Mark My (Foreign) Words: Text-internal and -external Functions of Multilingualism in Dramas[*]

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This paper proposes a theoretically-driven framework for the analysis of the dramatic stylisation of speech-styles marked as foreign. In particular, it highlights the dramatic function of the (con-)figuration of multilingualism in theatre and investigates the relation of dramatic, text-internal functions and social, text-external functions of multilingualism. The paper combines theoretical concepts of multilingualism from (socio-)linguistics and literary theory in order to develop an analytical framework for the interpretation of multilingual passages in selected dramas. It tests this framework by analysing two comedies that originated in the Habsburg Monarchy before 1848, namely *Der böse Geist Lumpacivagabundus* (1833) by Johann Nepomuk Nestroy and *Fidlovačka aneb Žádný hněv a žádná rvačka* (1834) by Josef Kajetán Tyl. Despite belonging to different literary traditions—Austrian-German and Czech, respectively—they can be read in parallel: Both include a passage situated in contemporary Prague and arranged around a parlour discourse, shaped by various stylisations of foreign speech.

When linguists analyse historical language contact situations, they are often confronted with scarce authentic linguistic documentation, in particular, if the focused situations mainly involve spoken language varieties. In such cases, they repeatedly draw on literature to find linguistic evidence for contact phenomena. Frequently, these studies neglect the mediating character of literature and assume it to document real-world multilingualism for pragmatic and methodological reasons (e.g. Schuchardt 1884; Morcinek et al. 2016; Auer/Withoos 2015). This paper proposes a theoretical framework to overcome this problem by explicitly focusing on literary imitations of foreign speech-styles and the relation of their inner- to their extra-textual functions. Using this approach, it analyses and compares passages from an Austrian-German and a Czech comedy, both of which depict multilingualism in early-nineteenth-century Prague.

The history of Czech-German bilingualism in Bohemia dates back to the ninth century and has experienced many transformations regarding the prestige relation of the two languages involved (cf. Berger 2009). In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, a diglossic situation involving German as the "high variety" and Czech as the "low variety" prevailed. Thus, Cohen (2006, 18–9) characterises Bohemia's capital Prague as "typical of the major administrative and commercial centres in Austria's German-Slavic border provinces: German-speaking residents enjoyed political, social, and economical hegemony over the local Slavic-speaking population." Cohen assumes that most of Prague's residents acquired both languages (or varieties of them), except for "the very highest strata" of society, who spoke German only. However, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a Bohemian identity prevailed and was not replaced by "national" German or Czech identities until the late 1840s. A monolingual Czech identity had only been introduced and sought by the elites from the last quarter of the eighteenth century onwards and failed to take hold in certain regions and social strata (cf. Petrbok 2014, 99–101 for further literature).

This paper examines how contemporary theatre depicts and thereby evaluates individual and societal multilingualism in Prague before 1848. The dramas analysed are early pieces by leading playwrights in the Czech or Austrian (German) literary traditions, respectively, and therefore enable the confrontation of an "inner" with an "outer" perspective. In the contrastive analysis, linguistic methods support the description and interpretation of imitations of foreign speech-styles regarding their intra-textual functions (cf. Jonsson 2010). Additionally, the identification of similarities and differences in the depiction of multilingualism may add an (attitudinal) piece to the puzzle of reconstructing the sociolinguistic situation in Prague before 1848.

The view from outside: Johann Nepomuk Nestroy's *Lumpacivagabundus*

Johann Nepomuk Nestroy (1801–62) is one of the most popular Austrian playwrights and a prominent representative of the so-called Old Viennese popular theatre, a tradition shaped by the commercial need to adhere to the audience's taste and circumvent rigorous censorship (cf. Cersowsky 1992, 26–47; Kriegleder 2018, 225). The most popular genres within this theatre tradition were *Zauberspiel* [magic plays], which often share characteristics with *Besserungsstücke* [improvement plays]. This comedy genre introduces a framework plot set in a magical world and a main plot set in the real world. Supernatural characters manipulate the world of (ordinary) human beings and thereby either initiate or resolve the main plot. Within this pattern, magic plays often showcase the moral reform processes of the main character, which gives the genre an educational character.

