 16 Numbers 1 and 2/ (Spring and Fall 1995), at: <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/tric/article/view/7168/8227> (accessed 17 April 2019).

pronunciation in songs sung by more than one person. Sweden-Swedish actors are still employed to fill vacancies in Finland, but this is no longer because of their accent. They are employed because they are more skilled in dancing and singing than their Finland-Swedish colleagues. Musicals are now needed in the repertoires to attract larger audiences to economically impoverished theatres. Swedish actors have received training in singing and dancing for a long time and they also have several years' experience of musicals.

Sweden has opened its stage doors to Finnish actors, theatre directors and stage directors as well. Accents are still significant but not as indexes of H and L varieties. Internationalisation has added pressure to accepting variation in the way actors speak on stage. One of the Egyptian interviewees stated that code-changes always had socio-political rather than artistic motivations. Against the evidence provided in this chapter, she was right.

Notes

- 1 Elias Muhanna, Translating 'Frozen' Into Arabic. *The New Yorker*, 30 May 2014, at: www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/translating-frozen-into-arabic (accessed 20 May 2019).
- 2 There is some variation in the use of the terms Modern Standard Arabic and Standard Arabic. For example, Bassiouney prefers in her later work (2014) to use SA to include both Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic. In her earlier book (2009), she uses the distinction of three: CA, MSA and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic; see Reem Bassiouney, *Language and Identity in Modern Egypt* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 12 and 16; and Reem Bassiouney, *Arabic Sociolinguistics: Topics in Diglossia, Gender, Identity, and Politics* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2009), 10.
- 3 Muhanna, Translating 'Frozen' Into Arabic.
- 4 Muhanna, Translating 'Frozen' Into Arabic; cited in Marcia Lynx Qualey, Colloquialising Arabic Literature, at: www.mashallahnews.com/language/colloquialising-arabic-literature.html (accessed 20 May 2019).
- 5 Bengt Ahlfors, Ord, ord, ord! Tankar kring det finlandssvenska scenspråket [Words, Words, Words! Thoughts Around the Finland-Swedish Staged Language], *Språkbruk* 4 (1995), at: www.sprakbruk.fi/-/ord-ord-ord-tankar-kring-det-finlandssvenska-scenspraket (accessed 20 May 2019).
- 6 Depending on the sociolinguist, the number of codes varies. This will be discussed in more detail in Conclusions.
- 7 Both CA and MSA are referred to in Arabic as *fushā*, depending on the writer/speaker.
- 8 I will use the term *diglossia* of situations, which are, in fact, *polyglossic*. This will be dealt with in Section 4.1.
- 9 Charles A. Ferguson, Diglossia, *WORD* 15(2) (1959): 325–40, at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1959.11659702> (accessed 20 May 2019).
- 10 *Ibid.*, 336.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 327.
- 12 Although Ferguson describes the L varieties as *regional dialects* (Diglossia, 327), they can also be, for example, sociolects, such as *Joual*, discussed in Chapter 3. Ferguson himself also admits that diglossia is not limited to any geographical region or language family; see Diglossia, 327.
- 13 Ferguson, Diglossia, 328–9.

