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Editor-in-Chief: Zsolt Antal Associate professor, head of the Németh Antal Institute of Drama Theory at the University of Theatre and Film Arts, Budapest, Hungary

Copy editor: Tímea Kiss

English translation and proofreading: Reflex Kft.

Contact: The University of Theatre and Film Arts, the Németh Antal Institute of Drama Theory 1088 Budapest, Rákóczi út 21, Hungary

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Greetings to the Reader

The "new rhetoric" is the blanket term that best describes the writings in this issue of Uránia. The new rhetoric can embrace all public speaking processes, such as public and artistic appearances, oral lore transmission, creativity, artistic expression, dramatic language, media language, TikTok or elevator speech, to highlight only the most important and interesting keywords from these writings. The studies, essays, book reviews and interview are closely related to the University of Theatre and Film Arts' research in and teaching about the theory of art; and to the university's mission to promote a high-quality performing arts culture.

In her introductory essay, ***Anna Adamikné Jászó,*** a prominent figure in the revival and relaunch of rhetoric in Hungary, presents the characteristics of delivery. Delivery was discussed in rhetorics for centuries before it was separated from rhetoric and became a separate discipline. After Zoltán Kodály's radio lecture in 1937 (On the deterioration of Hungarian pronunciation), delivery became virtually the exclusive field of study. The paper describes speech disorders, discusses pronunciation errors in detail, and offers specific examples and advice on improving speaking techniques. It criticises sight-reading (the whole-word approach) for undermining the culture of speech, the overuse of workbooks and worksheets, and misses positive role models in theatre and media.

When appearing in public, anxiety may have a destructive effect on performance. ***Gergely Kisházy*** discusses the typical phenomena of this in his study: atypical speech sounds, speech positions, breathing sounds, sighing sounds, yawning sounds, nasal sounds, whispering sounds, dry mouth sounds, croaking sounds, coughing sounds, stomach sounds, belching sounds, hiccup sounds, sneezing sounds, laughing sounds... and gives advice on how to hide the symptoms of stress and reduce stage fright using suggestive communication.

Géza Balázs gives an overview of the theory and practice of rhetoric as well as the speech training of actors and radio presenters in Hungary. He also draws attention to the underemphasised individuality of speech (idiolect) and to the expectations of public language use, speech on stage and in the media.

In 1999, the national Kossuth Oratory Competition was launched at the initiative of Anna Adamikné Jászó. The aim of the competition is to foster and develop the use of the Hungarian mother tongue and the culture of speech, and not least to think together about rhetoric. With the help of the Petőfi Cultural Agency, the competition has been fundamentally renewed as from 2022, adding a TikTok or elevator speech in the online round and a debate culture task in the final at the National Theatre. In his paper, ***Ádám Pölcz,*** the main organiser of the competitions today, reviews the history of this oratory competition and the principles behind its renewal, giving advice to those preparing for the competition.

The rest of the articles in this issue are related to rhetoric in a broader sense. Creativity and innovation could be the key words of connection in these writings.

In his contribution, ***Zsolt Antal*** presents the Norwegian media model, which serves as a model for Europe in that, by adapting to the changes in social communication brought about by the information revolution and social networks, it successfully integrated global, profit-oriented social networks into the public service media system. Through this, Norway ensures that the public service media, which is very popular in the country, will continue to operate and survive as the best way to foster the mother tongue and national culture.

The essay by ***Richard Gough*** examines the impact of Edward Gordon Craig and Eugenio Barba on the global performing arts scene. The schools they founded as realms of transformative discovery and creativity transcend cultural boundaries and continents.

Linked to this is the review by ***András Timár*** of Eugenio Barba and Nicola Savarese's The Five Continents of Theatre, which will be published for the 10th Theatre Olympics in Hungary in 2023. Instead of a linear-causal approach, the book uses a unique method to portray the history of the theatre in the world in an easy-to-read, mosaic-like way.

In his essay ***Gábor Viktor Kozma*** explores Suzuki Tadashi's unique theatrical thinking, with a special focus on his insights on the body and space.

Creativity is the keyword of Ildikó Tamás, ethnographer and linguist, in her new book "Give me Net!" – Language, Imagery and Creativity in Children's and Students' Folklore. ***Géza Balázs*** recommends the book to all those who wish to know and understand the art of language in more depth.

Zsolt Antal, Editor-in-Chief

Anna Adamikné Jászó

About the Delivery Style

Verbal and non-verbal technics

Abstract

Performance was discussed in rhetoric for centuries, and then it was separated from rhetoric and became a separate discipline. According to classical rhetoricians, delivery is one of the five tasks of the orator. Cornificius discusses eight types of delivery, to which he adds eight types of body movements. In the history of 20th-century Hungarian rhetoric, the field of delivery became almost the sole dominant field after Zoltán Kodály's 1937 radio lecture (On the deterioration of Hungarian pronunciation). The mode of delivery can be either verbal or non-verbal. Verbal means verbal, realised with words. Non-verbal refers to the vocal, i.e. phonetic, elements accompanying words on the one hand, and body movement or body language on the other. The paper briefly describes the speech errors, discusses pronunciation errors in detail, and provides concrete examples and advice to help improve speaking technique. Understanding the theoretical background is important for the training of speakers and actors.

Keywords: **rhetoric, delivery style, pronunciation, verbal, non-verbal, body language, speech impediment, pronunciation error, speech technique, articulatory base, suprasegmental, vocal symbolism**

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What is new about the delivery style? What else can be added when everything has been said and written, and everything has been explained? It has been discussed in rhetoric for centuries; it was finally separated from rhetoric and became a separate discipline, although it did not add significantly to rhetorical knowledge. Therefore, it is worth reviewing what rhetoric has said about delivery style, and then moving on to the present literature. Indeed, in both public speaking and acting training, the focus is on practice, but perhaps it is not superfluous to get acquainted with the theoretical background, at least part of it. (Primarily, I rely on my book *Klasszikus magyar rhetorika [Classical Hungarian Rhetoric],* Bp., Holnap Kiadó, 2013; however, I also refer to the twenty volumes of the yearly publications of the annual higher education public speaking competitions since 1999, especially the ninth volume: *Az előadásmód és a szónoki beszéd,* 2008; I would like to refer to Géza Balázs' study entitled *A média nyelvi hatásai*).

Delivery style (Greek: *hypocrisy,* Latin: *actio, pronuntiatio*) is one of the five tasks of the public speaker; the other tasks are: discovery *(inventio),* arrangement *(dispositio),* development or style *(elocutio),* memory or memorization *(memoria)* and delivery style *(pronuntiatio, actio).* The success of a speech depends on a good delivery style; therefore, the ancient rhetoricians considered it the most important task of the speaker: *"Demosthenes is said to give this the first place, when he was asked what was the most important in the art of rhetoric, and he also gave the second and third place thereto"* (Cicero: *A szónokról [De Oratore],* 3, 56, 213). There are rhetoric concepts according to which pronunciation is prior to memory, and they might have a good point, because delivery style should be planned; in fact, we should write the text imagining the delivery style in advance. It is not recommended to write down something that you will not be able to express, for example over-complicated sentences.

The perception of delivery style has developed interestingly throughout the history of rhetoric. With the spread of literacy, especially after the invention of printing, it began to lose its importance, and became increasingly neglected in rhetoric. After the extension of rhetoric to the prose genres and the focus on the formulation of the text, it receded even more into the background; in many modern rhetoric, neither memory nor delivery style was included. In the second half of the 20th century, a special situation emerged in our country: delivery style was regarded as an independent discipline, as practically it was replacing rhetoric. (There are some people who still think that rhetoric only includes pres-

entation.) The global expansion of radio and television has created a new situation: it has given rise to secondary orality (Walter Ong's term); thus, delivery style became important today again. Today, it has developed in the following areas: oral presentation (speech and body language), the form of presentation of written texts, and the form of presentation of electronic texts *(e-rhetoric)*. Oral performance is also the subject of communication studies. In the following, we will discuss oral delivery style (speech and body language), first historically, then we will look at the current situation.

Delivery style in the old rhetoric

The theory behind the first three functions of the speaker was already developed in classical rhetoric, while the methodology of memory and delivery was developed by Hellenistic rhetoric after Aristotle. Aristotle (320 BC) provides a brief summary of what is important to know about delivery style: "Delivery style is related to the volume: how to use it depending on the different emotions, that is when to talk loudly, softly and moderately, and how to use the different pitches, high, low and medium, and in what rhythm you should speak depending on the different emotions. This is because we focus on three things: volume, harmony, and rhythm. Almost always, those who have these skills are the ones who take the prizes in the various competitions. And just as nowadays actors are more successful than poets, the same applies to political meetings, because of the imperfection of the forms of government" (*Rétorika,* 1403b). Aristotle therefore believed that the content of political meetings should be of primary importance, whereas those will succeed – because of the imperfection of the forms of government – who deliver their message effectively.

The Roman Cornificius in his book *Herenniusnak ajánlott retorika (Rhetoric for Herennius)* deals in detail with delivery style ('80s BC, still used as a textbook in the 19th century): "since no one has ever written on this subject seriously – everyone agreed that it was almost impossible to write clearly about tone of voice, facial expression and gesture, since all this is sensory – and since the development of performing skills is very much a desirable part of speaking, the whole question should be examined very carefully" (3, 11, 19). He notes that the two most important elements of delivery style are tone of voice and body language. Three elements of tone of voice: vocal pitch, volume and voice bending. To maintain volume in the speech, the introduction should be calm

and restrained. Do not talk loudly all the time; instead, conversational tone of voice shall be used. Do not use loud exclamations. Insert longer pauses, as breathing refreshes the voice. However, at the end of the speech, speak in one breath, without interruption. (Musical works, arias, often start in a slow, restrained manner, and then increase in tempo and volume at the end.) Based on the bending of the voice, Cornificius identifies conversational, argumentative, and sublime tones:

> The conversational tone is relaxed and close to everyday speech. The argumentative tone is sharp; it is used to prove and disprove. Sublime tone makes the listener feel anger or pity. Conversational tone has four types: serious, explanatory, narrative, joking. Serious tone is dignified and restrained. The person with explanatory tone explains in a restrained voice how it may or may not have happened. The person with narrative tone tells the story as it happened or could have happened. The person with joking tone, for some reason, makes you laugh moderately and kindly. Argumentative tone can be continuous or interrupted. A constant argumentative tone is a fast-paced and loud way of presenting. The interrupted argumentative tone is often interrupted by short pauses between sharply articulated speeches. Sublime tone can be encouraging and moving. The tone of voice is encouraging, which, by exaggerating a sin, makes the listener angry. The tone is moving when the listener feels pity by exaggerating the unpleasantness (3, 13, 23–24).

Cornificius specifies eight delivery styles (3, 14, 24-25), since there are three types of tone based on pitch bending, and these three are divided into eight sub-types. Then, he determines the body language: "Body language is a certain control of gesture and facial expression; it makes the message more believable. The face shall reflect prudence and vigour; but there shall be no striking grace in the manner of our gestures, nor any abruptness, so that we may not be mistaken for actors or craftsmen." He associates eight different body language movements with the eight different intonations (3, 15, 26–27). Cornificius was aware that he was undertaking a pioneering and difficult task, but he considered it important because "good delivery style enables us to be seen to speak from the heart" (2, 115–116). Honesty (or the impression of honesty) is the most powerful emotional effect.

In short:

	Tone	Body language
Conversational:	Serious	Slight movement of right hand; joyful, sad or indifferent facial expressions.
	Explanatory	Our heads are slightly tilted forward.
	Narrative	As for the serious tone.
	Joking	Make a happy face, don't gesticulate.
Argumentative:	Continuous	Move the arms quickly, change facial expressions and keep a strict gaze.
	Interrupted	Extend the arms forward, walk up and down, stamp the feet, look grimly.
Sublime:	Encouraging	Use slow and deliberate pronunciations.
	Moving	Make a sad and embarrassed facial expression, with restrained but firm tones.

Table 1. Combination of tone and body language

Today, there is no better classification than the one of Cornificius, as it is concise and clear. There is no point in fragmenting it further because the nuances are endless; each speaker has a different personality. In the present literature, there are several detailed classifications, but they do not add anything to the point.

Cicero discusses delivery style in two sections: at the end of his third book, *De oratore (On the Orator),* and briefly in the *Orator* in two pages, discussing it in terms of the perfect orator. He considers delivery style to be the most important of the five functions of the orator: "in oratory, delivery style has to be the only dominant function". The importance of the delivery style is based on psychological grounds. Facial expressions *(voltus),* sounds *(sonus)* and gestures *(gestus)* reflect the movements of the soul. He illustrates the emotions with examples taken from tragedies: anger, pity, fear, emotion, joy, sadness; and

he emphasizes that each one corresponds to a different tone and a different intonation. He says action is truly the body's speech *(est enim actio quasi sermo corporis)*. He emphasises the role of the face and the eyes, since the whole performance depends on the soul, and the eyes are the mirror of the soul; this is the only sense organ that can express all the emotions of the soul. Words affect those who understand them but the gaze affects everyone. Modern cinema is a perfect example of this: for example, *Pasolini*'s famous film, *The Gospel According to St. Matthew,* which relies on the effect of the gaze. Furthermore, body language has become one of the key elements of modern communication studies and is also used in the titles of books (Pease, Allan 1989).

In the publication of Quintilian titled *Institutes of Oratory* (*Institutio oratoria,* around 90th A.D.), Quintilian deals with delivery style in about forty pages (4, 118–121). He presupposes that in Latin there are two names for delivery style: *pronuntiatio* and *actio*. Both can be used, the former is named after the pronunciation, the latter after the action. He observes that *"there is a wonderful power and authority in delivery style",* and nothing proves this better than the fact that sometimes the only thing that matters is not what we say, but how we say it (11, 3, 1–2). It is primarily about tone, action is secondary, but he notes that the two must be in harmony. Clear pronunciation is essential: words must be pronounced completely, the last syllables may not be neglected; however, it produces an unpleasant impression to pronounce each sound separately: blends must be considered. He describes the appropriate delivery style at length. Action shall be in harmony with the tone. He gives detailed description of the orator's appropriate and attractive appearance, clothing, hair, head posture, hand, and finger movements. He pays particular attention to correcting incorrect movements, for example, the orator should not slap their own back, lean back over their own shoulder, constantly beat their hips, or run around while speaking. Quintilian agrees that the face, especially the eyes, plays the decisive role. He also explains how to deliver certain parts of the oration. The introduction must be calm and simple, the narration can be more dynamic, and the proof shall be performed in the most varied way. The tone of the digression should be soft and calm. The ending should be the most careful because it should make the audience and the judges feel pity or hatred. He finally stresses that every orator has their own personality, therefore everyone should study themselves, find out their own secret: what makes them successful, and they should develop it. But they should be moderate in everything because they are

not an actor, but an orator, that is, they should not imitate, but reveal and convey the truth (11, 3, 161–184).

A highly influential book on delivery style was written by the British Gilbert Austin in *Chironomia* [Greek: *kheir* 'hand']. It was published in 1806 and was used for a century afterwards to teach body language (it has been reprinted). He developed a marking system and illustrated every movement with drawings, which made him famous and unique. It includes the following: voice, eye contact, gestures, public speaking, recitation, public speaking, acting, pantomime, recording of gestures; positioning of feet, lower limbs; positioning, movement and raising of the arm; positioning and movement of the hand; head, eyes, shoulders, and body; frequency, rhythm, timing, and classification of gestures. His system has a cosmological basis: human nature is subject to the same laws as the universe, and since there is a rational order in the universe, a rational order must be followed in delivery style. Its marking system applies also to the speed and slowness of gestures, to the strengthening and weakening thereof, to the increasing and weakening of the volume of sound, etc., and it also includes texts with markings (poems, drama set).

Delivery style in the second half of the 20th century

Delivery style has a wide literature in Hungary. In his large-scale rhetoric (A prózai művek elmélete, 1879), Ferenc Acsay focused much on delivery style, considering the growing research in phonetics. In the history of 20th-century rhetoric, delivery style became almost the only dominant field, after Zoltán Kodály's alarm in 1937: *Deterioration of Hungarian pronunciation*. Kodály explained that pronunciation is a problem of grammatical correctness because grammar has elements that cannot be recorded in writing but can only be understood by hearing. These elements of live speech are subject to the speaker's arbitrary, partly because the rules of correct pronunciation are not collected, and partly because there are musical elements that require a high level of listening skills to be appreciated. The problem arises from several factors: the total lack of education, the spread of foreign languages, and musical works translated from foreign languages that spread a melody opposite to the natural melody of our language. He listed some typical mistakes, such as shortened duration; we need to understand that dura-

tion is maintained in unstressed syllables (equal intensity of syllables is a basic law of Hungarian); sharp, nasal tone; and unfamiliar intonation. Kodály referred to the psychological cause of the deterioration of pronunciation: among Western nations, speech is a form of commitment to the nation; speech deteriorates where there is a weak sense of national consciousness and responsibility; knowledge of foreign languages is more important than knowledge of the mother tongue. He summarised the tasks as follows: there is a need for a pronunciation dictionary that includes the rules and identifies mistakes; a standard for written pronunciation should be developed and made compulsory everywhere; teachers should speak correctly, and students with best pronunciation should be rewarded in schools; parents should be informed about that it is sufficient to start learning a foreign language at the age of ten, when the articulation and perception base of the mother tongue has already been developed; and more attention should be paid to correct pronunciation on the radio.

As a result of Kodály's words, academic pronunciation competitions were launched in 1942 and have been held annually ever since. Lajos Lőrincze, who later became a leader of the language movement, won the first competition, and his radio show called *"Édes anyanyelvünk"* were very popular. In the academic pronunciation competitions Kodály was always the chairman, and he always preferred the dialect speakers, Lőrincze also spoke with an open voice, in Transdanubian style. Kodály and his vice-chairman Géza Bárczi also demanded the pronunciation of the closed *ë* sound; they even wanted to incorporate it into the colloquial vowel system. Nowadays the Bárczi Foundation is engaged in the recognition of the closed *ë* vowel; they have publications on its marking and have published a pronunciation dictionary (Buvári 2001).

Speech education was encouraged by the pronunciation conference in Eger in 1965 (the second one was organized in 2005), the Kazinczy Prize (1960) founded by the actress Blanka Péchy and the Kazinczy spelling competitions (from 1966, for trainee teachers from 1973) and the annual "Édes anyanyelvünk" language competitions for secondary school students (from 1973).

Blanka Péchy also wrote an impressive book entitled *Beszélni nehéz* (1974). She focuses on issues related to grammatical correctness and pronunciation and has drawn attention to the problems of indicative intonation. (Thanks to her book, a radio and television program hosted by László Deme was called *Beszélni nehéz!,* and study clubs of the same name were also organized in schools.) Blanka Péchy's theory is still valid today:

> The language of the mainly peasant grandparents has a clear pronunciation, even rhythm and a smooth intonation. Their pronounced words have a solid backbone, melody, and music.
> The pronunciation of their sons and daughters is less clear. The rhythm is faster, the pace is variable. Nowadays, there are some similar emphasis mistakes; however, the word still has body, the language is powerful, so it is not difficult to understand.
> In the awkward sentences of the grandchildren, there are plenty of misspelled words. Vowels are missing, syllables are overlapping. Even though the great-grandchildren answer the reporter's questions with remarkable confidence, understanding their rambling is not an easy task (92–93). […] Teachers and professional speakers will have the honour and duty of spreading and preserving a common pronunciation (94).

In this period, many excellent books on speech were written, which are still worth studying today, and are full of good practices (see the list in Adamikné 2013, 543). Language experts have not taken two factors into account. First: in 1978, word-by-word reading was introduced in schools, which prioritizes silent reading and comprehension is checked by means of worksheets; this method, imported from America and claimed to be modern, has marginalized the teaching of reading-out-loud and oral reading in general. Word-by-word reading may have failed, but some of its routines are still used. Excessive use of workbooks and worksheets has resulted in poor oral answers; there is hardly any memorization. Second: in the great freedom after the change of regime, public forums – radio and television – have been dominated by bad speakers, allowing young people to conclude that bad speech can also be used to succeed. There is no role model for young people like Imre Sinkovics or Lajos Básti, Eszter Tamási, Marika Takács or Ferenc Bőzsöny.

Colloquial Hungarian pronunciation

Delivery style can be verbal or non-verbal. Verbal refers to something that is expressed verbally, in words. Non-verbal refers to both the vocal (sound) elements that accompany words and body motion or body language. 7% of spoken text or communication is verbal, 38% is vocal and 55% is body language, which are not irrelevant elements: they are more efficient than verbality

in expressing emotions. This fact supports the conclusion of the ancient orators that the most important aspect is delivery style, and that the orators in ancient times and later were very interested in body language.

The vocal elements of non-verbal communication include the formation of particular sounds and sound connections, as well as the suprasegmental elements associated with the formation of sounds.

The formation of colloquial (common Hungarian) sounds depends on the articulation base. Articulation base refers to the specific operational sequence by which spoken speech is produced. Articulation base is language specific. This means that speakers of the same language have approximately the same articulation base; the speech organs of a Russian, an English or a Hungarian speaker work differently. (The perception base is parallel to the articulation base. Both are gradually established during the biological development of the individual, around the age of ten.)

The characteristics of the Hungarian articulation base are the following: 1. Hungarian vowels are formed as full vowels and are not pronounced as reduced or mumbled vowels. Fully formed vowels shall also be pronounced in unstressed syllables and on word endings. 2. Our vowels are formed orally; nasal articulation is not common in Hungarian. 3. It is typical to maintain the length of the speech sounds, the short-long opposition. 4. Voiceless-voiced oppositions of consonants are typical. 5. Different sound laws apply in pronunciation: vowel harmony, vowel and consonant alignment, consonant divergence, consonant blending, consonant shortening, consonant elimination. 6. The core of a syllable is always a vowel. 7. The emphasis is fixed and always on the first syllable of the word. 8. The intonation is basically descending. The articulatory base and the pronunciation (linguistic) norm are closely related. In the field of speaking, there is also a common agreement, a norm to which we adapt our speech and according to which we consider a phenomenon to be correct or incorrect, even though the Hungarian pronunciation norm is not included in rules such as the BBC norm in English or Bühnensprache (stage speech) in German. They have a pronunciation dictionary (Fekete 1995); the material for the upcoming pronunciation handbook is contained in László Elekfi–Imre Wacha's book entitled *Az értelmes beszéd hangzása* (with a detailed bibliography). Speech and language books and textbooks are also aligned with the pronunciation norm. Dialects have their own norm, and pronunciation in dialect is not a mistake, but an adaptation to the dialect norm. Recently, everyone is more lenient to it in

public speaking; we encourage everyone to preserve the dialectic style of their language, for example, by not abandoning the closed *ë*.