Nestroy's early magic play, *Der böse Geist Lumpacivagabundus, oder: Das liederliche Kleeblatt* [The Evil genie Lumpacivagabundus, or: The Licentious clover leaf] (1833), leveraged his career and is still judged his most important and one of his most frequently performed plays (Cersowsky 1992, 47–68). In addition, it is significant for challenging the educative tradition and stereotypical character of the genre (cf. Brill 1967, 87; Kriegleder 2018, 228). The play prototypically introduces a framework plot set in a magical world: the fairies of luck

and love argue over whose power can change the lavish and licentious behaviour of several magicians' sons. Fortuna, the fairy of luck, seeks to demonstrate her powers by allowing three poor journeymen to win the lottery. However, she loses the competition because the only journeyman who makes use of his wealth responsibly does so out of love. The obligatory happy ending – each of them finds petty bourgeois peace with a wife – is simply forced upon the two lavish and irresponsible fellows by the victorious fairy of love.

Most of Nestroy's later famous plays can be attributed to the other important genre in Viennese popular theatre, the *lokale Posse mit Gesang* [local farce with singing]. Therefore, his oeuvre was frequently declared 'realistic' – a point of view that has been compellingly contested by Brill (1967). The same applies to Nestroy's rich and humorous use of language(s) and their varieties. This reflects the linguistic situation in Vienna, which was shaped by frequent dialect use and competing standards of German (cf. Hein 2010; Scheichl 1994, 2006; and Wiesinger 2003 for a language-historical account on German in Vienna). Again, Brill (1967, 114–6) emphasises that, despite it being "natural" for him to use it, the interplay of (Viennese) dialect and high(er) varieties of German in Nestroy's plays is redetermined artistically. It serves various dramatic purposes, such as character development, the creation of expressivity (Scheichl 1994), and the contestation of genre-specific patterns and stereotypes (cf. Brill 1967). Nestroy thus uses German varieties similar to the imitation of L2 German with a French accent in Lessing's Minna von Barnhelm (cf. Conter 2014).

Research into the artistic dimension of Nestroy's imitation of foreign speech-styles has so far received less attention. Instead, existing research has focused on aspects of the author's and the audience's knowledge of languages other than German. Walla (2003) has concluded that Nestroy himself had a very restricted knowledge of modern foreign languages such as Czech, Italian, French and English, and that he integrated foreign speech-styles only to the extent that he could expect his audience to understand them (cf. Stieg 2012). This paper contributes to the study of the artistic functions of imitating foreign speech-styles by analysing a representative passage from *Lumpacivagabundus*.

The view from within: Josef Kajetán Tyl's *Fidlovačka*

Before doing so, I will introduce the author of the second case study, Josef Kajetán Tyl (1808–56), who is known as one of the most important Czech playwrights of his time. He was amongst the first dramatists to pursue the educative program of the *národní obrození* [Czech National Revival] (cf. Macura 1995, 191–92) as stipulated by Josef Jungmann (1773–1847). He understood the theatre to be the ideal (literal) stage from which to educate the audience about its Czech national identity and can therefore be compared to the German dramatists of the Enlightenment era, such as Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–81) (cf. Štěpánek 1980). Amongst other comparable claims, Tyl called for the depiction of a plausible reality on stage, which, however, did not imply a strict realistic approach but instead a typifying one. Tyl's theatrical vision was most effortlessly realised in comedies (cf. Štěpánek 1980, 381–4). At this point, Tyl was naturally inspired by the contemporary Viennese popular theatre, which shaped both the German and Czech theatre scene in Prague (cf. Tureček 1994).