- 14 Badawī's paradigm (from *Mustawayāt al-ʿArabīyah al-muʿāṣirah fī Miṣr*, [Levels of Contemporary Arabic in Egypt], 1973) has been described in Bassiouney, *Arabic Sociolinguistics*, 14–15; and also in Zoë Kosoff, Code-Switching in Egyptian Arabic: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Twitter, *Al-ʿArabīyya* 47 (2014), 83–4, at: www.jstor.org/stable/24635374 (accessed 25 May 2019).
- 15 Joshua A. Fishman, Endangered Minority Languages: Prospects for Sociolinguistic Research, *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 4(2) (2002): 270–5; cited in Bassiouney, *Arabic Sociolinguistics*, 27.
- 16 Bassiouney, *Language and Identity in Modern Egypt*, 10.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 13. Bassiouney agrees that the extremes do not occur very often, but they are needed for the understanding of any intermediate levels where elements from the two overlap.
- 18 In Badawī's paradigm, Contemporary classical, which is a modification and simplification of CA created for the modern age, is used, for example, in news bulletins and read aloud from texts; cited in Bassiouney, *Arabic Sociolinguistics*, 15.
- 19 Bassiouney, *Language and Identity in Modern Egypt*, 2 and 12 (citing Karin C. Ryding, *A Reference Grammar to Modern Standard Arabic* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005]); and Ferguson, Diglossia, 32.
- 20 I am indebted to Professor Allan Bell for pointing this out.
- 21 Marika Tandefelt, Finlandssvenskan i tusen år [Finland-Swedish During a Thousand Years], *Språkbruk* 3 (1999), at: www.sprakbruk.fi/-/finlandssvenskan-i-tusen-ar (accessed 22 May 2019).
- 22 From now on, I shall identify the two varieties in theatrical performances as MSA and ECA.
- 23 Ferguson, Diglossia, 329–36.
- 24 Bassiouney, *Language and Identity in Modern Egypt*, 2.
- 25 I would like to thank Professor Allan Bell for this remark.
- 26 ʿAbdel ʿĀl, cited in Lynx Quale, *Colloquialising Arabic Literature*.
- 27 *Ibid.*
- 28 *Ibid.*
- 29 *Ibid.*
- 30 Ferguson, Diglossia, 331.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 326–7.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 326.
- 33 For a thorough discussion of the diversification of Cairene Arabic, consult Nilofaar Haeri, *The Sociolinguistic Market of Cairo: Gender, Class and Education* (London: Kegan Paul, 1996).
- 34 Nilofaar Haeri, *Sacred Language, Ordinary People: Dilemmas of Culture and Politics in Egypt* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 2.
- 35 On my last visit to Cairo in the second half of October 2020, I asked people I met if they could tell from the way someone used Cairene Arabic features like their residence, social class, level of education etc. Most of them said that they could not tell the residence, but they might be able to tell the person's social class. It is, however, also the case that poorer people tend to live in poorer areas, such as Imbaba, Bulak or Shubra, whereas middle-class or upper middle-class Cairenes would live in Zamalek, Maʿādi and Heliopolis. The two features, residence and social class, would thus be linked. Most of the differences I was given were lexical and due to the distinction of Modern Standard Arabic and Egyptian Cairene Arabic. Other respondents emphasised that pronunciation was the most conspicuous feature indexing a social class. Some pointed out that the upper middle classes as well as middle classes would code-mix English and French words into their speech, whereas the working class or unemployed might have rural features in their speech. Another complication for answering questions like