The suprasegmental factors include emphasis, intonation, speech pace, rhythm, pause, junction (boundary mark, that is, sound binding at the word boundary), volume, tone of voice. They come together in the speech process and are related to each other. The stressed part, for example, is not only stressed more, but also said in a higher pitch, slower, with a pause before it. Indeed, in a particular situation, one factor may be more important than the others. Suprasegmental factors can have endless varieties. The sound effect is increased by the various functions of the extra-linguistic vocalizations (described by András O. Vértes): humming, coughing, throat clearing, sighing. When humming, we form an *h* sound and a consonant, which can be used to express affirmation, negation, amazement, astonishment. Sneezing refers to a joking, mocking expression of "that's right" or its opposite. Throat clearing is for attention but can also express displeasure. Partial sound-making gestures also play a role, sometimes – when it is not appropriate to interrupt, but we want to speak – we take a deep breath. Sighing, laughing, breathing, panting, sighing, crying also have an expressive function. Even silence has its role: it can be an expression of disrespect. The visual elements of articulation, that is, the sight of articulation, also has an impact. We all know the labial articulation of talking in offhand, arrogant tones. Ancient sign of aggression is offhand talk (see in detail A. Jászó Anna 2004, the chapter on phonetics provides thorough and illustrative information on the phonetic-phonological basics.)

Professional speakers, orators and actors must follow the pronunciation norm; however, to have an emotional impact, they must take advantage of the expressiveness and expressive power of speech sounds and tones. The sound of human speech directly affects us: think how much we can be affected by a pleasant tone of voice, and how repulsive a shouting or even a shrill voice can be. An orator has half success if he has a beautiful, rich organ.

Expressiveness of speech and emotions are closely related. András O. Vértes spent decades gathering data to prove that there is a correlation between the emotional deterioration we experience and the graying of the speech sound. In the writing of Kálmán Mikszáth titled Országgyűlési karcolatok of 1892, he describes the orator's voice in numerous ways: *thin, whimpering; beautiful, but quiet, clouded; ringing silver; low; singing; rasping; beautiful, pleasant, oleaginous; beautifully soft; loud stentorian; booming, shrill; frightening; trembling;* etc. the

emotions of the former representatives, together with their views, could range widely (Vértes O. András 1987). Intonation has also become more monotonous. The rhythm of the language has also been more important: formerly, our great orators also paid attention to prose rhythm.

It is highly challenging to determine what tone of voice is best for an orator, obviously the one that suits his personality, the occasion, the subject, the audience. Each of our major orators of the reform era spoke in a different way, and all of them made an impact: Pál Felsőbüki Nagy pronounced the words with a Transdanubian style, but with expressive and varied facial expressions; the audience was impressed by Wesselényi's powerful speeches; Kölcsey spoke simply, beginning his speeches in a low, deep, almost tearful voice, and the hall was in silence; Széchenyi used a conversational tone in his speeches with a lot of improvisation; Eötvös spoke in a convincing, gentle voice, but his speeches were somewhat dry; Kossuth's speeches were characterized by pure Hungarianism, musicality, his beautiful, ringing voice, his appearance, everyone was impressed by his masterly perfected articulation (Adamik-A. Jászó-Aczél: *Retorika,* 2004, 181–184). His famous speech in Szeged delivered on 4 October 1848 was enhanced by the fact that he said it with his hand raised to the sky, and the crowd did the same: "I swear by God the Almighty, who protects justice and punishes the traitor, I swear that I will not let the freedom of our country be taken away until I am bleeding. I swear that I will defend our country until I can raise my arms. So help me and bless me, God of the Hungarians."

The meaning expressed by sound is called sound symbolism. By itself, a sound has no meaning, but the accumulation of a particular sound can imply a meaning, for example *r* can suggest militancy, while *l* refers to softness. Voice stylistics deals with the expressiveness of speech tones. The aesthetic effect of the sounds – their consonance (euphony) and dissonance (cacophony) – varies from language to language and from period to period (see the stylistic chapter of *Klasszikus magyar retorika,* 417).

Body language

Body language or non-verbal communication consists of 1. cultural signs and emblems (body stylization, dress, use of tools); 2. position and territoriality (for the speaker, the assessment of the space in which he or she is speaking); 3. facial

expressions or facial play (the communicative function of the eyes, mouth, and eyebrow line); 4. gestures and posture; 5. touch.

Functions of non-verbal signals: 1. managing and regulating social interactions; 2. presenting yourself (communicating information about your personality); 3. communicating emotional state and 4. communicating attitudes towards others; 5. controlling channel, that is, indicating the beginning and end of a statement or the transition between words and speech.

Types of non-verbal signals: 1. emotional expression, 2. illustration, 3. regulation, 4. emblems or clear signs that can only be interpreted in one way, 5. adaptation expressing the relation to the message. Business management manuals and codes of protocol often deal with appearance. Body language is exhaustively covered in communication textbooks, for example by Allan Pease. Imre Wacha in his book entitled *Nem csak szóból ért az ember. A nonverbális kommunikáció eszköztára [Tools of non-verbal communication]* (Tinta 2011), he explains non-verbal tools in detail.

The publications referred to above are extensive, covering all aspects of communication. Rhetorical situations are more limited in scope and more specific than communicative situations; therefore, rhetoric does not use everything that communication researchers have discovered, only what is relevant to the rhetorical situation. It is also important for the orator to evaluate space, emblems, appearance, dress, hair, appearance, hand gestures and foot placement are all important, this is why Quintilian and Gilbert Austin discussed them in such detail. Yet gestures are the most important, the most expressive, and they are the most likely to grab the attention of the audience and influence their emotions.

Benedek Szitás deals with the most details of the gestures of the oratorical speech in his legal rhetoric (1977, 107–123); among others he writes the following.

> The orator enters the room with his heart racing, and with trembling knees as he walks up to the podium and stops.
> How should the orator stand?
> It is incorrect for the orator to stand disciplined, to spread his legs, to sway, to lean, to wiggle, to beat his feet, to toddle, to shuffle, to walk up and down, to clay his or her knees, to twist his or her hands back and forth, etc.; it is important that the standing should never create a sense of fear.

The orator should stand correctly in a relaxed posture. The weight should be on one leg. The body thus will have a light curve, like the contrapposto position known from classical sculpture. Of course, the orator must avoid a posture like a badly done question mark. Sometimes the weight must be shifted unnoticeably to the other foot, otherwise the orator becomes rigid, and the audience becomes bored of watching the orator who stands in front of them as if he or she had been pinned there.

Walking is only allowed where there is no podium and there is enough space, otherwise the orator will only toddle "two to the right, two to the left" instead of walking. A relaxed, confident walk can make the relationship between orator and audience more relaxed and direct.

Once the orator has properly stood, he or she shall look at the audience. His or her eyes shall express not fear, but confidence. The eyes and the mimic should always be in harmony, "because just as the face is the mirror of the soul, so the eyes are the lamp of the soul" (*Cicero: Selected Works*, 197). The eyes should always be on the audience, not looking with a glassy eye into the void, but nor should they be constantly fixed on the void. The orator should not look at one person all the time, because the speech is for the whole audience, so always look at someone else, always change your gaze. – Reading aloud is inappropriate because then the orator's eyes are always on the notes, and thus the eye contact with the audience gets lost. Facial expressions are not particularly important, but during speech, the face should have a natural expression.

The biggest problem is, what should the orator do with the hands? – If they lean on the table, their hand might get stuck there and they won't be able to do anything else for the rest of their speech. The posture will be kind of hunchbacked. If the orator does not lean on the table, he or she should avoid constantly stroking the table. This is also a bad habit. The orator's hand is not a dust mop. The orator should not make stereotypical gestures, rattle his or her keychain, crumple his or her handkerchief, crush his or her ballpoint pen, or grip his or her cigarette. He or she shall not put his or her hands in their pockets – it is impolite and disrespectful. Hands on the hips is more suitable for folk dancing than for the orator's podium. No wild, inappropriate waving shall be allowed.

If the orator is not good at gesticulation, he or she should remain still – this is worth more than bad gestures.

> After that, we might ask the question: what is a good gesture? – What is the function of a gesture at all?
> Gestures, rhetorical gestures, are a means of better expression of thoughts and emotions as a completion of the message. […]
> Before reviewing the types of gesture, we should talk about what makes a gesture attractive. "Gesture is beautiful if it has a calm beginning, a continuous progression, and an elaborated ending, and it is also in harmony with the content of the speech and the facial expression of the orator. The hand's function is, first of all, to give the line of the beautiful gesture" (Cicero, 36).
> Gestures can be expressive if the orator dares to move his or her elbows away from the body. The gesture expressed with elbows pressed to the sides of the body is meaningless, almost unnoticeable. That is why it is said that the shy orator's courage goes to his or her elbows.
> Therefore, gesture shall be usually made at chest and shoulder height, to make it more obvious. Only upward gestures can reach higher.
> The face of the orator must never be hidden by the gesture. The hand in front of the face both breaks the sound and prevents the audience from seeing the facial expression and the gaze.
> Gesture shall be held for a while because it is not only to be noticed, but also to be understood, to be interpreted. The slightly prolonged gesture makes the orator feel more secure. When an orator uses hectic gestures, it is like trying to catch flies while flying. Hectic gesture makes the audience feel like they shall think in a hurry, while unnecessarily slowed gesture makes them feel like they are posing.
> If both hands are used simultaneously, the hands should not make the same gesture at the same time. […] Just look at a conductor! The right hand provides the beat, the left hand gives the colour, the dynamics. He rarely conducts with both arms. – The orator is the conductor of the audience's attention. Thus, the hands move slightly asynchronously, in "late reaction" compared to each other. This can make the gestures more diversified and expressive.

Relatively speaking, it is easier to tell what the speaker should not do than what they should do. Indeed, body language depends on the personality of the individual, but it also depends on the characteristics of the person's nation and

native language. Body language changes from culture to culture, and even from historical times: nowadays, there is a tendency towards simplicity in all areas (architecture, fashion, speech); orators prefer to speak in a simplified style, and their gestures are more restrained. The use of gestures also depends on the speech type: there is no need for special body language in a funeral oration, but in a political speech; but this again depends on the orator's personality, the content, and the audience. It is also often recommended that if the orator is unable to use expressive gestures, it is better to do nothing.

Gestures can be classified in several ways. They are often classified as intellectual and emotional gestures: intellectual gestures are more explanatory, such as the Fénelon gesture (named after the French writer of the 18th century); while emotional gestures are more impulsive. Benedek Szitás classifies the gestures according to the five types of sentences, taking as a basis the main intention (in pragmatic terms: speech act) expressed by the five types of sentences: the typical gestures of stating, questioning, exclaiming, requesting, wishing, and there are many variations and shadings within these five types. It is also difficult to classify them in groups because gestures merge together (see Adamik–Jászó–Aczél, 203–208). *Klasszikus magyar retorika (Classical Hungarian rhetoric)* describes the following gestures: pointing gestures, summarizing listing, and proving, explaining gestures, expressing opposition and negation, questioning gestures, gestures of exclamation and indignation, exhortation, rejection, and gestures expressing emotion (462–463).

In conclusion, it should be highlighted that word and gesture are dependent on each other; *Shakespeare* expressed this relationship most clearly when he wrote the following instruction to the First Actor in Hamlet: "The action should be adapted to the word, the word to the action, taking particular care not to offend the modesty of nature" (cited by Benedek Szitás 2009).

The point is to create and maintain balance, as Hamlet warns the actors (Shakespeare: *Hamlet,* Act 3, Scene 2):

> **HAMLET** Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounced it to you, trippingly on the tongue; but if you mouth it, as many of our players do, I had as live the town-crier spoke my lines. Nor do not saw the air too much with your hand, thus, but use all gently; for in the very torrent, tempest, and, as I may say, whirlwind of your passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance that may give it smoothness. O, it offends me to the soul to hear a robust-

ious, periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings, (who for the most part are) capable of nothing but inexplicable dumb shows and noise. I would have such a fellow whipped for o'erdoing Termagant. It out-Herods Herod. Pray you, avoid it.

PLAYER I warrant your Honor.

HAMLET Be not too tame neither, but let your own discretion be your tutor. Suit the action to the word, the word to the action, with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature. For anything so o'erdone is from the purpose of playing, whose end, both at the first and now, was and is to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature, to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure. Now this overdone or come tardy off, though it makes the unskilful laugh, cannot but make the judicious grieve, the censure of the which one must in your allowance o'erweigh a whole theater of others. O, there be players that I have seen play and heard others praise (and that highly), not to speak it profanely, that, neither having th' accent of Christians nor the gait of Christian, pagan, nor man, have so strutted and bellowed that I have thought some of nature's journeymen had made men, and not made them well, they imitated humanity so abominably.

PLAYER I hope we have reformed that indifferently with us, (sir).

HAMLET O, reform it altogether! And let those that play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them, for there be of them that will themselves laugh, to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh too, though in the meantime some necessary question of the play be then to be considered. That's villainous and shows a most pitiful ambition in the fool that uses it. Go make you ready.

Before discussing the development of speaking technique, speech impediments shall be mentioned (they should not occur at this level), and pronunciation errors shall be presented, along with some useful tips for a proper and effective delivery style.

About the speech impediment in brief

A speech impediment is a significant deviation from the pronunciation norms of both the speaker and the speaking community. Speech impediments belong to the class of speech disorders. A speech impediment is a disorder of speaking ability, such as aphasia, which is the partial or total loss of the ability to speak, and dysphasia, which is the failure to develop the ability to speak. Speech impediments shall be corrected by a speech and language therapist. The articulation base is developed by the end of childhood; therefore, it is difficult to correct speech impediments from adolescence onwards, but it is not hopeless. Indifference in society is also a problem: people unfortunately do not care about correcting speech and pronunciation errors, and the media often show announcers with poor speaking skills, and it is feared that people will get used to incorrect, sloppy speech and see it as an example to follow.

Speech impediments are the following: 1. voice production errors (dysphonia, compressed voice, deep voice), 2. voice production errors (lisping, nasalization), 3. speech continuity disorders (babbling, stuttering, stammering, popping). They are not dealt with because they do not occur at this level, although we may hear a slight burring, hissing, nasalization, stammering that stretches all the sounds or popping that shortens everything.

Pronunciation errors

A pronunciation error is a minor deviation from the community's pronunciation norm, but not a speech impediment. Speech impairments and pronunciation errors are sometimes difficult to separate, especially in the case of lisping. Public speakers are usually not very speech impaired; however, they are more likely to have different types of pronunciation errors, and therefore it is necessary to deal with pronunciation errors in more detail. They can be improved in any case, so they need to be brought to attention.

Over the last century, the Hungarian speech has become more monotonous. This is explained by psychological factors, by emotional constriction. Symptoms are extremely different: either uncharacteristic, quiet, husky mumbling, speech without intonation, or loud, violent shouting, sometimes shock-like sounds. Both are monotonous in their own way and affect the clarity of speech. Very few people can speak loudly and clearly; however, they modulate and change their voice

with great flexibility. There have been significant changes in speech in the following areas: the pace of speech has accelerated; the written form affects pronunciation, resulting in letter skipping; closed-mouth speech has become very common, and in such speech the formation of almost all sounds is distorted, making them difficult to understand; there are also problems with speech sounds; recently there have been many problems with emphasis and the formation of melodies in sentences.

There is a striking change in the speech pace. This may be because our language has become more and more dominated by analytical structures (subordinate clauses), phrases and long words. The resulting slowdown is instinctively balanced by a faster speech pace. Acceleration is not a reflection of our fast-paced age. However, the fast pace of the commercials and sometimes the presenters probably has an impact. There may also be an ethical issue behind this problem: the speaker with turbo speed does not consider their partner and does not care whether they are understood. Rapid speech is also harmful because sounds are lost and shortened, not only the tempo but also the sound production is distorted.

Speaking according to spelling means that the speaker says *tudja, útja* instead of *[tuggya], [úttya],* so they do not apply the sound laws in pronunciation, they speak according to the spelling. In some cases, the pronunciation is close to the spelling. The *lj* sounds should be pronounced *jj* according to the complete assimilation, although nowadays both solutions are accepted: *[éjjen]* or *[éljen]*. It is also the case in one kind of fusion: *[eccer]* or *[etyszer]*. This means that the handwriting is constantly influencing the pronunciation; however, it is also true that pronunciation variations are sometimes stylistic variations. The folk poem should start as follows: *[eccer] egy királyfi mit gondolt magában…* (Allegedly the writer Lajos Nagy said the following while playing chess: *eccer élünk, eccer élünk, egy parasztot lecerélünk*.)

It is also difficult to understand the speech with a closed mouth. External signs of such a speaker can also be recognised: hardly opened lips, rigid or sluggish jaw movements. In such speech, the sounds are also shortened, the *r* is not clear, and the formation of rustling and hissing sounds slips forward, the intonation becomes monotonous. Closed-mouth speech can be improved. Based on our observations, speech is more open during free speech than during reading; therefore, recitation and memorization are very important. How-

ever, the problem is more complicated: it is closely associated with communication etiquette, eye contact, polite posture, and behaviour in general.

There may be several variations in the formation of speech sounds. In the case of vowels, the vowels produced in middle tongue position may be pronounced more closed or more open, so we can hear *szíp* instead of *szép,* or *baland* instead of *bolond*. There is also an *á* sound that bends into *é,* which was formerly called "rikkancs-á" or "kalauz-á": *újséééég*. Some people pronounce a labial, short *á* sound instead of the typical Hungarian *a* sound. The most common is the labialized, *a*-like pronunciation of *e*. It was formerly called Böbe baba's *e* sound after the speaking style of the television character. Indeed, this is often heard in the speech of young girls these days. There are several problems with the production of consonants. The voiceless pronunciation of voiced consonants is a serious mistake, as it destroys one of the characteristics of our language, the voiced-voiceless opposition. Open nasal speech also contradicts the nature of our language. Unfortunately, many people find it beautiful, maybe because of the influence of American English on the one hand, and a particular style of singing on the other. Some presenters also have a nasal sound, though to a slight extent. The *s* and *sz* sounds in many people's speech are whispered, hissed, and whistled because of the closed mouth. The most annoying is the blurring of the *r* sound: due to the poor articulation, speakers hardly roll it, especially when it comes between two vowels, but it remains with consonants: *epres, trombita*. The pronunciation of the voiceless plosives *p, t, k* with the letter *h* is unusual, but it does occur: *khérem, thélen*. There is a more recent phenomenon of *v* being formed with two lips between two vowels (like the pronunciation of English *w*): *Éwa,* and the weakening of the strongly pronounced plosive vowel *g,* also between two vowels: *ịyen*. This may also be the result of poor articulation.

The major problem in the formation of speech sounds results from length errors, which also damage the character of our language, since it is characterized by the role of the long-short opposition to distinguish meaning: *kor ↔ kór, szál ↔ száll*. The most delicate vowel lengths are *í, ú, ű,* because among our long vowels, the ones produced with the upper position of the tongue are the shortest in absolute length. To make it more complicated, they are always short *[ut, kut, buza, irás]* in most of the Transdanubian region, and long in the eastern part of the country, where they are not in the colloquial language *[lúdas, íge, hívatal]*. In the capital, the duration of the vowels produced with the upper posi-

tion of the tongue is highly inconsistent, and care should be taken to ensure the length of the following words: *cím, díj, csík, íz, hús, húsos, húg, húga, szín, színes, színész, szív, szíves, tíz, tízes, húsz, húszas, vízi, vízilabda, tűzi*. However, the short pronunciation of the other long vowels is becoming more common, making many people's speech rhythmless and jumpy. The shortening of long consonants is also disturbing: *viszonthalásra* – it is often said on TV. Unnecessary consonant stretching is also incorrect *[ellem, jappán].* By stretching the consonant between two vowels, the first vowel is shortened: *[nyillik, mullik, rolla]*. This type of stretching is sometimes considered to be a mannerism: *[hössök, közzönség]*.

So, according to the colloquial norm, the following words should be pronounced with a short consonant in the middle: *elem, köpeny, kopaszt, hegeszt, bakancs, szőlő, szalag, vajon, héja, lője, utána, minél* (but: *mennél*); the *s-sz* personal pronoun of the second person singular should always be written short, even though it is often pronounced long: *hallasz* (but: *jössz*). Only in the following cases is the consonant pronounced lengthened differently from the written form: *lesz, kisebb, egy* (*egyes, egyelőre*, but short in words *egyenlőre, egyetem*); *dz* (*edzi, bodza, madzag*) and *dzs* (in the verb *bridzsel,* it is pronounced similarly to the conjugated noun: *briddzsel játszik*) between two vowels are always long.

Long consonants cannot be next to consonants in the pronunciation, thus in the following words, we pronounce long consonants short: *jobbra, sokallta, arccal*. Half-length or long pronunciations of shortened consonants are considered as letter skipping.

Emphasis errors can cause a lot of problems, therefore these need to be dealt with in a little more detail. Emphasis means that certain syllables are stressed more than others. In the text, there are stressed and unstressed syllables compared to each other. There are three types of emphasis: historical or traditional emphasis, emotional emphasis and conceptual or logical emphasis.

Historical emphasis is fixed and free. In the languages with a fixed emphasis, the emphasis is always on a particular syllable of the word: in Hungarian, the first syllable is stressed, in French the last, in Polish the penultimate. In the languages with free emphasis, there is no specific place for the emphasis, such as Russian, English. This means that in Hungarian, when we emphasize a word, we should always put the emphasis on the first syllable, the first syllable of the verb, and the first syllable of the compound word. There is a new phenomenon of shifting emphasis: many people – even professional speakers – shift their emphasis backwards: *felszólal, összetartozik, Magyarországon*; emphasizing suf-

fixes is an even more serious mistake (in addition, it also has a more elevated, singing intonation): *parlamentben, repülővel*. It may happen. Emotional emphasis differs from historical emphasis, exceptionally: *megőrülök*. Conceptual or logical emphasis can be used in oppositions: *nem tizenegy, hanem tizenkét forintban kerül*. These are reasonable differences; the historical emphasis on the Hungarian language should not be changed. Not only because it causes comprehension problems, but also because it is more disturbing to the listener if there are pronunciation irregularities than grammatical ones, for example, bad pronunciation is more disturbing than bad agreement.