Tyl's early piece *Fidlovačka aneb Žádný řev a žádná rvačka* [The Cobbler's feast, or No anger and no brawl][1] (1834) is clearly shaped by his educational intent, as well as by the contemporary stage tradition. Tyl adopted one of the most prominent genres of the Viennese popular theatre, the local farce, but sought to depict reality more closely for his enlightening purpose. Blending these elements, however, was not received well by the audience and the play fell short of expectations (Tureček 2004, 18).[2] A major issue was the poor motivation of the storyline. We can identify four strands in the plot that are mainly interwoven by shared characters. The main plot revolves around two lovers, whose families are bitterly divided over their national affiliation despite coming from Czech-speaking backgrounds. While Lidunka's aunt Ms. Mastílková is nationally indifferent, Jeník's father is nationally aware. The happy ending with the obligatory threefold wedding is achieved by coincidence and a series of spontaneous changes of mind, which are not psychologically motivated. In a certain sense, it resembles Nestroy's forced ending in *Lumpacivagabundus* without, however, being caused by supernatural characters. A comparison with Dicks' *D' Kirmesgèscht* "The Funfair guests", a Luxemburgish comedy with a similar main plot (cf. Conter 2014) would be of interest for future research.

Tyl's *Fidlovačka* also conforms to the genre of the local farce regarding its linguistic composition. The play heavily relies on wordplays as well as on the exploitation of linguistic variation and foreign speech-styles for character development, the creation of comical effects and expressivity. However, Tyl produced his text in an environment shaped by individual and societal Czech-German bilingualism: in seventeenth- to nineteenth-century Bohemia and Moravia, Czech literature was produced by Czech-German bilinguals for an audience with knowledge of both languages (cf. Petrbok 2012, 2014). Directing his dramas towards a bilingual audience, Tyl was able to employ the "foreign" language German (and its varieties) to a much greater extent and in longer passages than Nestroy (cf. Tureček 2004, 13). Additionally, he was rooted in an economically successful tradition of bilingual theatre: the farce *Čech a Němec* [The Czech and the German] (1816) by Jan Nepomuk Štěpánek (1783–1844) is judged the first crowd puller in Czech theatre (cf. Tureček 2014, 14; see also Mareš 2003, 61–91).

Points of comparison and theoretical concepts

As argued above, both plays share certain features that offer various points of comparison, such as their (almost) simultaneous genesis (1833/1834), their origins in the same theatrical tradition, their artistic use of language variation, and so on. Additionally, both include a passage situated in parlours of contemporary Prague, which will be the focus of the following detailed contrastive analysis. In the second act of *Lumpacivagabundus*, the play showcases how the journeymen deal with their sudden wealth. One of the two lavish fellows, *Zwirn*,[3] finds himself in Prague, where he seeks to hide his modest descent and gain a foothold in high society (scenes 8–17 in Nestroy 1993b, 161–71; or scenes 8–20 in Nestroy 1993a, 103–14). The stage directions describe the setting, a room in Zwirn's apartment, as an "elegant room with middle and front doors" (Nestroy 1993a, 161). The second scene of *Fidlovačka*, which is situated

in Prague as a whole, takes places in a similar setting, namely in a "splendid" room (Tyl 1929, 26) in the apartment of the socially aspiring and 'nationally indifferent' (though primarily Czech speaking) widow Mastílková.

The comparable setting is not only appealing for a contrastive analysis but also from a linguistic perspective, because both scenes essentially portray the same domain of language use (an abstraction of concrete situations of language use). In historical sociolinguistics, the domain-specific approach assumes that, in a multilingual society, language choice is never arbitrary but rather functionally and conventionally assigned to certain domains of language use (cf. Rindler Schjerve 1996). This understanding of domains of language use can be enhanced with aspects of Bourdieu's social theory. In terms of Bourdieu, language is a form of cultural capital and various registers and varieties are each of social significance because they express a "relationship of distinction" and thus contribute to social differentiation according to the rules of a specific social field (Bourdieu 1984, 226). However, language differs from other forms of social capital because it also (re-)produces symbolical power: it updates power relations between speakers and their social groups in a transformed shape (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1996, 177). Thereby, language use does not only reproduce existing power relations in a specific domain (as is the case when the [inherent] rules of communication are adhered to). Through their language use, speakers shape, alter and thus produce power relations.