- mine is that people tend to live their lives in their own circles and have only very little, if any, regular contact with people from a different social class (apart from home help or doormen whom they meet quite often but do not have long conversations with).
- 36 Catherine Miller, Variation and Changes in Arabic Urban Vernaculars, in M. Haak, K. Versteegh and R. Dejong (eds), *Approaches to Arabic Dialects: Collection of Articles Presented to Manfred Woidich on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday* (Amsterdam: Brill, 2004), 177–206, at: <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00150422/document> (accessed 7 October 2019), 15–16.
 - 37 This has been drawn from the findings of Haeri, *The Sociolinguistic Market of Cairo*.
 - 38 Miller, Variation and Changes in Arabic Urban Vernaculars, 2.
 - 39 *Ibid.*, 2.
 - 40 *Ibid.*, 8.
 - 41 Mariam Aboelezz, A History of the Arabic Language and the Origin of Non-Dominant Varieties of Arabic, in Rudolf Muhr, Kelen Ernesta Fonyuy, Zeinab Ibrahim and Corey Miller (eds), *Pluricentric Languages and Non-Dominant Varieties Worldwide: Pluricentric Languages Across Continents – Features and Usage* (Vienna: Peter Lang Verlag, 2015), 12, at: www.academia.edu/36443589/A_history_of_the_Arabic_language_and_the_origin_of_non-dominant_varieties_of_Arabic (accessed 19 May 2019).
 - 42 Bassiouney, *Language and Identity in Modern Egypt*, 9–10.
 - 43 Aboelezz, A History of the Arabic Language and the Origin of Non-Dominant Varieties of Arabic, 23.
 - 44 *Ibid.*, 16–17.
 - 45 *Ibid.*, 18–19, also citing Kees Versteegh, *The Arabic Language* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001).
 - 46 Ibrahim Al-Huri, Arabic Language: Historic and Sociolinguistic Characteristics, *English Literature and Language Review* 1(4) (2015), 30–1, at: <http://arpgweb.com/?ic=journal&journal=9&info=aims> (accessed 25 May 2019). Al-Huri is citing here Ryding, *A Reference Grammar of Modern Standard Arabic*.
 - 47 Bassiouney, *Arabic Sociolinguistics*, 240.
 - 48 Aboelezz, A History of the Arabic Language and the Origin of Non-Dominant Varieties of Arabic, 20.
 - 49 Bassiouney, *Arabic Sociolinguistics*, 241.
 - 50 *Ibid.*, 241–2.
 - 51 *Ibid.*, 242–4.
 - 52 Bassiouney, *Language and Identity in Modern Egypt*, 91–2.
 - 53 Abdul Aziz Hammouda, Ahmed Zaki, Samir Awad, Shawky Khamis, Ahmed Abdel Hameed and Sami Khashaba, Egypt, in Don Rubin (ed.), *The World Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theatre: Volume 4, The Arab World* (London: Routledge, 1999), 70.
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- 71 *Ibid.*, 117.
- 72 *Ibid.*
- 73 *Ibid.*, 124.
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- 75 He composed three comedies, two of which were written in ECA, see Landau, *Studies in the Arab Theater and Cinema*, 149.
- 76 Abyad began the touring with historical dramas and tragedies, but already after two years needed to add to his repertoire dramas and melodramas in ECA; see Landau, *Studies in the Arab Theater and Cinema*, 78.
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- 89 The historical account as well as the description of the status of Finland Swedish in Finland has been based on SVENSKT I FINLAND (Max Arhippainen, Henrik Creutz, Fjalar Finnäs, Tom Gullberg and Kjell Herberts, Janne Holmén, Johan Häggman, Anna-Lena Laurén, Mikael Reuter and Pär Stenbäck. Svenskt I Finland, 2010, at: www.folktinget.fi/Site/Data/1597/Files/SVENSK_i_FINLAND.pdf (accessed 27 May 2019).
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Associate Professor Dina Amin, 9 May 2019.

Author and teacher of Arabic Mervat Abu Bakr, 3 April 2019.

Loughlin Deegan, Rough Magic Theatre Company, 30 January 2006.

Assistant Professor Wessam Elmelig, 13 April 2019.

Assistant Professor Iman Ezzeldin, 10 May 2019.
Professor Emerita Sally Hammouda, 1 May 2019.
Dr Sameh Hanna, 10 April 2019.
Professor Areeg Ibrahim, 8 April 2019.
Professor Omayya Ibrahim Khalifa, 7 April 2019.
Professor Mona Mikhail, 2 April 2019.
News-Editor-in-Chief and Translator on Nile TV International/The Egyptian Radio
and Television Union Nada Rabie, 1 April 2019.
Professor Karma Farid Sami, 1 April 2019.
Associate Professor Salwa Rashad, 10 October 2017.

Interview

Assistant Professor Iman Ezzeldin, 25 July 2017.

Telephone conversations

Voice teacher and Speech coach Harriet Sevelius, 1 June 2019.
Theatre Manager Jukka Aaltonen, Åbo Svenska Teater, 29 May 2019.
Theatre Manager Joachim Thibblin, Svenska Teatern, 29 May 2019.
Artistic Director Ada Berger, Royal Dramatic Theatre, 29 May 2019.