A word may lose its phonetic independence in coherent speech, and its emphasis. We do not speak isolated words, but sentences. Part is a word or group of words that is pronounced without a pause, and pronounced as a whole, with one stress. In the part, the words are not stressed; the stress is on the first word of the part: *Az | üzletbe megyek, | kenyeret veszek*. The strongest section emphasis is called the sentence emphasis: *A szép zenét | **gyak**ran hallgatjuk*. A sentence without sentence emphasis is called an unstressed sentence. Emphasizing rules are not easy to specify, because emphasis depends on the meaning of the sentence, on the actual phrasing. It is against emphasizing rules if the speaker does not emphasize anything or emphasizes everything: both mistakes lead to monotony and make understanding difficult.

However, some emphasizing rules can be specified. The emphasis does not usually depend on the part of speech; however, there are always stressed and always unstressed words. Interrogative pronouns, interrogative adverbs, negatives, prohibitives and interjections are stressed. In general, article, pronouns, singular (unpaired) conjunctions and prefixes are unstressed. Emphasis does not depend on the phrase at all, but some phrases are subject to stressing rules, such as the adverb. Distinctive adjective is stressed: fontos kérdés, első osztály. Descriptive adjective is not stressed: *megállék a kanyargó Tiszánál, kis Túr.* Associated adjectives are stressed separately – just like listings in general – i.e.: *szép, nagy hal*, or if the first adjective applies only to the second adjective: *borongó őszi nap*; vagy ha az első jelző csak a második jelzőre vonatkozik: *fekete kalapos nő*. The explanatory phrase is always stressed: *Itt van Jóska, a testvérem*.

In the text, always the new communication is stressed (in the terms of speech act theory: the rheme is stressed, the theme is unstressed).

Intonation means the fluctuation of the musical height of the speech sounds during speech. While speaking, the vocal cords vibrate when vowels and conso-

nants are formed. The faster the vocal cords vibrate, the higher the pitch is (the same happens at higher volume and pressure because the vocal cords are more tense: this phenomenon forms the basis of the relationship between emphasis and intonation). Factors of intonation are the following: pitch, interval, and tone. Pitch is the average level of the speaking sounds. For each language, it cannot be defined as an absolute musical vocal pitch, but only in relation to everybody's individual pitch. Men speak in a lower pitch, while women and children speak in a higher pitch. Pitch also depends on the personality and mood of the individual: serious people speak in a lower pitch than happy people. Thus, if the speaking voice has a relatively constant pitch for a certain period of time, it can have different pitches: high, medium and low. Intervals are related to pitch: a happier mood is associated with larger intervals, a sad mood with smaller ones, with a monotone character.

Tone refers to the the direction in which the pitch changes. It may vary from language to language and even from dialect to dialect. Tone may have three directions: rising, descending, steady or floating. Suddenly descending intonations are called falling tones, suddenly increasing intonations are called rising intonations. For descending and increasing tones the intervals are small, for falling and rising tones they are large. Tone can be achieved in all three pitches.

The important linguistic role of intonation is to make a sentence cohesive. In Hungarian, the intonation of the sentence is slightly descending. Only the melody of the open-ended question without the question word *vajon, -e* is rising-falling, because this is what distinguishes it from the declarative sentence: *Elolvastad az esszét*. (falling) *Elolvastad az esszét?* (rising-falling) But if there is an interrogative word in the sentence, it has a descending intonation: *Elolvastad-e az esszét?* Open-ended questions, of course, have a descending intonation: *Mit olvastál tegnap?* Mannerism means the rising-falling intonation of an open-ended question, and mannerism or strangeness means any intonation that is fluctuating, rising, or falling at the end of a sentence.

Stress and pronunciation serve to distinguish between the subject and the possessive adjective not marked with a suffix. In the first sentence, the newspaper name is the subject, followed by a pause, and then the predicate structure: *A Magyar Nemzet* | *kulturális mellékletében beszámol az új könyvekről*. The possessive adjective shall be combined with the possessive word: *A Magyar Nemzet kulturális mellékletében* | *olvashatunk az új könyvekről*.

Using tone, intervals, intonation, pitch, hard or soft tone of voice, pace of speech, we can express emotions, moods, create a speaking style; therefore, they are very important expressive tools.

There are two problems that must be highlighted. We often hear on TV or radio a mannerism: the speaker emphasizes the suffixes, and the emphasis is associated with a slight rise in the intonation. The other problem is squeaking. This strange phenomenon was described by Géza Ferenczy in the 1960s (1962). At the end of the sentence, the speaker drops the intonation, lowers the larynx, and makes a squeaky sound. The vocal cords do not close completely, creating small noises. According to Ferenczy, this is typical of intellectual women's speech, and it expresses self-importance. We often hear it in the speeches of both the presenters and the interviewees.

Pauses are essential parts of the speech process. Speech is a continuous sequence of sounds and pauses. Pause can be a sequence break in the signal sequence, an information carrier. Pauses can be of different types, and may be independent of the speaker's will, or dependent on it. Breathing pauses are independent of the speaker's will. During the pause, speech is heard and interpreted, that is, it is processed, therefore, it is also a very important factor for perception. Hesitation pauses occur when the line of thoughts stops or takes a new turn. Sometimes hesitation pauses are filled with the speaker's sounds (e.g., ums) or with filler words, which are also annoying in normal speech and should be avoided in public speech. Pause may also depend on the will of the speaker, for example, if the speaker wants to draw their partner's attention to something, he or she may use dramatic pause. It is also often used by orators, but is not recommended to make it too long, because the audience may think that the orator has forgotten their speech, and it can also be mannered, especially if the orator pretends to have "great" ideas. The pause is also part of the rhythm, as in poetry or music, and can be used to say different shapes.

Punctuation marks also indicate breaks (full stops, semicolons, question marks, exclamation marks, dashes, and parentheses). The comma also serves this purpose, although we do not pause at every comma: *Olyan, mint a rózsa*. If we take a pause at the comma, we float the intonation, but shall not raise it. The inserted phrase is separated by intonation and/or a pause; this comma use should be "heard": *Az az ember,* | *aki tegnap járt itt,* | *hozta a virágot*. Homonymous structures are broken up not only by emphasis and intonation, but also by pauses:

the structure *három, negyed négy felé* broken up with a pause has a different meaning than the structure *háromnegyed négy felé* with a single emphasis.

Improving speaking technique

Speaking technique means the development of pronunciation, speaking training and pedagogical activity supporting delivery style. Its fields include breathing, sound production, suprasegmental production, text formation. But first, we should learn to listen! Our articulation base and the perception base are associated: we hear what we pronounce. If you do not pronounce the closed ë, you do not hear it; if you do not pronounce long vowels, you do not hear them; the situation is similar with speech impediments and pronunciation errors: they are not noticed by incorrectly speaking speakers, and in many cases, they are not even known. Therefore, a teacher who wants to improve speaking technique must first learn to "listen"; it is recommended to record and play back the students' speech.

Orators have always been aware of the importance of speaking technique. Let's take the example of Demosthenes. His voice was weak, his pronunciation was unclear, his breathing was interrupted, and this broke his complicated sentences, thus breaking his thoughts. He achieved the perfection that Cicero also appreciated through persistent and deliberate practice. Cornificius realized that talent is essential, but there is always a need for improvement: "Vocal pitch is primarily a gift of birth; it is enhanced to some extent, but mostly preserved by training. Volume is primarily the result of training; it can be somewhat improved, but most importantly preserved, by imitative practice. Vocal flexibility, that is, the ability to change your voice while speaking at will, is best developed through oratory practice. Therefore, regarding the vocal pitch and partly also the volume, since one is a gift of birth and the other the result of training, it is only worth saying that we should learn the technique from those who are skilled in this field." (3, 11, 19–20). The professionals who were responsible for the orator's voice and throat were called phónaszkoi in Greek, phonasci in Latin. There was an orator who had four laryngologists. In ancient times, there were no sound systems, therefore it was necessary to improve delivery style and speech techniques. Nowadays, the microphone substitutes for the volume, although in many areas effective, educated communication is needed, especially for actors, teachers, and presenters, as well as politicians. For this reason,

speaking techniques and voice training are introduced in drama schools and studios, in teacher trainings and communication courses. Foniater specialists are responsible for the treatment of the larynx and the vocal cords therein and should be consulted with special problems (such as phonasthenia). Improving speaking technique consists of the following components.

1. Breathing techniques are the basis. We distinguish between silent breathing and speaking breathing, depending on the purpose of the air that is inhaled and exhaled. Silent breathing is done through the nose, inhalation and exhalation duration are almost the same, and the average air flow in and out is 500 cm^3. When inhaling, the inhalation is done more through the mouth; the inhalation is short and fast; the exhalation is long and slow. In addition, there is also technical breathing, which is used, for example, by actors, singers, and brass musicians. It is developed to reduce the inhalation time and increase the exhalation time, trying to achieve twice to three times the usual intake of 1000-1500 cm^3 of air. Technical breathing can be developed through years of practice, by conscious and later automated increase of diaphragm muscle function, thereby increasing capacity. Relaxed muscle work is very important, it is not possible to develop speaking technique with strained muscles. Breathing is associated with the logical structuring of the text. Larger pauses and basic breathing should be taken at the boundaries of large unity of thought. We should take a pause, with more air, when we want to attract the attention of the audience. It is not allowed to break intellectual units that belong together by taking air; we must be careful not to run out of air where we should not.

2. Sound triggering can be hard, medium, or soft. Speaking with a light, open articulation depends on a medium sound triggering. It is important to avoid the two extremes: a hard, aggressive sound triggering exhausts the vocal organs, especially the vocal cords; a soft sound triggering with *h* sound wastes air and makes the speaker prematurely out of breath. Of course, both hard and soft sound triggering can have an expressive role.

3. Clear articulation meeting the norm of the Hungarian articulation base is an important factor of the delivery style. Zoltán Kodály believed that the strongly formed consonant *r* is the key to Hungarian articulation; if the articulation of *r* is poor – produced with only one roll instead of two or three – then the formation of the other sounds is also weak. Similarly, it is important to form *á* in a reasonably open way, and the openness of the other vowels depends on its openness. The goal is to achieve an open and clear (far-reaching) articulation.

For speech technique, it is important to adjust these two sounds and then the others, and to correct speech and pronunciation errors, which should always be done by developing the correct sound; speech impediments should be corrected by a speech therapist. The incorrect pronunciation of the rustling *(s, zs, cs, dzs)* and hissing *(s, z, c, dz)* consonants, often with a strident sound, is a common problem. In some cases, it may help to practise the following vowels with deep vowels: *sa, sá, as, ás* (because of the law of alignment, the formation of rustling and hissing consonants slips backwards). Therefore, the words should be pronounced precisely, with good timing, audibly, but not in a fragmented way, not stretching out each vowel, or making each vowel – even the *é* and the *á* – short, popping.

4. Supra-segmental factors are the following: emphasis, intonation, rhythm, pacing, pause, punctuation (border mark, we do not say this: *a zanyám, a züllői úti fák*), volume, tone of voice. (Their common name comes from the fact that they are above (in Latin: *supra*) the segments, that is, language units, and do not belong to any segment.) The speaker should also adapt to the pronunciation norms and the articulation base of the Hungarian language; however, these factors basically influence the delivery style and depend on many circumstances: interpretation, emotion. Clear sound production forms the basis, and the character of speech is defined by the supra-segmental factors.

The following publications offer good exercises in speaking techniques: Sándor Fischer: *A beszéd művészete,* Gondolat, 1966; Fischer Sándor: *Retorika,* Kossuth, 1975; Sándor Hernádi: *Beszédművelés,* Tankönyvkiadó, 1976; Imre Montágh: *Tiszta beszéd. Beszédtechnikai gyakorlatok,* Népművelési Propaganda Iroda, 1977; Imre Montágh: *Figyelem vagy fegyelem?! Az előadói magatartás,* Kossuth, 1986; Imre Montágh: *Nyelvművesség. A beszéd művészete,* Múzsák, 1989; Lajos Horváth: *Tiszta beszéd.* Balassi, 2008; Thoroczkay Miklósné: *Beszédtechnikai gyakorlókönyv,* Holnap, 2011. The volumes of the Old-new rhetoric series have been published annually since the first Kossuth oratory competition in 1999, and include the competition speeches, the winners with analysis, studies, and the best speech of the year. They are actually very informative. I cite the last one: *A jövendő tükre. Retorika a gyakorlatban – Gyakorlat a retorikában.* Ed. Tamás Lózsi és Zsombor Tóth M. Bp., MNYKNT – ELTE, 2021.

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Richard Gough

Utopian Training

The secrets, 'schools' and continents of Edward Gordon Craig and Eugenio Barba

"My proposal is to discover or rediscover the lost Art of the Theatre by a practical expedition... into the realms where it lies hidden."
Edward Gordon Craig (1910)

"I believed that I was in search of a lost theatre, but instead I was learning to be in transition today. I know that this is not a search for knowledge, but for the unknown..."
Eugenio Barba (2015)

Abstract

This academic article explores the profound impact of theatre visionaries Edward Gordon Craig and Eugenio Barba on the global performing arts landscape. Through a comprehensive examination of their life's work, philosophies, and pedagogical approaches, it uncovers the hidden treasures of their artistic legacies. It explores the ‚schools' they established as transformative realms of exploration and creativity; the article highlights their utopian visions that transcended cultural boundaries and continents. By delving into their secrets, ‚schools,' and worldwide influence, this article contributes to a deeper understanding of the evolution of theatre and its enduring legacy.

Keywords: **theatre, Edward Gordon Craig, Eugenio Barba, training, innovation, influence**

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Preamble

The submission of this article was seriously delayed due to illness and conflicting work schedules in relation to the publication of Performance Research. However, the delay allowed me to acquaint myself with the inaugural issue of the Journal of Theatre Anthropology (JTA – launched in March 2021)[1] and reframe some of the issues I had been reflecting on in relation to the 'schools' of Edward Gordon Craig and Eugenio Barba and the dynamic between their practical endeavours and their written texts (the practice and the scriptures).

Craig edited and sustained a journal – The Mask – for almost twenty-one years (eighty-seven issues between 1908 and 1929) and made several unsuccessful attempts to establish an innovative theatre school, the most fully realized lasting only one year – The School of the Art of the Theatre at The Arena Goldoni, Florence, Italy (1913–14). Eugenio Barba launched the ground-breaking International School of Theatre Anthropology (ISTA) in 1980 (in Bonn, Germany)[2] and it has flourished occasionally and peripatetically throughout the past forty years; now, in 2021, he has founded a journal to reflect on the work of the 'school'. Craig launched The Mask at the age of thirty-seven and Barba founded JTA at the age of eighty-four; they were respectively forty-two and forty-three when they established their schools. This article explores how a journal leads to a school, and how a school leads to a journal (with many books along the way), and how both 'schools' had very few students and pursued utopian aspirations for pedagogy.

This preamble explains why an article in a journal carrying a cover date of December 2020 manages to embrace another journal published in March 2021: it is not prophetic or visionary, it is simply good fortune – due to delay.

1 The first issue of Journal of Theatre Anthropology, 'The Origins', features articles and studies translated into English or written in their original languages (Spanish and French), with a foreword by Eugenio Barba and an editorial by Julia Varley. It is available as open access: *https://jta.ista-online.org*

2 The history of ISTA records 1979 as the year of origin and foundation but the first sessions, which comprised four weeks of practical workshops and studio-based explorations (and a symposium) were held in Bonn, Germany, 1 to 31 October 1980.

Introduction – schools

The most desirable thing of all, however, is, under all circumstances to have severe discipline at the right time i.e., at that age when it makes us proud that people should expect great things from us. For this is what distinguishes hard schooling, as good schooling, from every other schooling, namely, that a good deal is demanded, that a good deal is severely exacted, that goodness, nay even excellence itself is required as if it were normal; that praise is scanty, that leniency is non-existent: that blame is sharp, practical, and without reprieve, and has no regard to talent or antecedents. We are in every way in need of such a school.

The quote above, from The Will to Power (Nietzsche), is how it appears on page forty-three of the 'prospectus' for the School for the Art of the Theatre.[3] This beautiful booklet, published in 1913 (Florence, Italy), with its distinctive yellow wrappers and handmade Italian laid paper, was titled A Living Theatre[4], with three subtitles indicating the complimentary components that formed the 'Living Theatre' and the endeavours the prospectus was intended to promote: The Gordon Craig School, the Arena Goldoni and The Mask. Beneath an illustration derived from Leonardo da Vinci's design of 'Vitruvian Man', which first appeared in the initial volume of The Mask, the cover proclaims: 'Setting Forth the Aims and Objects of the Movement and Showing by Many Illustrations the City of Florence, The Arena'. The booklet is as much a celebration of Florence and the Arena Goldoni as it is a promotion of the newly launched 'school' and the ongoing development of The Mask (also based at the Arena Goldoni and published in Florence). Following a foreword by Craig it contains a short panegyric on Florence by John Balance[5], titled The City of Flowers, that concludes:

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3 The better-known Kaufmann and Hollingdale translation being:
The most desirable thing is still under all circumstances a hard discipline at the proper time, i.e., at that age at which it still makes one proud to see that much is demanded of one. For this is what distinguishes the hard school as a good school from all others: that much is demanded; and sternly demanded; that the good, even the exceptional, is demanded as the norm; that praise is rare, that indulgence is nonexistent; that blame is apportioned sharply, objectively, without regard for talent or antecedents. One needs such a school from every point of view: that applies to the most physical as well as to the most spiritual matters; it would be fatal to desire to draw a distinction here! (Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power,* Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale, trans., p. 912)

4 A digitised version of the full booklet, A Living Theatre, can be found on the Internet Archive: *https://archive.org/details/cu31924026123368*

5 John Balance was one of the sixty plus pseudonyms that Craig used in The Mask – from ABC to Yu-no-who (via Stanislas Lodochowskowski).

'Florence is the right centre for The School for the Art of the Theatre and for The Mask. She is the true home of all those who desire to create.' The physical location of Craig's projects in Florence, and their sense of home in a cultural, intellectual and historical context (of artist ateliers and workshops), is significant and will resonate through this article.

The substantial content comprises two essays by D. Neville Lees: 'About The Mask' and 'The Arena Goldoni'. The former describes both the 'constructive' and 'destructive' mission of the journal, and the latter provides a detailed description of the early nineteenth century open air theatre The Arena Goldoni – its history and the fifteenth century convent that previously occupied the site, and its use and function as envisaged in 1913. These essays capture the fervour and unrestrained ambition of the journal and the school; they are written with passion and out of love – Dorothy Neville Lees, the poet and writer, was Craig's ever-faithful lover, the true handmaiden of both the journal and the school (and mother of one of Craig's fourteen children and managing editor of The Mask).[6] 'The School at Florence', written by Ernest Marriott – the British artist/librarian/actor who had been appointed Craig's Senior Assistant at the School – offers the most concrete description of the School, its 'Aims and Objects, Organization' and a detailed prospectus through 'The Work of the School'. This section also contains 'A Student's Impression', written by John Nicholson, which although interesting is probably fictional.[7] This is followed by a typically loquacious (excoriating and enigmatic) text by Craig – 'What My School Needs' – that expands on the ideal artist combining aspects of sportsmen and craftsmen (all men).

The section 'The Ideal Theatre' is a selection of tributes and testimonials from the great and the good (from around the world) focusing on Craig the man and artist (rather than the school) and a Biographical Note ends: 'In March 1913 Gordon Craig opened his School for the Art of the Theatre in Florence'.

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6 Dorothy Neville Lees moved from Wolverhampton, UK, to Florence, Italy, in 1903 and was a writer and poet in her own right, in addition to assisting Craig with The Mask. She published two books, Scenes and Shrines in Tuscany and Tuscan Feasts and Friends, in 1907. She rescued Craig's archives and built up a collection that can now be accessed at the British Institute in Florence. Dorothy Lees's papers are held in Harvard University Harvard Theatre Collection of theatrical portrait photographs.

7 John Nicholson is not listed as one of Craig's pseudonyms, but I cannot trace any records about him and this account of his experiences at the 'School' are published at the point of formation of the 'School'. William Nicholson (1872–1949), the famous painter and engraver, taught Craig the art of woodcut and wood engraving.

The booklet closes with a strained allegorical text, 'A Coach and Four Horses', signed 'E.C.G.', and an appeal to join the Society of Theatre, which is allied to The School for the Art of the Theatre and The Mask. This, curiously, through a single page titled 'Propaganda', introduces another vehicle to realize The New Theatre that Craig envisions: he implores readers to seek 'One Million Members', the yearly subscription for each of whom was one shilling (equivalent to approximately five pounds (GBP) in 2020). Not in this notice but in the 'Prelude' to Volume 5 of The Mask (1913, 193) Craig, under the pseudonym of J. S. (John Semar), clarifies the 'theatrical' mission of his 'dramatic movement (this immediately precedes the first description of The School for the Art of the Theatre): "The Society for the Theatre… aims at creating a dramatic movement which shall at all times appeal to the theatrical rather than the literary aspects of drama, meaning by 'theatrical' that form of stage reproduction which makes an appeal through the senses to the imagination rather than to the intellect." (Semar 1913).

Finally, and of interest to all arts administrators and entrepreneurs and those who have valiantly inaugurated cultural initiatives, the Members of the International Committee of The School for the Art of the Theatre are listed (it includes W. B. Yeats and Constantin Stanislavski) along with donors and their gifts ('William Gable – USA – A Full-Sized Printing Press') and acknowledgement of the 'Founder of the School', Lord Howard de Walden, 'who has signified his desire to support [the school] for five years'.

Tommy Scott Ellis, 8th Baron Howard de Walden (1880–1946), had actually donated £5,000 (the equivalent of almost £600,000 in 2020) – a considerable investment and an extraordinary proclamation of trust and belief in Craig's long-held ambition to establish a school.[8] It was the support of Baron Howard de Walden that directly enabled the school at the Arena Goldoni to be realised; Craig's previous attempt, ten years earlier at the Trafalgar Studios, to establish The London School for Theatrical Art (1903) had foundered within a year as an opportunity to design Venice Preserved in Berlin took priority. However, this first attempt at a school enshrined the same ideals as the Florence School would ten years later and was aimed more at forming an aristos of highly skilled theatre makers (in all aspects of production) and a company under Craig's direction. A school with no students. An announcement in The

8 In addition to offering a further £2,000 for the second and third year of the School's operation.

Pall Mall Gazette clarifies that: "The school will in some points differ from other London schools of dramatic art. For instance, Mr Craig does not propose to train his students so that after two or three terms they will be able to accept London or provincial engagements. His purpose is to prepare them in all that is necessary for their development, and then provide them with opportunities to exhibit their powers under his direction." (The Pall Mall Gazette cited in Rood 1983, 1).