At this point, aspects of Bakhtin's theory of heteroglossia become relevant. According to Bakhtin, poetic language embraces and arranges many styles, different kinds of speech and various voices (Bakhtin 1981, 261). He differentiates between primary (simple) and secondary (complex) speech genres, i.e. specific "relatively stable types of utterances", which are established in language usage (Bakhtin 1986, 60). Whereas primary genres of speech are those used in "unmediated speech communication", secondary genres, e.g. dramatic texts, develop in a process that is closely linked to a complex culture of writing. In this cultural process, the primary genres of speech are processed by and incorporated into the complex ones. For our research purposes, it is vital that "by enter[ing] into complex [genres]" the primary genres "lose their immediate relation to actual reality and to the real utterances of others" (ibid., 62) and are thus represented in a mediated way. However, they are reflections of and carry artistically transformed information on real language use. Even if that information largely is of attitudinal or ideological character and does not provide reliable linguistic evidence, it is relevant in reconstructing the power-relations between languages and the implicit rules for language choice in diglossic, multilingual contexts.

In terms of Bourdieu and Bakhtin, the passages analysed here dramatically represent the social field of the parlour and the corresponding speech genre *parlour discourse*. Parlours are considered one of the most important forms of sociability throughout the nineteenth century, and constituted a highly regulated environment. Socially, they were restricted to the urban, aristocratic or bourgeois upper class. The parlours in Prague throughout the 1820s and 1830s have been classified as "pre-democratic" and "linguistically neutral" (Lenderová/Macková 2009, 311), meaning that they were rather small spaces for befriended families to socialise where language use does not seem to have played a distinctive role. Practically,

German seems to have prevailed in bourgeois contexts, while in aristocratic society French continued to be of importance (cf. ibid.). Concrete evidence for these assumptions is rare, however. The contrastive analysis of the two scenes sheds light on the domain/field/genre-specific, implicit rules, revealing how the multilingual dramatic characters deal with their linguistic repertoires in this setting. This indirectly allows for conclusions to be drawn about the contemporary perception and evaluation of Prague as a multilingual space from two perspectives: one from the "outside" (Vienna) and one from the "inside".

Besides the setting, the scenes have in common that both of them contain nouveau riche craftsmen or small traders who invite representatives of Prague's high society to their parlours. In that context, the linguistic disguise of the characters' humble origins and language mixing play an eminent role. Consequently, both scenes are shaped by multilingualism and the stylisation of foreign-speech styles to a higher degree than the rest of the plays. Additionally, the two scenes resemble each other in their artistic approaches towards depicting individual Czech-German bilingualism and the exploitation of the characters' linguistic repertoires. In this context, it is crucial to remember that the representation of multilingual and foreign speech-styles in literary texts essentially corresponds to the author's act of imitating a certain speech-style. Schäfer (2017, 11–2) distinguishes two strategies of imitation: In the case of *emulation*, linguistic structures of the imitated language are incorporated into the system of the matrix language (i.e. the main language of the dramatic text). *Simulations*, on the other hand, only consist of isolated forms of the imitated language. These two strategies can be expected to be realised differently at several (linguistic) levels of the textual surface. At the orthographic level, for instance, an emulation can be signified by the adaption of the foreign linguistic matter into the matrix language's orthography. At the morphological level, word internal code-switching (e.g. the non-lexicalised use of a word stem in language A and an ending in language B) may indicate emulations, while isolated single word switches may be an appropriate strategy to simulate a speech-style. Despite relying on a detailed linguistic analysis of the dramatic text, the notion of imitation pursued here goes beyond describing the multilingual composition of the textual surface, as for example possible in the framework of Radaelli (2014). Instead, it aims to reconstruct the creative approach of the author and thus add to the research gap described by Dembeck (2017, 189), namely the systematic analysis of various techniques used for representing multilingual character speech. This knowledge can also support historical (socio-)linguistics in appropriately assessing the representations of foreign speech-styles in literary texts for their requirements. Additionally, it highlights the relation between inter- and extra-textual functions of linguistic differentiation in multilingual texts.