Arnold Rood details that Maud Douie, who had appeared in Craig's immensely successful Purcell Opera Society productions, appeared to be 'the only person known to have attempted to enrol officially' at the school. Rood also noted that Craig's mother, Ellen Terry, was always doubtful with regard to the success of her son's 'school' and the enrolment of 'students'. Rood details two other attempts by Craig to establish his 'school': in Paris in 1910 with Jacques Rouche, founder of the Theatre des Arts, and with Constantin Stanislavski in 1911 as they collaborated on the production of Hamlet at the Moscow Art Theatre. Craig's demands on Rouche for the 'school' were ever escalating, and although Rouche offered full support, Craig finally rejected the offer. By the time he was collaborating with Stanislavski in Moscow[9] he was already envisaging the school in Florence and pleading with him 'will you give me my school in Florence', detailing a four-year plan that would empower the actors in the fourth year to improvise spontaneously, 'acting with and without words'. Rood speculates that, although Stanislavski did not embrace this proposal, it might have influenced him and led to the creation of the Moscow Art Theatre Studios; on this logical surmise we might further reflect that Craig's loss therefore could have been Meyerhold's opportunity.

The poet and dramatist Laurence Binyon (1869–1943) wrote an article in the January 1913 issue of The Mask titled: 'The Gordon Craig School for the Art of the Theatre: A Recognition of the Need for it', where he emphasised the religious, festive and spiritual dimension of participating in theatre (as spectator and performer), the need for unity and harmony in the form, and the power of theatre to generate 'felt' experience, harnessing the imagination of the audience. Although a dramatist and wordsmith, and not entirely in agreement with Craig's dismissal of the playwright, he did acknowledge: "But probably in all

9 Craig collaborated with Stanislavski in Moscow in 1911–12 on what was to be the highly successful and influential production of Hamlet for the Moscow Art Theatre.

plays there is a tendency to rely too much on the word. A dramatist's material is not only language; it is even more the action, gesture, movement which the stage alone gives him, not to speak of the emotional equivalents of light and darkness..." (Binyon 1913, 219–220)

He told how, on being concerned that his seven-year-old daughter might not understand much of the language of the Shakespeare plays they were seeing, she retorted: 'Oh, what they say is mostly nonsense, it is what they do that is interesting.' He thought that Craig would approve of this child's perspective and he bemoaned how a dramatic poet was to learn his business and experiment with form and 'totality' for the new theatre. He admired that Craig's ambition for a school 'is one where no fixed routine or rigid pattern are to be taught, but all are to learn and cooperate in learning'. Binyon suggests that had William Morris turned his attention to drama (from the arts and crafts) then he would have done as Craig now proposed. Again, while not supporting Craig's desire to attenuate the written play and substitute the actor with the uber-marionette, he concluded: "But the inspiring, hopeful thing about this projected School is that it would make so much possible, it would open out so many vistas. Above all it would set the life-blood of the art healthily circulating, as in a single organism. Its principles would be, not mechanism but growth. Will not England, then will not Englishmen, make this School a reality?" (Binyon 1913, 219–220)

In March 1913, The School for the Art of the Theatre at the Arena Goldoni in Florence, Italy, began its pioneering work. In A Living Theatre (the 'prospectus'), Ernest Marriott writes: "The venture is buoyant and afloat, and, briefly stated, its aims are to make a thorough search into the conditions and practise of matters relating to the Theatre, to do what has never been done by any other Theatre, to explore the devious by-ways, to search for beauty and hold it captive, to collect the broken fragments of the Theatre's beautiful architecture, and reconstruct the fabric, to unite all the Arts and Crafts of the stage and achieve harmony.

To make its pulse beat faster and more rhythmically and more vigorously, to discover and define once and for all the elemental forms and methods which are the bases and keystones of the finest Theatre Art and to inspire a new Theatre into being." (Marriott 1913, 43)

Marriott's phrases – 'to explore the devious by-ways', 'to collect the broken fragments' and to 'reconstruct the fabric' of theatre – could be taken as guiding principles for much experimental theatre of the last one hundred years; they

are inspirational and visionary, succinctly capturing the need to integrate theory and practice and explore the dynamic between innovation and tradition. Marriott, Senior Assistant of the School, clarifies: "It will not be an institution for 'teaching' any art, nor for learning the crafts of acting, of decorating, or of lighting. It will consist simply of a body of earnest and thorough workers who, inspired by Mr Craig, and building with him upon the foundations of his past great work, will strive by means of experiment and research to rediscover and recreate those magic and elemental principles of beauty, simplicity, and grace in a department of the art-world, from which at present they are conspicuously absent."

Faced with the economic realities of today, the neoliberal values adopted by many universities and the commodification of knowledge, it is difficult to imagine any training endeavour (no matter how utopian) explicitly proclaiming its desire for few 'students'. But nether Craig nor Marriott wanted many participants, and the select few were to be regarded more as a family of workers (in the atelier) than 'students': "NA quantity of pupils is not wanted. The choice will be rigorously confined to selecting out of every twenty or thirty talented and educated men who apply, one or two, who satisfy the Director's requirements. There are stricter rules in this school than is usual and yet, at the same time, every pupil feels he is 'one of the family'." (Marriott 1913, 46)

The rules were indeed strict (aligning to the Nietzschean ideals of discipline) and it is actually easier to become acquainted with the extent of the rules of the School than it is to garner a sense of the programme of studies or learning processes that one would be guided through. Criticism of the School was absolutely forbidden: 'any breach of this rule will not be lightly regarded'. Furthermore: "'Opinions' are not wanted neither inside nor outside the School.

Discretion, silence and attention to work are expected."

Prospective 'students' were advised not to talk about the School or its methods and the response 'I do not know' was to be the stock answer to any questions advanced by friends or family. Chattering was banned. What is clear, however, is that Craig envisioned two divisions functioning throughout the School. The First Division were the professional and salaried 'experimental workers' collaborating with Craig, in effect forming the 'faculty'. And the Second Division were the (few) paying 'students' whose main purpose was to undergo the training and become eligible to be promoted to the First Division. Craig is candid and wholly transparent about this self-serving ecology of the School. While

such subservience might appear alien to us today, in the section 'A Student's Impression' John Nicholson writes with perfervid enthusiasm about being part of the 'family': "It is almost impossible to speak of the work we do here with anything but enthusiasm. All those who have experienced the delight and excitement of working under the Director are convinced that it was inspiration to start such a School in such a place. We are more interested and exhilarated by our work at the Arena than if we were cooped up in an English Theatre in an English City." (Nicholson 1913, 46)

And he concludes with a schoolboy's infatuation: "It is an interesting and absorbing existence. Once having started to learn things in such a vivid and exciting fashion one wonders whether one will ever want to leave School or have anything to do with anything, but the Arena Goldoni and the School for the Art of the Theatre." (Nicholson 1913, 48)

These fervent testimonials were intended to promote The School for the Art of the Theatre at the Arena Goldoni in Florence and enable a rigorous selection (of men) to shape the radical atelier of Craig's imaginings. They were to work diligently under the master's guidance, in all aspects of the craft of theatre, and realise a totality of form – Towards a New Theatre. But on 28 June 1914 Archduke Ferdinand of Austria was assassinated in Sarajevo and Europe was about to implode. Although Italy was aligned through the Triple Alliance (with the German Empire and Austria-Hungary), it was neutral in the initial phases of World War I, but the situation for Craig and his school was dire. At the outbreak of war Marriott returned to England and the few worker-students who were 'enrolled' left swiftly. By August 1914 the School was closed, thus it only functioned for eighteen months but left an eloquent provocation.[10]

As a bridge between Craig and Barba, I end this section with Craig's words: 'The school will aim at doing, and revealing the means of doing, what is left undone by the modern Theatre'.

Eugenio Barba and the Kerala Kalamandalam

Eugenio Barba did not attend a theatre school and the origin myths of Odin Teatret contain the wonderful story of him contacting many of the applicants who had been 'rejected' by the Teaterhøgskolen (Academy of Theatre of the

10 According to Rood, Craig made one final attempt to continue the School in Rome in 1914.

Oslo National Academy of the Arts) and inviting them to join him in his nascent theatre endeavour in the equally fabled 'bunker' in Oslo. Some of those potential 'students' of the Teaterhøgskolen became founding members and life-time professional partners of Barba, learning with him and through him, collaborating as an autodidactic team and as an experimental atelier that Craig would have recognised and admired. But Barba knew deeply the value of apprenticeship and the need to look, listen and learn. Unlike Craig, who had been born into the theatre aristocracy of his day – entitled, privileged and with supreme society connections – Barba was a Southern Italian migrant attuned to the sounds of a 'foreign' language, who learnt welding from a Norwegian 'master' in the manual workshop tradition, and in his early twenties was poised to learn discipline and command through experiences as a merchant sailor.[11] These four factors – brought up within a Southern Italian culture with Catholic rituals as theatre, dislocated through migration and in need of adopting another language, labouring as a welder (learning through doing) in a rigorous master-apprentice relationship and encountering strict discipline, responsibility and team ethos as a merchant sailor – seemed to contribute significantly to Barba's formation and to his perspective on theatre training, pedagogy and 'schools'.

Most significant of all, however, must be the two years Barba spent watching the young Jerzy Grotowski work with his actors creating the productions Akropolis and Doctor Faustus in the Theatre of 13 Rows in Opole, Poland, between 1962 and 1964.[12] Photographs exist of Barba sat in a corner of the small theatre watching the company at work, learning how to see, training an analytical eye, developing perception, day after day, perfecting a way of seeing that is wholly focused, tracking every shift in the actor's motion or expression and the director's instruction or intervention, building a capacity for observation that is almost surgical, precise, unflinching. Percipience, formed through an acute perception coupled with perspicacity, defined as a penetrating discernment (from the Latin perspicacitas, meaning through-sightedness), is refined by patience.

11 Barba often writes and speaks about his formative training in Oslo and his apprenticeship as a welder; 'engraved in my nervous system are Eigil Winnje's actions in his welder's workshop', together with his experiences as a merchant seaman on the Norwegian ship Talabot.

12 The term 'laboratory' was only in the process of being added to the 'Theatre of the 13 Rows' during this time to become 'The Laboratory of 13 Rows'.

In Opole, while a theatre laboratory formed a new language, Barba forged a look that knew how to see.

But there is another theatre 'school' that Barba did briefly attend that I should like to revisit. In 1963, Barba, recently in love with Judy Jones (they married two years later), set off on an expedition in 'search of theatre' to India: Judy drove the Land Rover from London to Cheruthuruthy in Kerala (among many other destinations and adventures). They had been advised to visit the Kerala Kalamandalam,[13] the now famous school for Kathakali, itself the product of visionary and utopian formation. The Kerala Kalamandalam was originally founded in 1930 to protect and preserve Kathakali, and since 2007 it has had the status of a university. In 1963, the Kerala Kalamandalam was still relatively 'young' (and less institutionalized) and following training methods founded in the guru-shishya tradition, with embodied knowledge and psychophysical exercises passed on through parampara lineage and the novices beginning their apprenticeship at a very early age and undergoing a body reformation and training of nine- or ten-years duration. Watching these boys train and exercise daily, with the intense and engaged attention he had sharpened in the laboratory theatre of Grotowski, was to make a lasting impression on Barba: "A few harassing questions and an indelible memory remained with me: the humility and dedication of the students, children about ten years old, who, in solitary silence at dawn, tried and retried the basic postures and footsteps." (Barba 2015: 39)

In the early hours of the morning – sometimes as early as three o'clock in the morning – the boys would begin their sadhakam, the gruelling physical training combining stretches, jumps and eye exercises. In the monsoon months (June through August) they would undergo the extremely vigorous body massage chavitti uzhichil, conducted by their masters, who used their feet and body weight (by hanging from bars) as a means of massaging deeply the back and legs and altering rotation in spine and hip joints. This unique massage technique originates in Kalarippayatta martial arts training.

I would suggest that in a similar way that the training alters body posture, physique and stamina, so the performance of Kathakali (and other Keralan performance traditions) alters perception, reception and a sense of time. The traditional way to present Kathakali is from dusk until dawn, flickering oil lamps

13 Barba describes this trip to India in his books The Land of Ashes and Diamonds and in The Moon Rises from the Ganges.

half lighting the resplendent figures, with the mesmerising percussive rhythm being sustained and the narrative sung over and through action.

Barba witnessed performances of Kathakali at the Kerala Kalamandalam, in addition to following closely the training process, applying and developing his techniques of observation. I would suggest that his perspicacity was tested and his way of seeing fundamentally challenged. His eyes were opened further, as if he had undergone one of the very Kathakali eye exercises he observed (and later described).[14] To this day he remains candid about the effort needed to sustain attention to Asian forms of theatre that can be so bewildering and beguiling to a Western novice unfamiliar with the codes and conventions that are needed for full comprehension. Barba devised strategies of observation; in this extensive quote he reveals how techniques of looking led to an understanding and a question that would develop into ISTA: "I believed that I was in search of a lost theatre, but instead I was learning to be in transition. Today I know that this is not a search for knowledge, but for the unknown.

After the founding of Odin Teatret in 1964, my work frequently took me to Asia: to Bali, Taiwan, Sri Lanka, Japan. I witnessed much theatre and dance. For a spectator from the West, there is nothing more suggestive than a traditional Asian performance seen in its context, often in the open tropical air, with a large and reactive audience, with a constant musical accompaniment which captivates the nervous system, with sumptuous costumes which delight the eye, and with performers who embody the unity of actor-dancer-singer-storyteller.

At the same time, there is nothing more monotonous, lacking action and development, than the seemingly interminable recitations of text, which the performers speak or sing in their (to us) unknown languages, melodiously yet implacably repetitive. In these monotonous moments, my attention developed a tactic to avoid giving up on the performance. I attempted to concentrate tenaciously on and follow just one detail of a performer: the fingers of one hand, a foot, a shoulder, an eye. This tactic against monotony made me aware of a strange coincidence: Asian performers performed with the knees bent, exactly like the Odin Teatret actors." (Barba 1995, 5–6)

14 Barba described the eye exercises in his writing about Kathakali, and in Towards a Poor Theatre photographs capture Grotowski's actors having adopted them from Barba's description (Grotowski did not visit the Kerala Kalamandalam).

For the purpose of this essay, and in considering Craig's ambitions to establish a school, it is worth reflecting further on the Kerala Kalamandalam, especially as it has played a significant role in the imaginings of laboratory theatres in the last fifty years, and also because some of the Kathakali exercises have entered the canon of physical theatre daily routines (without origins or lineage being known). In 1927, poet laureate Vallathol Narayana Menon, known throughout India as Vallathol, formed a society that developed as the Kerala Kalamandalam. On 9 November 1930 (Vallathol's fifty-first birthday), the Kerala Kalamandalam was officially inaugurated in Thrissur and began lessons in a bungalow in Ambalapuram on the outskirts of Thrissur. From the outset the Kerala Kalamandalam was not exclusively teaching Kathakali and after two years was determined to revive Mohniyattam and offer training in Bhartanatyam. In 1933 the rulers of Kochi (Cochin) donated land and a building for the permanent establishment of the Kerala Kalamandalam in the village of Cheruthuruthy on the banks of the Bharatapuzha river. The gift of a disused pig farm on the outskirts of Holstebro (Jutland, Denmark) to the equally homeless/migrant Nordisk Teatrlaboratorium (Barba and the founding Norwegian collaborators of the Odin Teatret), made by the visionary Mayor of Holstebro[15] thirty-two years later in 1965, offers an interesting parallel, as does Craig's settling in the Arena Goldoni (Florence, Italy) twenty years previously in 1913. Utopian theatre schools/institutions take occupation of sites and repurpose buildings through creative necessity.

Just as Craig struggled to sustain the initiative of his school in Florence, so too did the Kerala Kalamandalam lead a fragile and precarious existence throughout the 1930s and 1940s. It was not until the Indian Prime Minister Nehru visited the Cheruthuruthy campus for the occasion of Kerala Kalamandalam's silver jubilee – and was so impressed by the achievements made within the preceding twenty-five years that he offered one lakh of rupees (one hundred thousand) – that their existence and future became more certain.

Although Barba is often regarded as one of the first Western theatre directors to visit the Kerala Kalamandalam, and is appropriately credited with being the first non-Indian to write insightfully about the training process of Kath-

15 In 1966 the Mayor of Holstebro (then only 18,000 inhabitants) Kai K. Nielsen inaugurated an extraordinarily far-sighted cultural policy for this remote Danish province. The city not only welcomed the Odin Teatret but also a Music and Dance conservatoire.

akali and the function of Kerala Kalamandalam,[16] he was not actually the first Western practitioner to be welcomed in Cheruthuruthy. For a 'school' that first appears to be all male, and a form that is traditionally exclusively so, it is interesting to note that an American female dancer – Esther Sherman (1893–1982) was in Kerala, and known to Vallathol, at the inception of the Kerala Kalamandalam (1930–33), and an Australian female dancer – Louise Lightfoot (1902–1979) – was taking classes there in 1937. Both played an instrumental role in bringing Keralan dance-theatre forms to a larger audience in India and then in Australia, North America and in Europe in the late 1940s and in the 1950s. Ragini Devi (née Esther Luella Sherman), Sherman's adopted stage name, danced 'authentic Indian entertainments' in New York in the 1920s and was part of the exotic dance movement, although also a scholar, having studied Indian history and culture at university, and she was one of the first practitioners to write a book on Indian dance as early as 1928: Nritanjali: an introduction to Hindu dancing. Sherman/Devi did not actually travel to India until 1930 and then rapidly immersed herself in several dance forms and sought training from highly regarded guru teachers; she gained a favourable reputation and an invitation from the Maharaja of Travancore to dance in Kerala. Devi was present throughout the formation of the Kerala Kalamandalam and met the famous Kathakali dancer Gopinath. They formed a partnership and played a significant role in popularising Kathakali and bringing it to the attention of audiences throughout India through their distilled, reduced and edited staged performances. The Australian dancer Louise Lightfoot followed in Ragni Devi's footsteps, visited the Kerala Kalamandalam, took classes, and met Shivaramam (from Paravoor), who was a student of the first cohort of the school. He later became known as Ananda Shivaram and toured Australia and America with Lightfoot, eventually settling in San Francisco and founding an Indian dance school with Lightfoot.[17] I mention these two female pioneers to throw a spotlight on the intercultural and interweaving transactions that were taking place in the 1930s but also

16 Barba first wrote on Kathakali after his visit in 1963 and the text was published in French in 1965; an English language version appeared as 'The Kathakali Theatre' (1967) in the Tulane Drama Review (TDR) 11(4) (1967, 165–69).

17 Lightfoot's thirty-three essays, 'reflecting her broader worldview as a dancer, choreographer, and impresario', were gathered into a book: Louise Lightfoot in Search of India. Available as print on demand or eBook.

to highlight how individual curiosity spins out from and accelerates developments being explored in specific utopian sites of dance-theatre training.

International School of Theatre Anthropology

Barba achieved what Craig aspired for in his 'schools' within the first few years of founding Odin Teatret and the Nordisk Teatelaboratorium, especially once the fledgling company had relocated to Holstebro, Jutland, on the west coast of Denmark. By 1966 he had a permanent ensemble of actors who were training daily and developing technique and skills – initially based on Barba's understanding of what he had witnessed at Opole and Grotowski's company (not then known as the Grotowski Theatre Laboratory)[18] but rapidly following their own group and individual initiatives and trajectories. Odin Teatret had a permanent home, studios (and ground for expansion), annual financial support with city, state and national subvention; they were hosting pedagogical programmes but without the need of regular students, they were making their own productions and honing a distinctive style and aesthetic and gathering an international following; they even had their own publishing house and a theatre journal advancing theatre practice and theory throughout Scandinavia – TTT (Teaters Teori og Teknikk). In many ways they functioned as a research university without students; the faculty were the permanent ensemble of actors who were increasingly taking on responsibility for film producing, networking, archiving, renovating their 'home' and designing work – everything Craig had wished for. The journal TTT, like The Mask, devoted issues to Commedia dell'arte, theatre forms of Asia, marionette and folk theatre, and focused on the integration of theory and practice. Unlike The Mask, however, TTT paid tribute to past masters (Meyerhold, Brecht, Eisenstein, Artaud), tended not to promote the work of its founder, and consistently championed the work of another contemporary director: Grotowski (issue seven of TTT (1968) was actually Towards a Poor Theatre, Grotowski's seminal text, often thought of as Methuen's coup).[19]

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18 Only when Grotowski, Flaszen and the company moved from Opole to Wrocław in 1965 did they rename it Teatr Laboratorium (Laboratory Theatre).

19 The full listing of the TTT issues and content (and, for many issues, access to original texts) can be found via Odin Teatret website: *https://bit.ly/2TLPguJ*

Even though Barba's encounter with Kathakali at the Kerala Kalamandalam was profound and formative, and even though his curiosity with regard to Asian dance-theatres was insatiable, Barba did not think that there was a purpose in European performers going through in-depth training in the exacting and culturally differentiated techniques of the dance-theatres of Asia. This was never to be the purpose of ISTA. However, something unforeseen and serendipitous occurred when his actors returned from a 'sabbatical' in 1978. Craig had never speculated that his actors might have the will, determination and enterprise to conduct self-directed research, but Barba did. Due to a gruelling period of touring productions and organising many international gatherings, Barba needed a break from a schedule that had escalated since 1964, and his group needed a rupture in routine and to gather 'stimuli which might help shatter them from the crystallization of behaviour which tends to form in every individual or group' (Barba 1995: 6). His actors were allowed three months out and encouraged to learn new skills. Three went to Bali and learnt baris and legong dance, two went to Brazil and learnt capoeira and candomblé, two stayed at home and learnt European ballroom dancing and one went to the Kerala Kalamandalam and learnt a female role of Kathakali. It was from this melange of performance fragments that the Odin Teatret were to make the production The Million, described as: "A journey among the carnivals of different cultures, from India to Bali, from Japan to Brazil, from Africa to European ballroom dancing. A 'musical' à la Odin: a mocking album of exoticism whose figures of flesh and blood prance about in front of a strange traveller…" (OT website *http://old.odinteatret.dk/productions/past-productions/the-million.aspx*)

The 'strange traveller' is Marco Polo[20], who witnesses all these fabulous displays, and this is the loose conceptual framework for what was an immensely successful touring indoor and outdoor show (1978–1982). But the figure of Marco Polo (played by Torgeir Wethal) resonates and manifests in other directions too: in what these 'exotic' fragments of performance mastery revealed to Barba, and how it changed his perception. Also, in how the ghost of Marco Polo

20 Il Milione and The Book of Marvels of the World are alternate titles to The Travels of Marco Polo written by Marco Polo circa 1300, that described his travels in the previous thirty years along the Silk Route into the 'East', and his extraordinary encounters in India, Japan, Persia and China, the Mongol and Yuan Dynasties.

– he who witnessed the strange and the fabulous – haunts the Theatrum Mundi of ISTA and ingeminates bewilderment.[21]

As recorded above, through watching many different forms of Asian dance-theatre, Barba realised that there were certain commonalties in a performer's bios on a pre-expressive level – to use the soon-emergent ISTA terminology (in other words, regardless of form, style, culture or aesthetics, there were 'common techniques' the performer was physically engaging) – and the epiphany related to posture and poised knees. In the same text from The Paper Canoe, Barba reflects that despite his scepticism regarding the efficacy of his actors 'hurriedly learning' these fragments of Asian dance: "I began to notice that when my actors did a Balinese dance, they put on another skeleton/skin which conditioned a way of standing, moving or becoming 'expressive'. Then they would step out of it and resume the skeleton/skin of the Odin actor. And yet, in the passage from one skeleton/skin to another, in spite of difference in 'expressivity', they applied similar principles. The application of these principles led the actors in very divergent directions. I saw results which had nothing in common except the 'life' which permeated them." (Barba 1995, 6)

These observations triggered Barba's curiosity, and this in turn led to the formation of ISTA and the research questions that have underpinned it for the last forty years. Much has been written about ISTA and I strongly recommend readers to the recently launched Journal of Theatre Anthropology (that I will reflect on in conclusion to this article). Within the context of 'Training Utopias' I only wish to focus on several recurrent aspects of ISTA.[22]

First: the occasional and peripatetic, ephemeral and almost fleeting event-fullness of ISTA's sessions, fifteen in total, only one outside Europe (Londrina, Brazil, 1994), some lasting only ten days, the longest two months (Volterra, Italy, 1981). It was never the intention or desire to establish a permanent school, and long before 'pop-up restaurants' became fashionable, allowing radical and experimental chefs to 'try out' new methods, gastronomic adventures or hybrid cuisines (without the need for great financial outlay), theatre groups had been forging such enterprises for decades. ISTA is a part of that tradition: creative

21 The Theatrum Mundi were, originally, the one off celebratory (often site-specific) performances that concluded a session of ISTA and involved all the ensembles participating in the session.

22 See Negotiating Cultures: Eugenio Barba and the intercultural debate edited by Ian Watson, Manchester University Press, 2002 and other essays on ISTA by Watson for accounts of ISTA.

endeavour without commercial entrepreneurship, utopian through being aspirational, creatively disturbing and disruptive, troubling orthodoxy and questioning received wisdom. ISTA's ethos was interruptive, disquieting and unsettling. To attend and participate fully in a session required dislocation and a rupture to daily life and normal behaviour. ISTA functioned out of time and in a different rhythm: only in Uchronia can one hope to find Utopia. There was something strategic and tactical, almost military, in the way ISTA 'hit and ran'. It left no trace, its host perhaps in need of recovery and with little desire to reconvene – and certainly with no embers to rekindle. ISTA came and went and relied on those individuals who (as with Craig's benefactors) raised the funds to realise such momentous ambition. As Julia Varley graciously credits in the Journal of Theatre Anthropology editorial: "ISTA became a performers' village thanks to the deep commitment and adventurous will of people like Hans Jürgen Nagel and Roberto Bacci who managed to find the necessary economic and logistic conditions to make it happen."[23] (Varley 2021, 16)

The evocation of a 'performers' village' relates to my second point: ISTA sessions often gave life to a temporary and contingent community. There were village rules (and 'Village Elders') and recurrent rituals that had to be observed: no talking until breakfast was taken and work sessions began; a dawn chorus event (assembled in silence, at a vantage point to witness sunrise, the participants listen to the music of a visiting ensemble); no applauding of demonstrations or performances, no filming or photography (other than the official photographer); an expectation that all external work commitments would be suspended; rotas for cleaning and preparing spaces; communal living and sharing of food. Not all these rules and rituals applied to every ISTA, and some had specific, local rites, but the suspension of normal daily life and external commitments was recurrent in all the ISTAs I attended.[24] Depending on the location and the facilities of the host venue, large dormitories and washrooms had to be improvised, requiring a breach in privacy, and for some a very real dislocation in comfort. The communal feasting on the other hand generated commensal-

23 Hans Jürgen Nagel (Director of Kulturamt Bonn) was the organiser/producer of the inaugural session of ISTA in Bonn, and Roberto Bacci (Director of Centro per la Sperimentazione e la Ricerca Teatrale, Pontedera, Italy) organiser/producer of the second session in Volterra, Italy.

24 I attended the symposium in Bonn (1980), and the full sessions in Bologna (1990), Brecon/Cardiff (1992), Londrina (1994), Copenhagen/Louisiana (1996), and Montemor-o-Novo and Lisbon (1998).

ity and the collective observation of many extraordinary performances a real sense of communitas – especially at the culminating Theatrum Mundi performance.

The disruption, and in some senses disregard, for established processes of pedagogy and strategies for learning is another abiding feature of ISTA and my third observation. All university professors participating in an ISTA had to think differently and not rely on their established opinions; practitioners had to try to articulate the thought processes that underpinned their practice; performers from different world traditions of dance-theatres had to find a way of improvising together (even the very concept of improvising had to be deconstructed and then reconstructed in culturally different forms); and many strategies of interweaving, cross threading and unpicking were adopted and advanced. An individual and team responsibility towards the work was also promulgated: one had to learn how to see individually and then share what was observed collectively. Witnesses of an accident or a crime pool many different perspectives, and the police experts in interview and interrogation can be highly skilled, and at an ISTA one had to sharpen the interrogative gaze and then build capacity in listening to the team. Also, every participant had to find a way to allow his or her own capacity of observation to be guided by the perception and analysis of one other – Eugenio Barba.

What did we see? We saw a master at work, and we saw extraordinarily skilled exponents of different world dance-theatre forms reveal foundational techniques of their craft. I do not state 'master at work' as homage or sycophantic tribute (I was often the refusenik and occasional disbeliever), but I think it is important to recognise that the main vehicle for generating new knowledge within ISTA was a process of witnessing Barba grapple, often wrestle and struggle, with concepts of theatre anthropology as they emerged, through demonstration and encounter with the practitioners and world-renowned performers (not only from Asian dance-theatre forms but also Europe and the Americas). These were 'live events' of discovery and unravelling, where misunderstanding, miscommunication and confusion could easily derail the lesson of anatomy that was underway. Masterclasses, lectures, talks, screenings, workshops, debates, symposia and performances were all part of an ISTA, but it was the work demonstrations between Barba and Sanjukta Panigrahi (Odissi Dance), Kanichi Hanayagi (Kabuki), Augusto Omolú (candomblé), I Made Pasek Tempo (Balinese dance) and members of the Odin Teatret (and many other guest

performers/practitioners) where the often-thrilling discoveries were forged, uncovered through an unearthing, illuminating and revelatory – through doing – being in the moment and taking risks.

Many scholars and practitioners have criticised Barba's method of analysis, pursued through these demonstrations (and more generally ISTA), and the analogy with an anatomy lesson is apposite yet problematic (corpses, dismembering, ostentatious dissection, decontextualization, re-animation etc.). An ethos of 'meeting through difference' (quo Barba at the Copenhagen ISTA in 1996) has also been criticised for reducing cultural difference and seeking 'universals of theatre'.[25] At the session of ISTA that I convened through the auspices of the Centre for Performance Research in Brecon, Wales, in 1992,[26] there was considerable hostility (from a predominately British cohort) towards what was seen as 'scientism' and 'universalism' enshrined in ISTA's methodology and purview. There was also some frustration in participants not having the opportunity to work directly with the Asian master-performers themselves. ISTA has, throughout its forty years, shifted from being purely demonstrative to participatory and a mix of the two; in the former, the main vehicle is the lecture demonstration, the live exposition and witnessed interrogation; in the latter, practical workshops and opportunities to undergo (albeit superficial) training in a variety of forms leads to an embodied understanding of conventions and techniques. In Londrina, Brazil, the ISTA session combined both modes and this was immensely satisfying and edifying. Learning to see and watching the 'master at work' struggling to reveal remains, however, for me, the quintessential aspect of this utopian 'school'.

Finally, my fifth general observation is with regard to the accomplishment and audacity of the performances that were devised to conclude a session of ISTA, known as Theatrum Mundi. These were usually one-off, site-located events, open to the public, involving all the guest artists together with the Odin Teatret performers (actors and musicians) who were participating in the specific ISTA, and quite often special guests enrolled from the locality. They were cel-

25 See Maria Shevtsova (2002) for her analysis and critique of ISTA.

26 The Centre for Performance Research organized and hosted in Wales (UK) the 7th session of ISTA, 4–11 April 1992. The closed workshops sessions were held in Brecon and themed: Working on performance East and West/ Subscore. The open public symposium was held in Cardiff themed: Fictive Bodies, Dilated Minds, Hidden Dances.

ebratory and exuberant, directed by Barba through a process of montage and juxtaposition, some fragments of which might have been discovered through improvisation in the previous days and weeks of closed sessions. The occasions for experiencing collaborative intercultural theatre work are rare. Some luminaries of contemporary Western theatre have had the vision and fortitude to realise specific intercultural productions (Peter Book, Ariane Mnouchkine, Julie Taymor for example), but only the Singaporean Ong Keng Sen has sustained an intra- and inter-cultural programme of radical productions and collaborations through TheatreWorks and the Flying Circus project (from his early King Lear (1997), intertwining several different forms of Asian theatres, to The Trojan Women (2018), adapting Korean Pansori Opera) and unsettling the Western dominance of intercultural transaction. ISTA's Theatrum Mundi were always intercultural through a European optic (even in Brazil), but for me, the accomplished and uncompromising performances of the Asian performance fragments and improvisation, woven into the fabric of the production, transcended any dominance and resisted appropriation. The Theatrum Mundi, as a culminative event, returned all theoretical speculation and elaborate conjecture back to the performers; the actors, dancers and musicians mischievously outperformed scrutiny and analysis, retained their secrets and shone with magical evanescence.[27]

Ric Knowles has succinctly pointed out that theatre has a long history of intercultural dialogue, but he warns that the ambition of much work emanating in the late twentieth century 'raises issues about cultural imperialism, appropriation, and colonialism, even as it offers the utopian promise of a world where race and cultural difference do not matter' (Knowles 2010, 1–2). ISTA's Theatrum Mundi could never avoid those political and cultural issues, but they did project a palpable sense of all the performers engaging fully in the collaboration and being creatively challenged, by both the demand and the opportunity, to dance/perform betwixt and between their traditions.

27 The Theatrum Mundi began to have a life of their own, separate from a session of ISTA, becoming almost an ISTA ensemble with a sequence of short-run performances. This started with The Island of Labyrinths at the Copenhagen ISTA and led to Ur Hamlet (in Helsingor, Denmark in 2006 and Wroclaw, Poland in 2009), independent of an ISTA and yet involving almost fifty performers from the ISTA associated artists.

A Quadrille

Whereas Craig gives shape to most of his ideas on theatre (acting, design, harmony and totality of form) in a single text, On the Art of the Theatre (his first major book, published in 1911), and then expands and expounds these ideas through The Mask (1908–1923) and Towards A New Theatre (1913), Barba has sustained a process of reflection and reconsideration (of both practice and theory) through his writing across sixty years. Barba has written twenty-two books (many in both Italian and English, some translated into eleven languages) and many articles; this formidable output of scholarship and analysis indicates a restless need to review and reformulate thinking about theatre. For both Craig and Barba, the written texts, and the actual art object of the books, are important vehicles through which a dynamic relation between practice and theory is forged. For Craig, his concepts for stage design and a radical transformation of scenography for a 'New Theatre' are captured in the exquisitely produced books Hamlet and A Production.[28] For Barba, his understanding and insight with regard to the performer's techniques (knowledge and way of being) pervade all his writing, whether about dramaturgy, directing, the Odin Teatret, 'third theatre', or theatre anthropology. Other than the aspirational, indicative and promotional texts written about his visions for theatre 'schools' (mentioned above), Craig did not write a reflection on them or analyse their achievements. Barba wrote La Canoa di carta in 1993, published in English in 1995 (The Paper Canoe) carrying the subtitle A Guide to Theatre Anthropology, which aimed to distil and record all the research of ISTA – as discovered in the first thirteen years of emanation.

With regard to the output and written theoretical reflection of ISTA, The Paper Canoe was preceded by Anatomia del teatro, a collaboration between Nicola Savarese and Barba. Anatomia del teatro recorded the key concepts of ISTA in a dictionary format with highly visual content that was not only illustrative but more profoundly evocative; this interweaving of text and visual content

28 Craig's vision for what can be created for the stage of the page are epitomised in The Cranach Press Hamlet (printed in 1929 and limited to 250 copies) and in the Oxford University Press A Production (printed in1930, large folio, containing 32 plates). The British Library describes The Cranach Press Hamlet thus: 'illustrated by Edward Gordon Craig, is often regarded as the most bold and ambitious example of 20th-century book art. Elegantly put together, with obsessive attention to detail, it uses hand-made paper and decorated binding, fine images and beautiful typefaces to enhance the dramatic effect of Shakespeare's play.'

created a 'performance' for the page that paralleled the revelatory endeavours of the utopian school – ISTA. Here the page as stage functions like a medieval or renaissance illuminated manuscript, intended for educational and liturgical use. Anatomia del teatro was published as an expanded and updated English-language edition in 1991, formally as A Dictionary of Theatre Anthropology: The Secret Art of the Performer[29], although the subtitle The Secret Art of the Performer appears larger on the cover and the book was always referred to as such by the authors and editor. A Dictionary of Theatre Anthropology was insisted upon by the publisher, Routledge, who were concerned that 'secrets' might not appeal to librarians, whereas 'dictionaries' assured sales. I am familiar with, and implicated in, this detail because I edited the English-language edition and had been committed to publishing an English version since I was given a copy of Anatomia del teatro in 1984 and had been enthralled by the visual content and the dramaturgy of the page.[30] A Dictionary of Theatre Anthropology has subsequently appeared in eleven languages and been revised through various editions over the last thirty years. Reflecting on its composition, Nicola Savarese makes this observation: "Clearly its simple format with text and illustrations having equal importance, each referencing the other, had proven effective. The illustrations played the role of protagonists in a new field of study, theatre anthropology, which Eugenio had invented." (Savarese 2019: 6)

This appears in the introduction to The Five Continents of Theatre: Facts and Legends about the Material Culture of the Actor (2019), and this relatively new book functions thirty years later as the companion to A Dictionary of Theatre Anthropology: first the dictionary, now the compendium, which is almost encyclopaedic in its engagement with the 'material culture of the actor'.

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29 The book was published by Routledge (London and New York) for the Centre for Performance Research (CPR), then based in Cardiff. The CPR determined to publish the book itself after many years of seeking collaboration with a UK publisher. In the final stages of production, a fruitful co-production was established with Routledge, that effectively saw the book 'packaged' by CPR – it was edited, designed and manufactured entirely in Wales – and 'distributed' by Routledge. See note 30.

30 In 1984 I was given a copy of Anatomia del teatro by Roberto Bacci (Director of Centro per la Sperimentazione e la Ricerca Teatrale, Pontedera, Italy) and was inspired by how his centre had collaborated with the Florence-based publisher La Casa Usher to realise such an ambitious publication. For four years I sought a similar collaboration within the UK but for no avail, until in 1989 Helena Reckitt, temporarily managing the theatre/performance list at Routledge, encouraged the prospect. A co-production was taken forward by Talia Rodgers (Publisher at Routledge 1990- 2016) and thus the English language version (and subsequent editions) was realised.

There is, however, another book I should like to add to complete this quartet and to enable a quadrille to commence. This is Savarese's Eurasian Theatre: Drama and Performance Between East and West from Classical Antiquity to the Present, first published in an English-language edition in 2010 by Icarus[31] but actually first appearing almost twenty years earlier in Italian as Teatro e spettacolo fra Oriente e Occidente (Laterza, 1992). This magnificent work of scholarship embodies a way of seeing informed and guided by ISTA; it is theatre history enriched by theatre anthropology and a way of comprehending the transactions between theatres East and West (past and present) as energetic and effectual exchange. Several close collaborators of Barba and active long-term members of the 'Scientific Committee of ISTA' have written on specific aspects of theatre or theatre history aligned to their previously established expertise but then re-visioned through an ISTA perspective (for example, Ferdinando Taviani on Commedia dell'arte). These diverse books give testament to the veracity of the 'school' as a training ground of perception and scholarship.

But it is Savarese's masterwork that functions as a cornerstone to an ISTA-optic insight on world theatre. Eurasion Theatre is a massive text of 640 pages and contains not a single image; likewise, Barba's The Paper Canoe (192 pages) is devoid of any illustration. The two books – The Secret Art of the Performer and The Five Continents of Theatre – are replete with images, super-saturated and overflowing. These four books can be seen as oscillating in a square dance, coupling and decoupling, circling and throwing light and casting spells on each other (evocation of magic is never far away). The books dance and geometrically form a super-ellipse, a four-armed star, along which one can slide on the inward concave curves or diametrically traverse; ISTA remains the centre point, the anchor but also the origin.

ISTA began in an age before the internet when chances to see what dances from Bali or Orrisa (India) looked like, or to comprehend different styles of Kabuki, was difficult, unless one had the opportunity to travel. And even then, cross- or trans-cultural comparison of world theatre forms would have been difficult. With the emergence of abundant digital resources and the opportunity to surf and travel the globe and dive deep into the grain and substance of

31 Icarus Publishing Enterprise was initially a collaboration between Odin Teatret (Denmark), the Grotowski Institute (Poland) and Theatre Arts Researching the Foundations (Malta), that became adopted by Routledge, Taylor & Francis in 2012. Ten titles have been published.

every theatre form, the world has changed, and 'changed utterly'. The books of ISTA (as of every 'school') now have to function differently, or rather can be used differently by readers able to access the evidence and reassess the findings. The latest addition to the quartet, The Five Continents of Theatre, is in many ways borne of an internet age and is a curated compendium of material selected through an ISTA-optic; it is garnered from diverse recesses of the world wide web, framed and contextualised and commented upon precisely and insightfully. Curation, as the etymology of the word insists, is an act of care; in The Five Continents of Theatre, Barba and Savarese have selected carefully and lovingly, revealing a passion for their subject and a deep understanding of it.

Curiously, in 2010 Savarese wondered whether his work Teatro e spettacolo fra Oriente e Occidente (Theatre and Performance between East and West) was worth rendering into an English language edition given the almost twenty-year gap since its original research and publication and the spectacular reach of the internet: "I wondered whether now that the twentieth century is over, and internet has now come into existence, it was still worth publishing. At the end of a virtual journey into sites and publications concerning the theatres of the East and the West I concluded that in spite of its age, this volume relates stories of theatre and life that are still little known. I felt that these stories deserve to continue to be told because they trace the ways Eurasian theatre moved across time, as well as across physical and cultural borders, left trails that can still be picked up today." (Savarese 2010, 12)

This reflection emphasises once again that it is the 'way of seeing' that ISTA has nurtured that is its abiding and transcending legacy. To have access to abundant (digital) resources is not enough; it is how those resources are curated (selected with care) that is paramount. It is also about how the trained eye can see beyond the historical facts, details and detritus and can pick up on the 'trails' and the 'traces' that cut across time, performers and cultures, and can, through seeing, illuminate structures and 'secrets' (embodied knowledge).

Whether a dictionary or a ledger of secrets, from the years I spent working on the expanded English language edition of Anatomia del teatro, there remain two pages of the book, comprising two images, that I am especially pleased we selected. (I present them here.) The first is the title page, the opening image to the book taken from the culminating Theatrum Mundi of the Bologna session of ISTA in 1990 that depicts the Balinese Topeng dancer I Made Tempo

and Odin Teatret actor Roberta Carrieri. It seems to me to capture the essence of ISTA in performance and actual transcultural form. The other is the final image in the book: an historical image (a mosaic) of Salome from the baptistry of St Marks Basilica in Venice and on the facing page the books final text: "There exists a secret art of the performer. There exist recurring principles which determine the life of actors and dancers in various cultures and epochs. These are not recipes, but points of departure, which make it possible for an individual's qualities to become scenic presence and to be manifest as personalised and efficient expression in the context of the individual's own history.

If we were to propose one single image to sum up all the recurring principles which are the basis of the actors and dancer's pre-expressivity, it would be this Salome, a Eurasian figure, between Orient and Occident, in St. Mark's Basilica in Venice.