Ist mir olemol cu fraidikait – Czech-German bilingualism
First, the analysis addresses the imitation of Czech-German bilingualism in the plays. In the case of Nestroy's *Lumpazivagabundus*, a single character, the butcher Hackauf, enacts Czech-German bilingualism by speaking German with a Czech accent. Regarding the textual representation, the handwritten

version of the text significantly differs from the printed version in its strategy of marking the butcher's speech as foreign. In the handwritten version, Nestroy complemented the stage directions with the remark that the character should – at best – be played with a "Bohemian (i.e. Czech) accent" (Nestroy 1993a, 105). The linguistic form of the character's speech, however, does not reflect this foreign accent. This was a common practice in Viennese popular theatre: If actors could imitate the Bohemian accent (*Böhmakeln*), they freely improvised and enhanced the dramatic text, which then served as a template (cf. Morcinek et al. 2016, 90–1). In the printed version, Hackauf's utterances are marked as foreign by the stage directions, as well as their linguistic representation. To inscribe foreignness into the character's language, Nestroy employs a variety of linguistic features on the levels of phonology (*af* instead of *auf* 'on'), morphology (*zahlte* instead of *zahlt* 'pays' in 3rd singular, missing congruence in the noun phrase *ein Rock*.ACC [a skirt]), syntax (reduplication of personal pronouns in *ich bin ich* [I am I] or issues of word order in the subordinate clause) and the lexicon (Czech *ale* instead of German *aber* [but]). All of them were common for the stage register Böhmakeln (cf. Morcinek et al. 2016) and, at the same time, were described as typical features for the German ethnolect spoken by Czechs in the nineteenth century (cf. Schuchardt 1884).

> <u>Ale Gagramente</u>, was wär denn das? <u>Sie sein S'</u> nit <u>auf zu Haus</u> und sitzen S' da und lassen S' Ihne <u>paladatschete</u> G'fries maln? […] <u>Ich bin ich</u> Kundschaft, die <u>zahlte</u> gleich. Gleich <u>af</u> der Stell <u>meßt</u> Er mir <u>ein Rock</u> an. (Nestroy 1993b, 163; emphasis of Böhmakeln A.K.)

> But damn it, what's that? You are not at home and still sit here and have your crooked face painted? […] I am a customer who pays immediately. He will on the spot take measurements for my skirt.

According to Walla (2013), Nestroy had a limited knowledge of Czech, so much so that he most likely relied on informants to help him translate Czech utterances. At the same time, the present passage does not imitate Czech but the German ethnolect of L1 speakers of Czech and therefore needs to be classified as secondary ethnolect (Auer 2013). Against this background, the approach pursued by Nestroy in the imitation is quite transparent: He relied on a stable set of stereotypical linguistic features that he packed into a single character's speech. In the context of the play, this emulation of Böhmakeln supports the localisation of the scene in Prague. However, it establishes the butcher, who is unable to disguise his ethnic and social belonging linguistically, as an antithesis to Zwirn, who seeks to do so in vain (cf. below).