And somewhere between the persona and the dancer's 'I', the cruelty, which Artaud called 'rigour, perseverance, and decision' seems to lurk." (Barba and Savarese 1991, 268)

Secrets and Continents

When I hawked Anatomia del teatro around publishers and literary agents in London throughout 1989, hoping to secure a publishing contract for an expanded English edition of Barba and Savarese's work, in response to the unanimous rejection and the publishers' horror of such a highly illustrated manuscript, I would often (mis)quote Lewis Carroll and somewhat churlishly remark 'what's the point of a book without pictures?' The full musing of Alice that opens Alice's Adventures in Wonderland is: 'And what is the use of a book [thought Alice] without pictures or conversations.' I was delighted to see, on receipt of The Five Continents of Theatre, that this project did not only develop the synergy and dynamic between text and images (containing tenfold the number of pictures of 'The Dictionary') but it also included conversations. Barba and Savarese adopt the pseudonyms of Bouvard and Pécuchet, and through an act of mischievous ventriloquism begin each of the five main chapters with a conversation that playfully grounds the heights of encyclopaedic ambition that the ensuing entries are about to ascend. These entries are replete with pictures, and as Jessica Lim, in an essay on the relation between text and illustration in Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, has written, Alice's

musing "suggests that a book is most complete and engaging when it combines different forms of communication in concert and in counterpoint with each other." (Lim 2016, 386)

Lim explores the 'synergistic operation of text and image as a mode of engaging the novel's dual readership'. The Five Continents of Theatre performs this 'synergistic operation of text and image' through counterpoint and juxtaposition – one might almost say through 'coherent incoherence' and 'en pointe' – in the mode of ISTA's extra-daily 'luxury balance'.[32]

Bouvard et Pécuchet is the unfinished satirical novel of Gustave Flaubert, published one year after his death in 1880. Bouvard and Pécuchet are two Parisian copy-clerks who meet by chance and embark on an adventure in search of knowledge. Aided by a fortune bequeathed to Bouvard, they purchase an estate in Normandy and their quest takes them stumbling through all branches of the sciences and arts. It is courageous of Barba and Savarese to assume the roles of these feckless seekers and typically self-effacing of them as they wish to destabilise and deconstruct the very authority of their authorial command; literary analysis of Bouvard et Pécuchet often remarks on the protagonists' inability to distinguish reality from signs and symbols. Towards the end of the book Bouvard and Pécuchet construct a two-seated desk from which they can write in symbiosis, but eventually, with all paths of knowledge well-trodden and exhausted, they return 'to copying as before'. It seems that Flaubert had intended to construct a sottisier (a dictionary of jokes and stupid comments) of Bouvard's and Pécuchet's copying industry. A Dictionary of Received Ideas was eventually compiled in 1913, itself the result of Flaubert's relentless gathering of notes and background research, lampooning the aspiration of the French enlightenment's quest for knowledge. Thankfully the ludicrous aspiration of Flaubert's Bouvard and Pécuchet is not paralleled in the impossible necessity for Barba and Savarese to gather all evidence of tacit knowledge regarding performance and the performers know-how.

The conversations between Bouvard and Pécuchet in The Five Continents of Theatre are also reminiscent of the 'Dialogues' elaborated by Craig in On the

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32 'Balance' formed a major section in A Dictionary of Theatre Anthropology and the early ISTA observations surrounding 'extra-daily' balance as a technique common to most world theatre/dance traditions (extreme 'off balance' feet positions and movement) led to notions of 'luxury balance' – 'extra effort which dilates the body's tension in such a way that the performer seems to be alive even before he begins to express' (Barba and Savarese 1991, 34).

Art of Theatre, where 'an expert and a playgoer are conversing' through two substantial 'Dialogues'. In 'The Art of the Theatre: The First Dialogue' (which actually first appeared as a separate booklet in 1905), the 'Playgoer' initially comments to the 'Stage-Director': 'To me it seems that Acting is the Art of the Theatre', to which Craig (the Stage-Director) sharply retorts: 'Is a part then equal to the whole?' The Playgoer is the foil to the all-knowing and far-superior Stage Director, asking the innocent questions and allowing Craig to hold forth and profess. It would be through these dialogues that Craig would advance many of his visionary and controversial ideas for a New Theatre, including: "I believe in the time when we shall be able to create works of art in the Theatre without the use of the written play, without the use of actors."

While Craig's dialogues are Socratic and earnest, Barba's and Savarese's (Bouvard and Pécuchet) conversations are semantic and playful.

Many years ago, I was fortunate to be bequeathed a full set of the Enciclopedia dello spettacolo (the Encyclopaedia of Performing Arts) edited by Silvio D'Amico. Sadly, due to my poor language skills, I have not been able to read a single entry (and the work has never been translated from the original Italian), but I have often enjoyed leafing through the profusion of illustrations and colour plates. This massive eleven-volume work,[33] which comprises 18,000 pages and several thousand illustrations (including 320 full colour plates) is probably the most comprehensive print encyclopaedia on theatre ever produced, albeit with a predominately European focus. There is something about the ambition, scope and scale of The Five Continents of Theatre that reminds me of the Enciclopedia dello spettacolo, and the encyclopaedia also took an ethnographic approach to its subject (fairly innovative for its time – 1940–50s). The Enciclopedia dello spettacolo was also similarly curated by a 'family' committed to the realisation of a colossal work of scholarship. Whereas for Barba and Savarese the 'family' is mainly the ISTA/Odin family, for Silvio D'Amico it was his actual family, with his father attending to the theatre and drama sections, his brother editing music entries and his brother-in-law, a lawyer, raising funds. From this inner core of editors, the team spanned out to include other Italian professors and specialists in specific theatre fields. The Enciclopedia dello

33 To the nine-volume set published by Casa Editrice Le Maschere, Rome, an additional Aggiornamento volume (a supplementary update 1955 to 1965) was added in 1966 and then in 1968 an Indice-repertorio (an Index-Directory) formed an eleventh, 1,000-page volume.

spettacolo, like The Five Continents of Theatre, also developed and was gestated over a long-time span. Beginning in 1945, its original four-volume form was deemed incomplete and unpublishable, and therefore for a further twelve years D'Amico led an ever-expanding team of contributors and editors. The first volumes were published in 1954 and by 1962 the original nine-volume set was complete (one volume per year). As I could only appreciate the visual content of the Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo, I was curious about how such a vast range of material had been amassed. On enquiring some years ago, colleagues in Italy told me that D'Amico had a network of amateur collectors and enthusiasts who avidly collected material relating to their specialism or hobby from markets, antique shops and antiquarian bookshops (this well before eBay or any internet searching).

The image of a network of amateur hobbyists gathering images from the detritus of flea markets has remained with me, and through The Five Continents of Theatre becomes recast and repurposed; now I see Nicola Savarese at home in Carpignano Salentino surfing the internet and over months and years creating a vast storehouse of images: paintings, etchings and photographs. As with Jorge Luis Borges' cartographers creating a map almost as large as the country they chart,[34] Savarese acquisitively and assiduously constructs his grand repository, archives and indexes his discovery of exquisite gems and unusual finds. On the title page of the book, under a painting of Quint Buchholz (of a man climbing out of a book on step ladders and peering into the distance), the authors place this statement: 'This book is a tree which has grown out of tombs and from the Internet.' They acknowledge the material is all out there on the world wide web, but it needs a curator's eye driven by a specific and informed curiosity to make the selection, construct the montage and generate the dramaturgy. The thousands of images that cascade throughout The Five Continents of Theatre are probably only a small selection of what Savarese and Barba have amassed in the previous thirty years. But it is a wonderful, audacious and illuminating selection. Sadly, D'Amico's Enciclopedia dello spettacolo lived a relatively short life (in terms of active use as reference material) – only two decades because by the 1970s it was regarded as too partial, too Eurocentric and lacking any depth in non-Western dance/theatre forms. Its

34 See Jorge Luis Borges' fabulous short story about cartographers and the relationship between maps and territory: *The Accuracy of Science* (1946).

editorial vision, formed before World War II and only slightly updated in the 1950s, remained locked in its twelve-volume form, weighing almost forty kilos and occupying almost a metre length of shelf; it was soon subject to 'review', removed to stocks, and then, since the flourishing of the internet, jettisoned by many of the new breed of librarians who no longer value books.

The Five Continents of Theatre is encyclopaedic in ambition and a monumental achievement, focusing ISTA's gaze and perspicacity on the 'facts and legends about the material culture of the actor', the tools of the trade, professional 'know-how' and 'knack', and the inner workings of the theatre machine. In a material culture mode, I recall growing up in 1960s Britain and an era of tinned salmon with the irritating promotional slogan: 'it's the fish that John West rejects that makes John West the best'. I often wondered about those rejected fish. The sixth 'continent' of this work offers a glimpse of the outtakes and 'excluded'. It also gives a sense that, for all its abundance of riches and visual excess, we are only seeing the proverbial tip of an iceberg, and, as with Antarctica, this sixth continent is vast and difficult to encompass. "The authors composed hundreds of pages about creative processes, the technical term, a historical event, or how to face lengthy gestation periods. They filled many such pages in an effort to synthesize History and individual biographies, exploring how History leaves its mark on actors' technique and on their lives. Most pages remained in their notebooks and just a few slipped out here." (Barba and Savarese 2019, 370)

But to return to the beginning, the foreword by Tatiana Chemi is titled 'The grammar of magic and science'. In it, she reframes Grotowski's assertion that theatre is a 'pragmatic science defined by "pragmatic laws"' and advances that magic too is a pragmatic science. She evokes witches and sorcerers and their 'black books' known as grimoires. Thirty years after The Secret Art of the Performer, secrets, spells and charms are therefore still circulating. The mythology of fables "is also a tool to organise thought: a web of interlacements allowing actors and directors to fix, capture and formulate what in their practice presents itself as transitory, impossible to shape, recognise or give name to." (Chemi 2019, 1)

The Five Continents of Theatre is a treasure trove of fables about the actors' material culture and, through interlacing, interweaving and imbrication, the facts and legends resonate and ricochet, often ringing with poignant clarity, occasionally obfuscated, disturbing and troubling through dissonance. At times

the book is almost unreadable, too dense, compacted, almost matted. One needs to dilute it, as with a highly distilled and potent liquor, and regard it as a reduced distillate needing time and space to expand. The strategy for 'reading' has to be by surreptitious imbibing, dipping and diving, coming up for air.

The five continents rise from the Five W's of established practice in research, journalism and investigation: Who, What, When, Where, and Why. In relation to an interrogation of theatre, the book comprises five chapters: When, Where, How, For Whom, and Why – and then the sixth chapter is the collection of aforementioned 'fallen pages'. Savarese clarifies that the previous works in relation to ISTA (as discussed above) established the body-mind techniques of the actor in relation to the spectator but that relationship was enhanced by 'auxiliary techniques of equal efficacy': "All these elements are managed through a practical knowledge stratified in time and experience, founded on techniques that facilitate the work of the actors and favour the realization of their profession. This is the material culture of the actor, organised within the double spiral of body-mind and auxiliary techniques." (Barba and Savarese 2019, 7)

The work is a product of an extraordinary collaboration, a complex editorial feat involving twenty-five contributors, many of whom have been the core 'scientific team' of ISTA and whose texts have evolved over decades. There are inevitably strange gaps, blind spots, partial and partisan accounts, and abstruse arrangements of facts and legends. But in a compendium of such superabundance, one is overwhelmed by the labour of love that has given form to it and compelled by the curiosity it regenerates.

Journals – The Mask and the Journal of Theatre Anthropology

In conclusion I should like to reflect on the recently launched Journal of Theatre Anthropology (JTA) – the first issue, titled The Origins, was published on 10 March 2021. It is planned to be an annual publication and available in digital format as open access and therefore all content can be downloaded (see links below).[35] I encourage readers of Performance Research to visit JTA and

35 JTA is published in digital format as open access under a Creative Commons Attribution. It will also exist as a print journal, printed by Mimesis Edizioni of Milan-Udine, Italy.

acquaint themselves with the material; I will not offer a detailed description here and I am more interested in examining the relationship of a journal to a 'school' and, as indicated in the preamble, in how a journal leads to a school, and how a school leads to a journal.

The relationship between journals and theatres is complex, turbulent and generative. Through the Russian journal Mir iskusstva (World of Art), Sergei Diaghilev not only established an art movement but also paved the way to form the Russian Ballet. Mir Iskusstva was launched in 1898 and was active for six years. One hundred years later the Belgian artist, Jan Fabre, enfant terrible of the European performance scene in the 1990s, having established his theatre company Troubleyn/Jan Fabre and garnered notoriety, launched a journal: Janus. This journal allowed Fabre to extend the scope of his performance work, help promote a distinctive Belgium/Flanders performance-art aesthetic that was gaining traction in the 1990s and create a vehicle for Fabre's own artwork, designs and musings. Edward Gordon Craig thus returns to the stage of this article. Olga Taxidou turns the spotlight on Craig's performance through the pages of The Mask, appositely subtitling her book A Periodical Performance by Edward Gordon Craig. Theatre journals are haunted by actors and directors who emerge from the 'Hell' beneath the stage (the 'under-stage') to tread the boards as ghostly apparition. On Craig, Taxidou proposes that The Mask was Craig's permanent performance (his many textual appearances authored through pseudonyms functioned as actors within it) and writes: "The very physicality and concreteness of a periodical provided him with a permanency that a theatrical performance – as it turned out – could not. His attempt to formulate his theory of 'a new theatre', 'the theatre of the future', is not only expressed in the contents of The Mask but also enacted through its overall visual effect." (Taxidou 1998, 22)

Craig sustained his performance of The Mask for twenty-one years and it preserves, like a moth in amber, the intrepid yet inexecutable vision for a new theatre and an audacious new school. As recorded above, JTA is not the first of Barba's journal's; TTT was, almost sixty years earlier. And whereas TTT was on a mission to inform, nurture and empower Scandinavian theatre practitioners with a fervour and passion (and a deep sense of lineage and tradition), JTA appears to be far more contemplative, reflexive and mellow. Barba begins by asking: "Am I too old to found a journal of theatre anthropology? I'm 84, 22 books and hundreds of articles behind me. Do I still have something to say?

Don't I risk repeating what my experience has made me put on paper so many times in so many different ways?"

The self-doubt appears to herald diffidence and a less assertive, strident tone, and reflection through the wisdom of age and experience. With a school realised, theories established, and practices now well adopted, there remains, however, curiosity and restlessness: "Yet some questions keep dancing in my head. They are the same ones I asked myself when I embarked on my theatre journey in the early 60s of the last century. Their simplicity fed my insecurity: what is the essence of theatre? Why do I want to do theatre? How can I appropriate theatrical knowledge? They prodded me to look for people who could help me unravel these questions thanks to their familiarity with the history of the profession or their technical knowledge." (Barba 2019, 9)

The journal (at least in this first issue) enshrines gratitude and a deep respect for the many scholars, practitioners and producers that enabled ISTA to flourish and resonate through physical form throughout the last forty years. No more the exhausting sessions[36] or editions of the 'school', a journal, it would appear, is now the vehicle through which the project will evolve – and with a quality of stillness and contemplation: "It is understandable that today I resume one of these questions that my daimon keeps whispering in my mind: what does the tacit knowledge, the technique, the incorporated know-how of the actor consist of? And that I face this question together with a group of people who are willing to climb this crystal mountain with me. Thus, JTA was born, a Journal of Theatre Anthropology." (Barba 2019, 9)

Barba emphasises the collaborative spirit of the enterprise and places great value on team research, the co-production of ISTA and what was achieved through collective endeavour. The contents of the first issue of JTA embody this perspective: many texts from the foundational team of scholars that followed ISTA throughout its journey (and who functioned as both 'Scientific Committee' and 'Village Elders') are included (Ferdinando Taviani, Franco Ruffini, Nicola Savarese, Patrice Pavis, Jean Marie Pradier, Clive Barker and Janne Risum). The editorial team consists of two long-standing members of Odin Teatret, Julia Varley and Rina Skeel, who are joined by two relatively younger scholars, Leonardo

36 As this issue went to print Odin Teatret announced that there will be another session of ISTA themed 'The Actor's Presence and the Spectator's Perception' to be held on the island of Favignana (Italy), 12–22 October 2021.

Mancini (University of Verona) and Simone Dragone (University of Genoa). As was the case with Craig (his journal, publishing house and 'school'), Italy is the spiritual home of JTA, as it was for ISTA (four of the sessions took place in Italy with perhaps the most significant, and formative, edition held in Volterra). The team of advisors and academics that embraced the initiative and supported Barba throughout were predominately Italian. As Dorothy Neville Lees mused in A Living Theatre (and Craig endorsed in the guise of John Balance): "The Mask could not have existed… out of Italy. For Italy is the storehouse of these things [referring to the history and regard for theatre] and it is the Italians who write about them with most enthusiasm." (Lees 1913, 17)

Perhaps the Italian sensibility for being collegial, congenial and cordial was always the natural home for ISTA, as it was for Craig. England (Craig declines Britain or the UK), could have never nurtured or given a home to Craig's vision for theatre (as it still couldn't for Peter Brook sixty years later). ISTA's influence within the UK was limited compared to the rest of Europe or the Americas, and even in Wales its methods and findings were challenged, although a profound experience was shared and taken forward through praxis in unforeseen ways. In his old age, Barba dances and becomes more playful: "It is this tradition of shared experience that Journal of Theatre Anthropology wants to extend to the field of reflection and studies. A publication that collects facts, technical experiences, historical reflections and above all questions. Whatever the rhythm – tango, rock'n'roll, legong, waltz, mai, can-can, rumba, cha-cha-cha – dancing questions are welcome." (Barba 2019, 13)

But as in all his theatre productions, a transformation is in process and a figure of death casts a sombre shadow; there is also a darker rhythm playing in the background and it comes from the gaps and spaces of those no longer present and no longer companions on the journey. Key collaborators of ISTA/Barba have died in the past few decades: Fabrizio Cruciani (radical theatre historian, guide and mentor to Barba), Sanjukta Panigrahi (world-renowned Odissi dancer, muse and soul of ISTA), Torgeir Wethal (one of the original Norwegian founding members of Odin Teatret), and in recent months Ferdinando Taviani (world expert on Commedia dell'arte, counsellor and much-cherished friend of Barba). But there is nothing morose or moribund in this venture (JTA), more an acceptance of time passing and a reflection on what else could have (and still could be) discovered.

> What might have been and what has been
> Point to one end, which is always present.
> Footfalls echo in the memory
> Down the passage which we did not take
> Towards the door we never opened.

These lines from T. S. Eliot's Burnt Norton (the first poem of Four Quartets) perhaps aptly capture reflection on both the elasticity and fixity of time, evoking a still point where the restless transformations turn to contemplation and sagacity:

> At the still point of the turning world. Neither flesh nor fleshless;
> Neither from nor towards; at the still point, there the dance is,
> But neither arrest nor movement. And do not call it fixity,
> Where past and future are gathered. Neither movement from nor towards,
> Neither ascent nor decline. Except for the point, the still point,
> There would be no dance, and there is only the dance.

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Gergely Kisházy

Performance, anxiety, suggestion

Reducing anxiety in performance situations through suggestive communication techniques

Abstract

Performance anxiety is an agonizing feeling. Fear of being judged is most often felt before public performances, especially when we are afraid of being embarrassed in front of others. The tingling excitement of subdued stage fright can be performance-enhancing, but if the pressure is too much, it can also have a negative impact on our physical and emotional well-being. Suggestive communication can be a good way of hiding stress symptoms and reducing stage fright; it can also significantly reduce anxiety, fear and bad feelings related to embarrassing situations, whether experienced by ourselves or others.

Keywords: performance anxiety, suggestive communication, speech-based stress symptoms

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The power of suggestive words

Suggestive words can be any verbal content that makes an impression on us. Questions, addresses, encouragement can all have a suggestive power. Such communication is not an instruction, not a request, but a simple statement or thought that we deliberately say to other people. Its effect is not the result of a conscious decision, but of an involuntary action on the part of the recipient. There may be individual differences in sensitivity to suggestion, but we are all susceptible to most of them. In special, not ordinary situations:

– altered states of consciousness;
– fear, vulnerability, heightened emotional stress;
– unusual, novel situations

susceptibility to suggestion increases, so it is worth considering what communication options we have before we go on stage and what we can do to reduce the anxiety of the colleague we are helping before the performance.

Performance anxiety

The conditions that increase susceptibility to suggestibility can also be seen with performance anxiety; going on stage, sitting in the studio, standing up in front of an audience and starting to speak is a daunting task for many. This sense of anxiety feeds on the tension that precedes the performance, and its manifestations that destroy our credibility are worth managing. The aim is not to eliminate tension, but to maintain it at a level at which our performance does not deteriorate significantly. The psychological causes of nervousness most often include

– the herd instinct,
– feelings of inferiority and
– fear of failure.

Many of us like to blend in with the crowd, to benefit from the good feeling of being in the crowd. In the company of others, we are more likely to fit in with the majority, to be relieved of individual responsibility, and to lose our fear of punishment. On the contrary, we do not like to be singled out, to act. The reason for this lies in an innate need to be accepted and to belong. An inferiority complex can also underlie performance anxiety: if we do not trust ourselves, if we are not clear about our own values, if we do not know why we are likeable,

we become instinctively anxious. Anxiety can also be based on fear of failure: none of us likes to lose our dignity, pride and humanity.

A common cause of excessive stage fright is that we perceive the situation as unrealistically scary. Our thoughts revolve around worst-case scenarios, frightening events, devaluing our own ability to perform. We vividly imagine how we are going to fall in the speech, we can't breathe, loose our voice, our clothes get soaked under our armpits, we produce spectacular signs of embarrassment. We imagine the situation as dangerous, the audience as hostile or disinterested. We think of what we don't want to be asked, we anticipate the embarrassment and fear it. We also overestimate the consequences of failure: we feel that it will be fatal, that the performance will fail, that we will be humiliated and lose credibility. We use a wide range of negative suggestion in a colourful variety of ways:

– "...I'd do anything but this..."
– "...I'm sure I'd be laughed at and shamed..."
– "...I just want to survive this, I'll never do anything like this again..."
– "...I'm no good at this either, it's not for me..."
– "...I've never been able to do this..."
– "...just the thought of it makes me nervous..."
– "...I always get blocked, I forget everything when I have to stand in front of people..."
– "...They can't pay me enough to stand up ..."
– "...I never could speak in front of people, I can't do it now..."

All these are self-fulfilling prophecies that actually increase anxiety and increase the risk of failure. However, these fears and the negative suggestion they formulate are full of irrational exaggerations; solutions can be found in techniques based on positive self-suggestion.

Reducing performance anxiety

Many believe that anxiety should not be conquered, but tamed. One approach is to reinforce our supportive beliefs with positive suggestion: "...I have performed many times, I am a good performer, I can relate to the audience and I will feel good at the end of the presentation when I receive the applause...". We can work on limiting beliefs by reversing them to positive suggestions: for

example, by refuting the negative suggestion "....I always forget everything when I have to speak in front of many people..." part by part

– "...I have had some great experiences as a speaker, for example the last time..." or
– "...I will do it creatively, the others are with me and will help me..." or
– "...I will have my notes and the text on the projected slides next to me, they will give me security..." or
– "...today I have to speak in front of 150 people, last time 200 people listened and how well I did..."

these will be reinforced with language structures that will support successful performance. A realistic self-image is not a disadvantage, the unrealistic fear of performing is also underpinned by issues of self-awareness, self-esteem and self-confidence. As a negative suggestion, the structures

– "...I am not worthy enough, I am still not good enough...", or
– "...I don't deserve to succeed, to be applauded at the end..."

are the most common. These phrases influence how we feel when we have to perform. If we are beginners with real areas for improvement, it doesn't matter how we approach our own performance anxiety. Performing techniques and acting methodologies are not based on static skills, most people achieve the ability to deliver inspiring performances with routine confidence as a prepared performer through persistent practice.

Alison Wood Brooks suggests that instead of forcing a state of calm, we should try to transform our anxiety into a positive emotion, such as interest or enthusiasm, by replacing the therapeutic mantra "...I am calm...", which sounds alien in these situations, with the suggestion "...I am excited..." (Brooks 2014, 3–12). In one of his experiments, he gave university students the task that, after two minutes of preparation, they should give a persuasive speech about why they would be good colleagues. The participants, divided into two groups, were asked to say a short sentence before their speech, one group had to say "...I am calm..." and the other "...I am excited...". The speeches were recorded and then analysed. When the students labelled their emotions as excited, they were more confident and assertive than those who said they were calm. Expressing their fear as excitement also motivated the speakers, they had the courage to stay on the podium and on average they spoke about themselves for 29% longer. In the second phase of the experiment, the students were divided into three groups. The first group's suggestive sentence was "...I am nervous...", the

second group's was "...I am excited...", and the third group had to say nothing. The task was to sing a hit song from the 80s, and the accuracy of the singing was measured by a voice recognition program. Here again, the best performers were those who labelled their emotions as excitement, singing with 80% accuracy. Those who said nothing before singing scored 69% accuracy, with the 'nervous' group dropping to 53%. The experiments suggest that the use of self-soothing as described above should be discarded and that communication techniques based on (self-)suggestion should be tried instead.

Specific verbal suggestion techniques, researched mainly in medical communication, can be effectively used to relieve fears of oneself or others before a performance. In order to do this with confidence, it is worth reviewing the verbal power of suggestion: the main rules of its structure and the most common strategies. While the reception of suggestions is involuntary, their construction and elaboration require conscious linguistic editing.

The structure of suggestions

Katalin Varga collected aspects of the structure of well-performed suggestions: purpose, positivity, style, speech features, involuntariness, repetition, timing, quantity, rhythm and pauses, present tense, questions, sensory modality, motivation, focus on purpose, do-not-try, cognition, recovery and release (Varga 2011, 26–28).

- The aim is for suggestions to convey a central idea that identifies the response to be elicited (this could be, for example, the release of anxiety linked to performing).
- A positive formulation of a suggestion is more effective: the linguistic structure of "...don't be anxious, don't be nervous..." is worth trying "...just let your muscles rest comfortably...".
- Suggestions can be either permissive or dominant. Most often, the permissive style is effective: "...you are able to...", "...if you..., you will soon find that..." as opposed to dominant command type messages.
- When using suggestive techniques, the style of language structures is an inevitable element. It is important to use as few words as possible to produce the richest content. What makes a suggestion convincing depends on the situation of the moment, but an awareness of the psychological effects of your speech can help you to respond successfully. Again, the

power of persuasion depends on the force and personality of the speech. Abstract terms elicit less of an emotional response than concrete terms. The intensity of the suggestion is influenced by the ratio of verbs to pronouns: a higher proportion of verbs gives the text force. The personal style of our suggestions is an indication of how we relate to what we are saying, how much we believe what we are saying. A self-referential style conveys the message that the speaker is an authentic person, so it is a good idea to use it whenever possible.

– The speech of the person giving the suggestion should match the content of the suggestion: in "...calmly, slowly..." suggestions, the pitch, volume, tone, stress, pause length between words and rhythm of speech should really evoke the experience of the desired effect.
– The wording of the suggestion makes it easier to separate the voluntary command from the execution of the request: "...breathe deeply..." may call for wilful execution, "...your speech breath is deeper, more stable, of increasing capacity..." will evoke the involuntary occurrence of the effect.
– Suggestions can be repeated in unchanged form or by means of metaphorical references, repeated invocations. It is worth making sure that the repeated communication does not reflect dissatisfaction. If all the supported speaker hears is "...smile, smile, smile...", it may give the impression that they are not doing something right. It gives positive reinforcement to hear the following: "...a little smile..., yes..., like this..., go on..., very good..."
– Allow time for suggestions to have their effect: don't talk about immediate change, but about the change in the near future. "...the anxiety will disappear immediately..." suggests a rapid change, which is unlikely in this situation. A gradual change, e.g. "...the fear will slowly go away, the experience will return and you will feel more comfortable with it..." is a more effective tool in this situation.
– A suggestive way of speaking can take longer pauses, giving time for the suggestion to sink in and the effect to unfold. This can make it difficult for the person giving the suggestive speech, but with speech technique exercises, practising changes of tempo and rhythm, and taking advantage of the opportunities for pauses, positive changes can be experienced in a short time.
– Suggestion captures what the other person is experiencing: it is not effective to say "...calm..." to a highly anxious person. Instead, you can say "...

you are still nervous, you can feel your heart pounding, and that's natural because it's an important situation. It is good to pay attention to the way you are getting calmer and calmer and your heartbeat will also calming ...".

– Suggestion embedded in questions can help to attract attention, and the answer can also bring about the desired effect. "...let me know when you are feeling more comfortable...!" suggests that it is only a matter of time before the experience of comfort will definitely come.
– When working with imagination in particular, but also when describing present feelings, try to involve as many sensory modalities as possible, language structures that respond to sight, hearing, touch, smell or taste will help suggestion.
– We can motivate the recipient to achieve what we are suggesting by indicating why it will be good if what we are suggesting occurs: '...it is more pleasant for you and more attractive for the audience...' or '...you are getting closer to enjoying your own performance...'
– In suggestions, the goal should be kept in mind, the phrase "...relax..." is enough, the way to reach the goal is left to the unconscious.
– If the suggestion is vague, it implies the possibility of failure. The goal to be achieved requires action: it is worth letting go of the conditional mode, and the suggestion can be made more stable if it is structured in the declarative mode. Covers are linguistic devices that reduce the strength and scope of the claim we make in a suggestion. They reflect the conflict we are experiencing: whether or not to say what we intend. We choose to say it, but either we build a cover to avoid the expected reactions, or we retroactively mitigate the claim, e.g. "who knows why, but the contributor is characterised by a rare and peculiar arrogance". The impression-forming effect of language can also be traced in the linguistic construction of definiteness: some people more often use "really", "actually" type of covers or add "isn't it" question marks at the end of their statements. A suggester who avoids such stylistic features makes a more definite impression.
– It is helpful to build into the structure of the suggestion the actual knowledge of the situation, why you are feeling what you are feeling, the purpose of the intervention and how to intervene. This can reduce the uncertainty and fear felt in the situation.
– Build the suggestion on the actual responses of the recipient, and first report back. If you want to achieve relaxation, wait for signs of initial relax-

ation before talking about full body relaxation, and then gradually introduce the suggestion you want to make. We can also use environmental elements: "...as the sigh of the exhalation caresses your body, each time you feel more and more relaxed and refreshed..."

– Dissolve any suggestion that you do not wish to maintain permanently. The most common dissolutions might be "...return to your body the familiar, pleasant feeling..." or "...settle your feelings, both physical and mental...".

The use of suggestion

According to Katalin Varga, the use of suggestions does not simply consist of a series of well-structured, sequentially delivered statements, but is adapted to some strategies that can be effectively applied in practice (Varga 2011, 29–31). These are yes-attitude, follow-lead, double-bind, framing, imaginative completion, purposeful fantasy, fixed word associations, implications, metaphors, anecdotes, symbols and authenticity.

In the 'yes' attitude, we ask the supported speaker or ourselves a series of questions, to which the answer is, by definition, "...yes...", and then insert into this series the suggestive final element, which is expected to lead to a 'yes': "... Does the sound system work? Is the projection visible? Is the projection on? Do you have the notes? Will the students be sitting there? Do we start in half an hour...?" The facts and the obvious can be banal, and it is not important to have an open yes answer. An internal nod of the head or a mid-voice murmur of approval is enough.

The follow-lead method is a more consciously developed version of the rule of starting from the present situation. The idea is that, before leading the supported speaker in the direction you want, you should stop for a while in the circumstances that are specific to the moment. In following up, simply formulate the likely experiences that the other person is having. To be sure of this, it's a good idea to be broad: "...it is an interesting feeling..." The leading phase starts when the partner is listening and confirms that what we said in the following phase is true. This will increase the likelihood that he will accept the suggestion made in the leading phase.

Double bind is the idea of choosing between two or more versions of something with your partner, whichever is the best for you. "...should I show the remaining speaking time on a whiteboard or electronic display, ..?" We

do not offer a choice about the main objective we want to achieve. We offer two options for the path to the desired outcome, and the partner can choose between them, there is no question of reaching the goal. This method is also transparent and is sometimes answered with "..either, it is all the same...". It is therefore important to prepare the ground by providing motivation, models, analogies, similes, imagery or examples before applying substantive suggestions.

In reframing, the situation is given a different interpretative framework, a positive one instead of a negative one. In simple cases, this can be done by well-chosen labelling: the more positive interpretative frame brings with it the associated positive feelings.

The effectiveness of verbal suggestion is greatly enhanced by the addition of imagery: a visual image of the desired outcome, or a mood close to it. Purposeful fantasy is the imagination that, if it were to occur, would actually produce the desired effects. In the fantasy of "...imagine yourself in the shower after a performance, with the gentle, refreshing water running over your body...", refreshment actually occurs, and so this fantasy helps to make the suggestion of freshness effective.

Many psychologists use fixed word associations that are suitable for introducing suggestion. These are good for creating an involuntary effect, as the suggestion will not be presented as a coercive statement.

– "...give yourself the opportunity to..."
– "...the important thing is that you will be able to..."
– "...and it might be nice when you realize..."
– "...and it won't bother you when you notice..."
– "...and you'll like it..."
– "...at such a time many people find it pleasant to..."
– "...I wonder if you've noticed before that..."
– "...it will be a particular pleasure to experience (that you can)..."
– "...to see that..."
– "...I want you to enjoy this experience..."

Indirect suggestion often involves the use of implicit suggestions. The effect intended by the suggestion is not overt, but the wording strongly implies it. The question "...which hand do you feel is relaxed now...?" implies that one hand is already loose for the partner, and implies that the other will soon be relaxed.

To prepare for the suggestive effect, we can use images of ourselves, of stories about other performers who have experienced a similar situation favourably, natural images, parallels. These speak for themselves to such an extent that they evoke a positive attitude, and the unconscious context prevails much more than the consciously processed content. The following variations are well suited:

– "...when he first held a presenter in his hands, how unsure he was of pressing the buttons..." – to illustrate what at first seems difficult, but which can later be done with everyday ease.
– "...when the auditorium is equipped, it is more cluttered at the beginning, then slowly the (seating) arrangement of the instruments and chairs is established..." – things have to be done, even if they seem difficult to think about.

Our suggestion should be honest and we should believe in its effectiveness. Let's not use suggestion that doesn't fit our style, that we find difficult to take up, that we feel pathetic. Let's find our own voice, our own style, taste the suggestion that suits us. It's easiest to try it on ourselves first and if we feel it worked, we can give it more authentically to others.

Suggesting atypical speech sounds

In situations requiring suggestive communication to relieve performance anxiety, we communicate not only with linguistic content but also with speech sounds, with open or less open articulation, with clear or distorted form, with high or low pitches, loud or soft, and this, among other things, is what we hope will keep the client's attention for a long time. In situations in which we are beginning to use suggestive communication techniques, especially at the beginning of the current situation, we can often identify ourselves with the vocal symptoms of stage fright, a stressful situation. These are most commonly found in the sounds of breathing, sighing, yawning, voice-starting, nasal, whispering, dry throat, croaking, coughing, stomach growling, burping, hiccuping and laughing, providing a great suggestive opportunity for ourselves and others.

Breath sounds

Perfect speech breathing is noise-free, inaudible. Inhalation that produces a hissing sound is not always caused by a narrowing of the epiglottis, it can

also be produced by the larynx, as the vocal folds sometimes move so close together during inhalation that they produce an 'H' sound. This can be so exacerbated that the sound produced by inhalation can even be noisy, with gasping breaths. Noisy, loud breathing in a situation of suggestive communication is only acceptable if it is dominated by theatrical performance and theatrical speech elements, as sudden start, a big sigh, and a heightened emotional content in dramatic presentation can be a natural gestural value. Speech-breathing is referred to in the literature in various ways: diaphragmatic breathing, deep breathing, abdominal breathing, mixed deep breathing, technical breathing, master breathing, combined breathing, etc., but for most authors it has similar content and its essential characteristic is that it is inaudible. If, despite this, we receive different feedback from our listeners, it is worthwhile to develop the correct technique using one of the breathing practice materials and then make the breathing safe and silent by improving support and increasing capacity.

Sigh

Sighing is an atypical breathing movement: it is characterised by a slow, moderately deep and moderately rapid inhalation followed by a prolonged exhalation, during which the air flow produces the characteristic sound of a murmur. Since the breathing dynamics before and after sighing are different, it is likely that sighing "re-tightens" the respiratory system, which has become irregular under stress, and the airways are relieved by relaxing the air bladders. Sighing is therefore not only responsible for getting oxygen into our bodies, but also plays a role in our psychological processes, as sighing is usually experienced in difficult situations. It has a role in relieving the chest pressure that often accompanies anxiety, as the force exerted by actively expanding the lungs reduces the feeling of tightness, and this has a feedback effect on anxiety through autonomic nervous system effects. In a suggestive communication situation, sighing in the focus of attention or before answering a difficult question may have dramatic value, its message being less supportive of the image of the assertive helper, whereas a sigh executed in "concealment" before a situation requiring specific suggestion may help.

Yawningsound

Yawning is an innate ancient reflex, involving deep, slow inhalation and rapid exhalation, designed to reduce oxygen deprivation, so the emphasis is on get-

ting as much air in as possible. Yawning is also a behaviour, a reaction to boredom, and therefore a means of interpersonal communication. If you are prone to yawning, you may want to try hiding it in preparation for a situation that requires suggestive communication: hand and finger gestures that cover the mouth can provide a good opportunity. If, as a speaker, we notice the same from the listener, we should respond by pausing or changing dynamics, or the understanding attitude to the physiological situation described above can be the basis for a verbal solution: "...I see (hear) I came early..." or "...I see you have just woken up, rested...?" / "...if you feel sleepy, let's continue the conversation tomorrow...", etc.

Sound start

The voice triggering of the person who gives a suggestion in Hungarian is usually soft, the air pressure is not high, the laryngeal muscles do not have to work harder, the energy of the outgoing air is almost completely transformed into sound energy, so we can create a pleasant, soothing feeling in the listener and we can say our thoughts with a pleasant feeling ourselves. However, if our larynx is not functioning naturally, if we are experiencing increased stress and need to speak, the start of our voice can be airy or harsh. We may need both to achieve a suggestive dramatic effect, but it is worth bearing in mind that it is technically difficult to deliver a passage in an airy, heightened or covered voice, and that a hard start can both tire the larynx muscles unnecessarily with increased pressure and drift towards the monotony of over-emphasis. When using a hard tone start during suggestion (also when coughing or croaking), the tension and protrusion of the neck muscles and the swelling of the neck veins become visible, enriching the recipient with a special aesthetic experience.

Nose sound

The important physiological role of the nasal cavity is to warm, humidify and filter the air we breathe, protecting the airways and the vocal cords, which are important for vocalisation. The mouth is the main site of speech resonance in the Hungarian-speaking voice; the nasal cavity contributes only as much as the pitch mixing ratio requires. If the resonance of the nasal cavity is more involved in amplification, then we can hear the nasal sound. Excessive nasal resonance makes the tone nasal, the speech muffled and unmotivated, and a blocked nasal cavity not only makes speech sounds and speech in general, but also nasal

sounds incorrect. In a situation of suggestive communication, it is important to pay attention to the proper functioning of the nasal cavity, because an obstruction to clear breathing compromises the beauty and smoothness of the whole speech process.

Whispering sound

Whispering is a natural form of speech, an opportunity for speech formation that may often become necessary in the process of giving and receiving suggestive communication. Whispering is produced by the friction of air passing between the vocal cords, so that speech is noisy and at a lower pressure than normal speech. When whispering occurs, the tension and vibration of the vocal cords change and are interspersed with characteristic "rubbing" sounds. In a suggestive communication situation, one method of the volume switch, of modulation, of attention can be to emphasise the essential message by using this mode of speech after the normal volume used previously.

The dry palate sound

Dry palate is one of the most well-known symptoms of stress associated with the delivery of suggestive speech, and many of us have experienced the feeling of the back of the tongue sticking to the roof of the mouth and feeling like it cannot be torn away, of a mouth that is as dry as the desert. The therapy for this symptom complex: drinking water. When preparing for a suggestive situation, we should always think of this possibility, with a bottle of water that is neither ice-cold nor hot, neither carbonated nor alcoholic. Before a live suggestion, in a protective environment, try out how natural it is to take a short sip, even during a sentence, with a pause or a pause in between. The point here is not to quench thirst or to drink large quantities of fluids, but to moisten the oral cavity.

Croaking sound

The croak is a voluntary or involuntary forced expiration of air, accompanied by a distinctive sound, to remove foreign matter that has entered or is thought to have entered the pharynx or larynx. There can be many reasons for this constant, regular croaking: for many people it is a way of drawing attention to themselves, of wanting to say something soon, for others it is a sign of criticism or dissent, suggesting inner tension based on an unspoken or unutterable thought. An interesting phenomenon of suggestive communication situa-

tions, linked to cracking, is when the speaker's increasingly low-quality sounds, increasingly short croaking, are accompanied by the communicator's own attempts to help the speaker by short or long throat clearing. Croaking can also be interpreted as a mental and behavioural disorder when it occurs as involuntary, rapid, repetitive, non-rhythmic movements, sudden onset and seemingly aimless sound formation. This tic-like phenomenon appears to be involuntary but can be hidden for longer or shorter periods. The most common vocal tics are croaks, coughs, sniffles, grunts and hisses, while more complex forms may include the repetition of idiosyncratic or obscene, vulgar words or the unwarranted imitation of the voices and words of others.

Coughing sound

Coughing ('a good excuse for a bad precentor') is a natural reflex process, a sudden rapid exhalation with a closed sound gap, the characteristic sound being caused by the rapid expulsion of air in a whirlpool. Coughing can be caused by pharyngeal and laryngeal secretions stuck to the mucous membranes, but it can also be caused by foreign bodies, inhaled dust, smoke, gas, vapour, etc., which may enter the airways or be swallowed. It can also be caused by abnormal secretions in the body during inflammation, a nervous disorder, the effects of medication, hysteria or bad habits, or it can be a sign of repressed anger, of emotions that we do not want to express or dare not express in words. The smoker's morning cough is linked to nicotine, which paralyses the cleansing cilia that line the surface of the airways. The cilia need several hours to become functional again, and can only do so during and after the nicotine-free period during sleep. The reason for the increased coughing in the morning after smoking is that this is when the cilia become functional again and try to clear the airways of the trapped foreign matter.

Stomach voice

Stomach growling is caused by the mixing of gastric juices and air. It is the last stage of digestion and is most audible 2-4 hours after a meal. It is also a sign of hunger, so it is a very healthy symptom to have a rumbling stomach when talking. All of the digestive processes are accompanied by sound, but these are rarely audible because of the soundproofing of the food still being digested, but there is nothing in the empty stomach to pick up the noise. In an interpersonal communication situation, it is a therapeutic procedure to take

a bite or two with the mouth closed before entering the space that requires suggestion.

Burping sound

During a burp, gases produced in the digestive tract are expelled from the body through the mouth. Burping is also a normal reflex, occurring most often after eating, when the lower oesophageal sphincter relaxes as the stomach dilates. Since we also take in air with every swallow, if we rush with our food before entering into a suggestive communication situation, we are more likely to be plagued by the unpleasant sound effect, both for us and for the listener. To avoid disturbing suggestibility, avoid carbonated, highly caffeinated and alcoholic drinks, and chew hard-to-digest foods thoroughly. Saliva produced during speech may also contain small air bubbles that enter the stomach when swallowed, but people who swallow continuously during meals may find themselves in an uncomfortable position. With care and practice, however, the amount of air swallowed can be reduced, so the first thing that comes to the mind of the person listening to us after a conversation is the quality of our burp.

Hiccup sound

During a hiccup, the sudden inflow of air into the lungs causes the larynx to close, the diaphragm to contract involuntarily, and the opening between the vocal cords to close quickly and loudly. The hiccups, which occur five or six times a minute, can occur spontaneously, but are most dangerous when air is not normally delivered to your lungs (e.g. when you are startled, when you eat too quickly and talk). Hiccups are usually harmless and will go away on their own in a short time, but if they occur in a suggestive communication situation it is worth trying some of the folk remedies and urban legends: from drinking lemon water, to scaring people, to holding your breath, but even if you wait patiently for the hiccups to go away, they will go away.

Sneezing sound

Sneezing is also a physiological phenomenon, a natural reaction to irritation of the mucous membranes of the nose. When something irritates the nasal mucosa for a long time (most often inhaling cold air), the soft palate rises and blocks the nasopharyngeal passage. The mouth closes, then a strong exhalation begins and the air in the airways is pressurised. When the soft palate

relaxes again, opening the nasal passage, air rushes out into the nasal cavity at high speed, sweeping the trapped material from the mucosal surface. If you find yourself in such a situation during suggestive communication, try to take it for granted that you will be well enough to thank him after it is done, have a tissue and then carry on as if nothing had happened. If the situation supports the main thought of the suggestion with some simple associative arc, take the opportunity.

Laughter

Laughter is an emotional expression that is associated with a characteristic tone of voice, facial expressions, motor reactions, physiological changes and emotional experience. There is a close relationship between laughter and humour, although there is laughter without humour, just as there is humour without laughter. Laughter is also related to smiling (and hence to distorted articulation during speech), although the overlap between the two phenomena is only partial. It can vary in degrees, from a quiet smile to a full-body, knee-shaking, boisterous laugh, and can even reach an intensity where the individual is temporarily unable to do anything else. Even while laughing, there are spectacular changes in breathing, circulation, chest and abdominal pressure, muscle movement and tension levels. In a situation focused on suggestive communication, it is worth bearing in mind that the sincerity of laughter is easy to recognise, but if the mirth is not natural, if the mirth is convulsive, it can be at the expense of authenticity.