Tyl's *Fidlovačka* introduces Ms. Mastílková and her friend Ms. Klinkáčková as native Czech characters who speak German with their Czech accent and alternate, or mix, between this speech-style and Czech within single utterances. In these characters' speech, Tyl integrates German phrases into Czech orthography (*cu* instead of *zu* 'to') and thereby also explicitly highlights the colloquial pronunciation of Bavarian character (*olemol* instead of *allemal* 'each time', *bekont* instead of *bekannt* 'acquainted'). In some cases ([aę] instead of [ɔy] in *fraidikait*, Standard Germ. *Freude* [happiness]),[4] ethnolectal and dialectal features overlap.

> Ich bitt inne – ist mir olemol cu fraidikait – ale jako doma – jako doma […] Moje Lidi je jim už bekont – (Tyl 1926, 38–39; emphasis of German passages A.K.)

> If you please – it's my pleasure – but like at home – like at home […] You are already acquainted with my Lidi –

In contrast to Nestroy's ignorance of Czech, Tyl had a good command of German and was capable of producing stylistically high and correct dramatic language in German, as he exemplifies in *Fidlovačka*, when he lets a number of characters speak native German, for example Mastílková's servant Ondřej/Andreas Jammerweil. He even creates a tension between L1 and L2 German, when, for instance, Ondřej uses the native colloquial form *ich bitt' sie* [I beg your pardon] only three turns before Mastílková again uses *ich bitt inne* (Tyl 1926, 44) – a form also common for the imitation of L2 German by Czech natives. Though also emulating this register, Tyl employed a different strategy than Nestroy, which was most likely enabled by his sophisticated knowledge of German. Even if the German of Ms. Mastílková and Ms. Klinkáčková is restricted to empty, isolated phrases or words, Tyl relied on stereotyped features to a lesser degree than Nestroy and, at the same time, exploited Czech orthography to signal the specific Czech pronunciation. Thereby, in the given context of the parlour, he unmasks the use of the prestigious German language by L1 speakers of Czech who have not undergone proper foreign language education but only acquired German in daily communication as superficial.

Besides native German, the servant Andreas also speaks a learner's register of Czech which is emulated using similar strategies on various linguistic levels, for example regarding pronunciation (*šíkat* [ʃ] instead of *říkat* [r̝] [say]) or morphology (the use of the infinitive *šíkat* instead of the imperative *řekňete*). Additionally, he displays communicative patterns of code mixing typical for bilinguals with a low competence. He frequently switches to German and then translates his utterances or parts to Czech or integrates *ad hoc* borrowings with Czech derivational suffixes, e.g. *štelovat* (Germ. *stellen* + Cz. *-ovat* instead of *stát* [stand]) or *schlafovat* (Germ. *schlafen* + Cz. *-ovat* instead of *spát* [sleep]). Both strategies hint at a restricted linguistic repertoire. In contrast to the L2 register of German of Ms. Mastílková and Ms. Klinkáčková, however, Andreas uses Czech in with a communicative purpose, namely when teaching two Czech speaking servants some German phrases that seem to have been established as the domestic language by Ms. Mastílková:

> Ondř. […] Pojte sem – da stellt euch her – tu se štelovat. – Pozor! Wann's in der Fruh [sic!] – ráno – už dost (*dělá jakoby chrápal ve spaní*) schlafovat – rozumíš?
> Jírka. I rozumím, he, he! Když prej se ráno vyspím – chcete říct.
> Ondř. Ano – vyspím; tak winšovat jemnost pany – Pozor! [...] pozor – šíkat voba! (Tyl 1926, 34; emphasis of Czech passages—A.K.)

> Ondř. [...] Come over here – stand here – stand here. – Attention! If she, in the morning – morning – already enough (*pretends to snore while sleeping*) sleep – you understand?
> Jirka. I understand, he, he! If I had a good sleep in the morning – that's what you want to say.
> Ondř. Yes, I have had a good sleep enough; then you wish madam – Attention! [...] Attention! – Say both!

Due to the communicative text-internal function, the emulation of this foreign speech-style gains a comic text-external function. Andreas' knowledge of Czech is not good enough to convey a meaning ('Ms. Mastílková has had a good sleep') unequivocally nor is it sufficient to recognise the possibly intentional misinterpretation by Jírka ('I have had a good sleep'). First and foremost, this scene is entertaining. At the same time, however, it showcases the pitfalls of a restricted linguistic repertoire and thereby gains an educative character.

Comment se máte – prestigious Romance languages

In addition to the depiction of Czech-German bilingualism, the analysed scenes contain imitations of foreign, prestigious Romance languages. In the case of Nestroy's *Lumpazivagabundus*, Zwirn seeks to impress Ms. Palpiti and her daughters, Laura and Camilla, with his wealth and knowledge of Italian. The complete scene is a showcase of simulation: all characters involved fake their identities, their social and geographical origins – which the audience is aware of – by exploiting their complete linguistic repertoire. Similar to Zwirn himself, the Palpiti sisters, despite being from Austria, pretend to be Italians by speaking with a Romance accent in order to enlarge their "market value" in Prague's high society. Even the cause for communication within the scene is simulated: to catch Zwirn's attention, Camilla acts as if her pug had run off to Italy, a problem that he aims to resolve by issuing a search notice. Special comic effects are added by the fact that Zwirn is illiterate. However, as a result of having worked in Triest for a few weeks, he has some rudimentary knowledge of Italian, which he exploits in dictating the search notice:

> Cane perduto – non avete veduto – cane perduto […] Questo Mopperl – un *Signore* […] Carattere – *calfacteristico* […] Tre cento anni Vecchio […] Portate un nero <u>cravattel</u> […] <u>Gestutzte</u> <u>orecchi</u> […] <u>Zani kani</u> […] <u>Piccolo</u> <u>Viech</u> mit <u>quattro</u> <u>Haxen</u> – Recompenza <u>Zwanzig</u> Zechini <u>in</u> buona moneta (Nestroy 1993b, 167; emphasis of code <u>mixing</u> and *innovations*—A.K.)

> Dog lost – you have not seen it – dog lost […] This mopperl – a mister […] character – /typical/ […] Three hundred years old […] Wears a black tie […] Clipped ears […] No teeth […] Small beast with four legs – Reward twenty /monetary unit/ of good money

The cited Italian passages display a reduced syntax and other phenomena typical for restricted learners' varieties, such as code mixing (of Italian and colloquial Bavarian German in *piccolo Viech mit quattro Haxen*) and innovations to close lexical gaps (*calfacteristico* instead of ital. *caratteristico* [characteristic]). Additionally, German utterances are modified at the morphological and syntactic level to "sound" Italian, for instance when the supposedly italianising suffix *-i* is used in combination with the un-canonical postposition of the negation pronoun in *zani kani* instead of *keine Zähne* [no teeth]. In contrast to the emulation of Czech learner registers, the Italian utterances are, however, integrated into the dramatic language neither orthographically nor on any other linguistic level. Therefore, they can be classified as simulations. From a functional perspective, the comic character of the scene is apparent and supported by the way how several characters participate in keeping up appearances. Although in the original, handwritten version, the sisters' mother remarks that Zwirn obviously has no command of

Italian (Nestroy 1993a, 111), she does not disrupt the (linguistic) masquerade at any point. In the typed version, this passage is missing.

In *Fidlovačka*, Tyl employs a similar simulation strategy in characterizing the speech of the putative baron Dudéc, whose name is actually Dudek, but who prefers the French pronunciation of his surname. A similar trend towards romanization is shown by another character, the opera singer Cibulková (< *cibule* ʻonion') introduces herself as Miss Cibulčini. Into Dudek's character's speech, Tyl mixes isolated elements of French and Italian that are not integrated into Czech orthography.

> Ah bon jour – *ma donna*! Co dělá ma jemnost paní? Co jeho krásný sera? Comment se máte, moje krásnej Margarita? (Tyl 1926, 30; emphasis of French or *Italian*—A.K.)

> Ah good day – my lady! What does my madam do? What her beautiful daughter? How are you, my beautiful Margarita?

Additionally, Dudek mixes German elements into his speech and the Czech passages in his utterances are marked as if he pretended to speak broken Czech or Czech with a foreign accent (*sera* [s] instead of *dcera* [ts] [daughter]) without being consistent throughout the analysed scenes (*Comment – co šíkat?* [How – what to say?] (Tyl 1926, 43) but *comment tomu říkat* [What to say to that?] (Tyl 1926, 31). Moreover, in the third act, Dudek's masquerade is disguised and he speaks slightly colloquial Czech throughout a passage (Tyl 1926, 47). His linguistic choices of course serve humorous functions but also contribute to character development and the educative purpose of the whole play. In the scene considered here, the play's hero Jeník puts this in a nutshell when he openly criticises the language-mixing practices in Mastílková's parlour as corrupt by comparing them to the "simple", and thus pure, "Czech heart":

> […] že jedno prosté srdce české více vážívá, nežli deset jiných – pokažených duchem světa převráceného. (Tyl 1929, 45)

> […] that a single simple Czech heart weighs more than ten others that are befouled by the confused world's spirit.

Discussion and conclusion

My analysis shows that, in the discussed scenes, the two plays employ comparable strategies for imitating foreign speech-styles. When imitating German or Czech of L2 speakers (speakers who did not undergo "proper" language education), they orthographically integrate these utterances into the main dramatic language. Additionally, Nestroy draws from a set of (stereo)typical linguistic interference and transference features. Therefore, his imitation is evidence for a secondary ethnolect. In contrast, Tyl phonologically and grammatically adapts phrases in the other language and arranges them in dialogue and in contrast to L1 utterances more flexibly. However, both authors use emulation strategies for staging Czech-German bilingualism and thereby convey a rather neutral and unexceptional picture of multilingualism in Prague. Especially characters with a background in small-scale commerce and domestic service are displayed as bilinguals. Where the plays differ is the function of Czech-German bilingual speech-styles. While in

Nestroy's *Lumpacivagabundus*, bilingual speech mainly serves the purpose of lo-calisation, Tyl highlights the pitfalls of misunderstanding in a multilingual society.

Additionally, both plays include characters who enhance their linguistic repertoire by integrating single features of prestigious Romance languages (French, Italian) into their utterances. This strategy of language mixing is most common for social climbers. In these cases, both Tyl and Nestroy employ simu-lation strategies for the representation foreign speech-styles. In these passages, elements in the Romance languages are not integrated orthographically. On the linguistic level, they are shaped by features of restricted learners' repertoires such as reduced syntax and insertional code-switching. The passages share their comic function in both plays. However, an educational aspect is added in *Fidlovačka* by characterising a corrupt character and confronting his speech with the 'pure' Czech of the hero.

Regarding the initial question of whether and how imitations of foreign speech-styles in dramatic and other literary texts may serve as evidence for real language use in historical sociolinguistics, this paper suggests they should be treated separately and in their own right. Their analysis should focus on uncovering the strategies used in their imitation (simulation vs. emulation) as well as on their function. In a next step, these results can be related to informa-tion of the (social) history of language and literature in order to contribute to reconstructing historical language use.

Endnotes

[1] *Fidlovačka* was an annual shoemaker's festival in Prague named after a shoemaker's tool to smoothen the leather.

[2] Nowadays, however, *Fidlovačka* is well known because the Czech national anthem *Kde domov můj?* ("Where my home is") stems from the play.

[3] In this play, Nestroy chooses aptronyms as the characters' names, which refer to their profession, e.g. *Zwirn* 'thread' is tailor.

[4] The substantive *fraidig-keit* is a neologism and might have been derived based on the Czech pattern *rad-ost* 'happiness'. Both *-keit* and *-ost* are de-adjectival derivation suffixes for abstract, feminine substantives.

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