In suggestive communication-based situations, the atypical speech symptoms described above are most often encountered. This study has not discussed situations that may be as uncomfortable or special as the previous ones in an interpersonal situation requiring suggestive communication. Nevertheless, loud swallowing, sore throat, vocal swallowing, screaming, various forms of gagging, yodelling, mouthing, snapping, snorting, snoring, gagging, moaning, the peculiarities of the human voice after inhalation of helium and sulphur hexafluoride, or the vocal communication characteristics of altered states of consciousness and sexual preference can also be exciting items for analysing the unexpected situations of a suggestion.

The above study focused on the possibilities of suggestive communication in situations of performance anxiety. To make the power of suggestive words

more powerful, below is a conversation between Mari Töröcsik, Attila Janisch and the dresser before entering the stage (Janisch 2021, 27–28):

> I would have gone on, but she suddenly caught me by the hand and turned me towards her, grabbing me tightly. "Attila, darling, I have no idea what I'm going to do in there", she said, almost desperately, looking at me as if he expected me to help her. "Come on, Mari, you are kidding, how can you say that", I replied, a little taken aback, but taking his words as a whim. But as I looked into her eyes – the eyes whose emotional gleams I had watched so many times while directing our films together – I saw that there was really nothing in the depths of her gaze, not a sentence, not a gesture, nothing but the void I had never seen. My gaze glided from Mari's face to the dresser behind her, who was silently observing the scene. "What now?" – my eyes asked her silently, to which she responded with an insider's smile and a reassuring nod, as if to say: "Don't worry, everything will be fine."

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Ádám Pölcz

How to prepare for the Kossuth Rhetoric Contest?

Theoretical and methodological guide

"Dialectics engages the interest of very few students"
(Varro)

Abstract

The aim of this study is to introduce the new genres of the renewed Kossuth Rhetoric Contest and to give theoretical and practical advice to those preparing for the contest on how to create a rhetorical presence. In this paper we briefly review the history of the rhetoric contest, the principles of its renewal, the classical and modern interpretation of rhetoric, and the importance of the debate culture. The theoretical background of the new genres (online video, debate) will be discussed in more detail.

Keywords: speech contest, social media platform, presence, rhetoric, dialectics

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1. Introduction – On the Kossuth Rhetoric Contest

The art of rhetoric arrived (again) in Hungary only in the 1990s. Before that, under the socialist regime, there were good attempts to think about rhetoric (e.g. Fischer 1966, 1973; Deme 1974), but they could not really flourish, mainly because of the political environment. Other endeavours (e.g. Hernádi 1976) have mainly emphasised the importance of speech education, the culture of spoken language, which is also an important part of rhetoric, but not its complete system.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, but even in the first half of the 20th century, the tradition of classical rhetoric can be found in Hungary (Adamik et al. 2005, 210–241), but from the 1950s it completely disappears from school curricula. An enormous, half-century-old gap had to be bridged after the regime change: one of the guiding efforts of this work was the Kossuth Rhetoric Contest, founded in 1999 by Anna Adamikné Jászó, then head of the ELTE Faculty of Teacher Training. There had been competitions similar to the contest before (such as the 'Sweet mother tongue' language contest for secondary school students in Sátoraljaújhely, organised since 1973), but the oratorical contest was a real novelty at the university-college level (Aczél 1999, 397). To this day, the aim of the competition is to cultivate and develop the use and culture of the Hungarian mother tongue, and last but not least, invites participants to think together about rhetoric. And from 2022 onwards, the organisers are placing emphasis on the importance of the debate culture.

Below are a few points of view, useful information and theoretical background for those who are interested in the contest and want to learn more about the science of rhetoric.

2. On the purpose of rhetoric, the role of the speaker and presence

"Rhetoric is the counterpart of dialectics." This thesis was formulated by Aristotle in the first systematic, scholarly work on rhetoric, the Rhetoric (Aristotle 1999, 1354a). And the meaning of the sentence is this: the science of eloquence can be paired with the science of correct argumentation. Rhetoric and dialectic,

together with grammar, were part of the trivium of the seven liberal arts (septem artes liberales). The subject matter of all three subjects of the trivium is the same: language, but 'each examines and functions it for a different purpose, grammar for correct writing and speaking, dialectics for logically correct argumentation, rhetoric for good, effective speaking' (Adamik 2010: 1069). According to Varro, "dialectics and rhetoric are like a man's clenched fist and their outstretched palm, the former narrowing words, the latter expanding them. Dialectics strives harder to discuss things, rhetoric is more eloquent in what it wants to communicate. [...] Dialectics engages the interest of very few students, this [rhetoric – P. A.] is many and massive" (Adamik 2010, 1070).

The many ways in which rhetoric has been interpreted over the centuries, and how we continue to interpret it today, we have a whole library of literature at our disposal. From the aspect of a rhetoric contest, however, it is important to emphasise the three basic factors that have determined the functioning of rhetoric since antiquity: the person of the speaker (ethos), the composition of the audience (pathos) and the message (logos). Ethos means the credibility of the speaker, the judgement of their person, pathos is based on the emotions and prior knowledge of the listener, and logos is based on the arguments -- that is, the speaker must appeal to the intellect, moral values and emotions of the listeners (Adamikné Jászó 2010, 159). This triad is also attributed to Aristotle, who put it this way: "Speech is made up of three things: the speech it speaks about and to whom it speaks; the purpose of the speech is directed at the latter, i.e. the listener" (1999, 1358b).

The audience is therefore the key player in rhetoric – not a good speaker is one who forgets this and does not argue accordingly. Indeed, the purpose of argumentation is to "induce or reinforce the agreement of a particular audience with the propositions that are put forward to win their consent". And this "will never come from nothing, but presupposes the interconnection of souls between the speaker and their audience: a speech must be listened to, a book must be read, for without it there is no impact" (Perelman 1977/2018: 24). Listening to the audience is all the more important, because the speaker can make what they say (and, in fact, themselves) present in the face of pathos: the chosen style also has an argumentative role (an inappropriate style that is not adapted to the situation and the audience will not have the right impact), but the arguments chosen are also selective: all arguments are selective, since the speaker must adapt to the actions and beliefs of the audience, as they are considered

by their audiences to be real existents and clingers (summarised in Major 2022, 152). In a school setting, e.g. the presentation and processing of contemporary Hungarian popular music texts in class (Tóth 2020), or the rhetorical analysis of advertising texts (Lózsi 2020) can be a means of creating presence.

The system of classical rhetoric (the tasks of the speaker, the parts of the rhetorical speech, the types of speech) will not be dealt with in detail here, as there have been several summaries of these in the past decades (cf. e.g. Adamik et al. 2005; Adamikné Jászó 2013).

3. Speeches at the contest, preparation

The Kossuth Rhetoric Contest has been completely revamped in 2022: the organisers have expanded the competition to three rounds and adapted it to the requirements of the 21st century. Under the new framework, participants will have a much greater opportunity to demonstrate their skills – including in establishing a speaker presence, with the chance to prove themselves online and in person. Competitors can show their skills in three rhetorical situations:[1] they can enter the competition with a video of up to 60 seconds to be uploaded on one of the social media platforms (TikTok or YouTube). The professional jury will select a maximum of 30 participants based on the videos for the second round, which will take place in person and will require participants to give a prepared oral presentation of up to three minutes. The six best speakers will eventually be selected, who can compete their skills in a debate.

The following are some practical tips for each round.

a. The online round – TikTok or elevator speech

In the 21st century, the focus has shifted to short and concise messages. The online round of the Kossuth Rhetoric Contest was inspired by the elevator speech genre and the brevity and attention-grabbing content of the TikTok social media platform. The short videos (sometimes not even primarily based on verbality) are popular and "big hits" on social media, because influencers often express their opinions on current social issues. Opinions can be expressed directly, in the form of text-based opinion videos, or quasi-indi-

1 On the detailed concept of the rhetorical situation, see Adamikné Jászó 2013, 75-77.

rectly, in a creative way: in situational settings, with humorous, visually composed content. The organisers of the oratorical competition are looking for experiments in the first type of video, as the aim is to show the power of the spoken word – by delivering a short but pithy message in the form of an elevator speech.

The elevator speech genre may be familiar to many: the point is that the candidate has 30-60 seconds to convince their partner (be it a sales manager, a top corporate executive, a teacher, a trainer, a supervisor, etc.) to accept their position, to do the right thing, to give them the job, to promote them, and so on. All this can be done in a concise, attention-catching but appropriate form, after thorough preparation and acquiring a routine (cf. Weidinger 2015, DrPrezi). The key concepts of the 60-second argument can include the following (cf. DrPrezi website):

– catching the attention
– the delivery of the messages
– leaving a reminder

Let's take an example.

The author of these lines was invited to take part in a 60-second elevator speech contest on the following topic on the morning programme of Petőfi Radio on 19 October 2022 *("The morning with Petőfi!")*: Social media has improved human communication – pro or con. The text has been transcribed from the radio programme and is now published in a slightly edited form, with a brief analysis.

If we approach human communication as a possible space for listening to each other, then in my opinion, social media has not improved human communication. Obviously, it's also connected to the use of smart devices, because we use social media basically on our smart devices. We use a multitude of platforms, there are already several social networking sites, and you tend to get lost in which one you are communicating on. And obviously, if you're immersed in your phone, or you're communicating on your computer, it can be quite distracting if there's a stimulus coming from the outside world. Because of this, personal communication is compromised. I can give you my own example: whenever I was talking to my friends or classmates, e.g. in a chat, it was very annoying to be personally addressed by someone on the bus or in my room at home, asking me to give up my seat, or to

wash the dishes, etc. Therefore, I think that this kind of listening to each other is not helped by social media.

A brief analysis of the speech in terms of elevator speech can be as follows:

viewpoint	textual appearance	activity
catching the attention	communication as the space for listening to each other; social media has not improved human communication	reframing of the concept (communication as paying attention), stating the position at the beginning of the speech
the delivery of the messages	social media is connected to smart devices; there are several social media sites; personal communication – between each other – is compromised, but we also tend to get lost on our own platforms; presenting own example	communicating facts based on experiences, observations, opinions; mentioning everyday problems, conflicts, personalising the issue by example
reminder	paying attention to each other, repeating the point	reinforcement of reframing, confirmation of the unchanged status of the position

Table 1. **A brief analysis of the speech in terms of elevator speech**

As the table shows, the power of the short rhetoric, the creation of a rhetorical presence, is that the speaker captures attention by reframing the key concept (communication), thus giving the topic a specific perspective. In addition, the speaker sustains the attention by citing everyday, personal examples and conflicts, then reinforces the reframing and makes their own position seem immovable. The text can also be used to express an opposing point of view in reflection. So being brief can be informative, even inspiring to speak out, because its strength lies precisely in the fact that there is no possibility of a multi-directional tour of the topic, so the speakers on each topic can put together the "whole" picture themselves: thus revealing a range of approaches, emphases and argu-

ments. Short speeches in the online round also have the advantage of being asynchronous: as the material is video, multiple attempts can be made to record it, so that the contestant can submit the material they (and/or their coach) consider the best. However, it is important that the video is not edited: the 60 seconds of text must be recorded in one take.

For interest, here are the topics for the online round of the 2022 Rhetoric Contest, for which entrants have created 60-second videos:

– Social media has improved human communication – pro or con.
– Who do you think is a celebrity today?
– Selective waste collection – is it efficient in its current form?
– Is there really a friendship between a man and a woman?
– If you pay with a smart device, do you spend money more?

Brevity is not unknown in classical rhetoric: centuries ago it was considered a virtue, if someone could get their point across in a concise way, highlighting only the most important points. The article on brevity is quoted from Anna Adamikné Jászó's *Stilisztikai kisszótár [Stylistic Dictionary]* (2019, 165–166)

> "**Brevity'** (in Latin brevitas). A train of thought about editing (disposition). »There are three requirements in a narrative: brevity, clarity and plausibility. [...] The way to make the case briefly is to start from where it seems necessary, and not from the very beginning; if we leave out the details and give the main points; if we do not follow the plot through, but only as far as necessary; if we avoid any transition; if we do not wander away from the subject we have begun; [...] Let us beware of saying the same thing twice or more" (Rhetorica ad Herennium I, IX, 14, translated by Tamás Adamik). It impresses with its compactness. The essence of humorous texts is also brevity, which is always emphasised in rhetoric. (Its opposite is → loquaciousness. Writers often characterise their uneducated or cunning characters by starting the narrative of something with Adam and Eve.)"

b. The mandatory speech

In the second round of the speech contest, prepared speeches will be delivered. The primary aim of this is to allow the contestant to demonstrate their independent writing and performing skills to the jury and the audience. The

three-minute time frame also provides an opportunity to explore the chosen topic in more depth, presenting more arguments.

The experience of the organisers suggests that there are people in the field who are instinctively good speakers and who need almost no special preparation to deliver a good speech. In the following, however, we would like to present aspects which can help everyone if they get stuck in their preparations. The author of the present study (Pölcz 2020) has already given some hints to the participants of the speech contest about the preparation for the mandatory speech in relation to the previous genres of the contest. We now present the relevant parts of this article – in an edited form, modified as necessary.

Mandatory speeches at the Kossuth Rhetoric Contest may not exceed three minutes. Time is measured by the jury. If someone's time is up, they may finish the thought they started, but they may not start a new one. Irregular time overruns will result in a deduction of points. The speaker's tasks can be summarised in the following 10 points to make a good speech:

Collection of material

When formulating the proposals, the traditional paper-based preparation technique is mentioned, but these can be replaced by electronic devices: Using Word files, voice memos, etc., other note-taking techniques (e.g. mind maps).

1. Let's take a sheet of A4 paper! It is advisable to fold the sheet in half along the longer side, so that it is divided into two columns. On the left column, write the most important arguments, ideas and opening quotes of the speech, while on the right column you can elaborate on the main train of thought in detail. This will create a clear, concise note, which will also help the contestant to memorise (see point 8).

2. The collection of material phase is where the most important arguments are found and recorded, so the contestant should note down all the important arguments and ideas that arise, because it is still easier to miss out on a lot than to make a meaningful idea out of a little.

3. The contestant is mainly on their own during the preparation, but they can use external help (smart devices, coaching teacher, books, etc.) or even work from their own resources.

4. The contestant should also pay attention to who the audience is and whether the jury has defined a speaking situation, a real or imaginary audience to whom the speech should be addressed. Addressing – if necessary – should

also be adapted to this. The speech situation should be kept in mind from the beginning of the collection of material.

Arrangement

5. Finally, of the material collected, only the content that you intend to use should be kept in mind. By knowing the speech situation and deciding on the composition of the audience, it's easier to get rid of unnecessary thoughts and data from the sheet.

6. If you want to change the sequence of the arguments, you can do so by clearly marking (e.g. by numbering, reordering) the sequence of ideas.

Style, finishing

7. In fact, we are already working on the style as we gather our arguments: we are trying to formulate our message with an internal monologue. In this way, the collection of material and the drafting are actually done at the same time: this way, in the course of preparation, it can become clear what needs to be left out of the text.

Memory

8. With a prepared speech, it is important to learn the text, because when you are giving a speech, you cannot have an outline in your hands to help you keep going. However, it is handy to have the prepared text with one of the accompanying persons, so that the contestant can get help if they get stuck. Memorising the text is an individual task, everyone achieves the result in a different way. It may be practical to memorise the text in parts (e.g. paragraph by paragraph) and recite it out loud to someone, because there is a huge difference between silent memorisation and recitation. A text is considered learned when the ideas and words follow each other in a natural sequence, and there is no need to pause before the contestant guesses the next sentence.

Presentation

9. When giving a speech, you should pay attention to the volume: the size of the room, the number of people in the room and the distance between them. In a speech contest, there is – in principle – no microphone available, so the contestant must use their own abilities to fill the room with their voice, paying

attention to their breathing and breath control. Just as important is accurate articulation, the right speech tempo and the right speech melody.

10. Even when developing the style, it is worth thinking about body language. In everyday life, we take it for granted that we accompany our speech with facial expressions and gestures. Why would it be any different when it comes to rhetoric? Delivering a speech is not a stage art, but an intense two-way communication process that also requires authentic, sincere body language. The speaker should feel free to use their hands, assume a comfortable posture and involve their own body in the communication. Hands should not be held close to or in front of the body. No stand is available at the contest.

c. The debate

The best six contestants will qualify for the third, the debate round of the speech contest. According to the requirements of classical dialectics, the aim of the debate round is to draw attention to the legitimacy of different ideas and to provide a controlled, cultured framework for the clash of sometimes opposing thoughts. The best of the best who make it to the debating round now have to focus on more than just getting their own ideas across, but also have to deal with any opposition that may arise, they also need to respond to them. To do this, however, the purpose and function of the debate must be clarified, and the way to do this is through a new understanding of rhetoric.

Throughout the 20th century, rhetoric was also interpreted as the science of motifs, style, values, ethics and the teaching of composition – all of which were closely related to the text being produced or written. Recent research, however, no longer understands rhetoric as a set of tools for writing a speech, but as social intelligence, behaviour and attitudes. According to the latter, rhetoric is a phenomenon "that provides the individual with the skills of entering the community, self-assertion and understanding of others. It therefore includes the ethical cognitive skills and knowledge needed to interpret and shape social situations" (Aczél 2017, 8). Rhetoric has still not let go of the text, since it is through it that communication itself and the building of social relations can be achieved, but it can be considered a major change to emphasise that the ability to understand others is a natural part of the process. And consequently, what else could be the purpose of the debate if not the necessity to understand the other person?

Our world is so complex, diverse and multifaceted that the concept of persuasion, which is inherently the domain of rhetoric and debate, has also been reassessed. A 20th century predecessor of this interpretation may be Ivor Armstrong Richards' definition of rhetoric, given in his *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1936, cited by Adamikné Jászó 2013). In it he defined rhetoric as "the study of misunderstanding and its antidotes". According to Anna Adamikné Jászó (2013), Richards' theory is based on semantic relativism: that is, that everyone has a different understanding of certain concepts (tolerance, democracy, religiousness, etc.). And the task of rhetoric is to create consensus between differently understood concepts. Wacha (1999, 127–128) still discusses the debate explicitly in the context of persuasion: "The purpose of the discussion [...] is nothing else but to convince the partner of the correctness of our own statements, views, and the purposefulness of our own, so that the partner accepts them, adopts them, and thus takes our "side"" (Wacha 1999, 127). Of course, Wacha also points out that the debate is not about defeating the other (only as a last resort), but he also defines consensus building as a "worse case" (Wacha 1999, 127–128). In the debate round of the Kossuth Rhetoric Contest, the aim was also redefined: not necessarily to persuade, but to clash views and explore the perspectives of people from different places (perhaps of different ages and genders) on a particular topic.

At the start of the debate round, the contestants are drawn into pairs, so three pairs are formed. Each pair is given a topic, and a draw is also used to decide who will be the pro and who will be the con. Arbitrary allocation of roles is good not only for practical organisation, but also because if someone is forced to express a point of view with which they might disagree, they will be forced to think about the issue from a different point of view.) The debaters will be given 20-25 minutes of preparation time, during which they are encouraged to prepare using the aspects of this study given in the mandatory speech and the notes on improvisation (Pölcz 2020). The third participant in the debate is a moderator, who, after introducing the debaters, starts the round with a debate starter.

The role of the debate starter, according to Wacha (1999, 134–135), is to turn off the "only I can be right" and "only I can win" attitudes – which is in line with the newly formulated goals of the Kossuth Rhetoric Contest. It also aims to raise certain problematic points and deliberately leave certain issues open, whereby the moderator actually encourages the debaters to discuss them, sort of giving them a binding handhold. In their own way, the debate starte also participates in the debate by formulating their own position: by pointing out its weaknesses

and strengths, they also stimulate the debaters' thinking and make them react (Wacha 1999, 135).

Participants in the debate round can expect the following points from the debate leader (based on Wacha 1999, 135):

- History and definition of the issue;
- Description of the current situation;
- Definition of the purpose;
- Exposing the disputed issues;
- Presenting opposing views and opinions;
- Presentation of the moderator's own opinion;
- Presentation of firm and dubious points (description of other options, variants);
- A description of what needs to be decided
- Proposals (e.g. for the order of speaking);

After the debate starter, first the pro and then the con contestant may speak for 3 to 3 minutes. After the contributions are made, there is a 5-minute free debate led by the moderator, where the parties are free to respond to each other's arguments and thoughts. The debate concludes with a summary by the moderator.

Summary

The Kossuth Rhetoric Contest now being organised for the 23rd time, will present new challenges to the contestant The contest will consist of three rounds (online videos, speech in presence, debate in presence) and will be run on a qualifying basis. The best performers will have the opportunity to demonstrate their ability to create a rhetorical presence and connect with their audience in three rhetorical situations, as there are different requirements for the online space, for the speech in presence and others for the debate situation. The key concept in online speeches is brevity, while in mandatory speeches it is structured and planned, and listening to the other side plays an important role in the debate. It is the intention of the organisers to ensure that the speech contest continues to play its part in the 21st century as well. The aim is for the contestants to demonstrate their oral skills in the renewed language usage arena, and to fill social media platforms with quality content.

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Zsolt Antal

Norwegian Information Model

Integrating global social networks into the system of public service media

Abstract

The Norwegian public service media model has served as a model in Europe for decades. However, the information revolution and the changes in social communication brought about by social networks have challenged the Norwegian government and the media authority, forcing them to create a new legal environment to adapt to the changed circumstances. This has been preceded and grounded by a professional and social debate, as a result of which Norway has successfully integrated global, profit-oriented social networks into the public service media system.

Keywords: digital switchover, global media networks, information revolution, commercial media, social media, public service media, public service broadcasters, media regulation

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In consequence of the digital switchover and the changed user needs brought about by the information revolution and social networking, as well as in the light of the social and market situation, there are few public service media in Europe (or anywhere else in the world) that still have a significant audience today. Public service broadcasting and the provision of public service content is no longer what it used to be in the traditional dual media system, where the national regulatory body could still control the media, which gave prominence to public and private interests. Today, the power that was in the hands of public service broadcasters for decades has shifted from the political actors that set (national) strategies and guidelines and regulate media into the hands of the commercial actors that own social networks and think on a global scale (Bayer 2008), while the untenability and destruction of media that are predominantly based on national regulation has become an issue.

For decades, Norway has stood out among the countries operating a press subsidy system for its ability to maintain a diverse newspaper and magazine market over a period of many decades, despite concentrations of ownership, the rise of tabloidization and the rapid spread of the internet. The ability of Norwegian newspapers and magazines to successfully preserve their position can be attributed to the general perception that society is responsible for the press and for maintaining a diverse range of information, in contrast to the Anglo-Saxon model which emphasises the social responsibility of the press. As part of the notion of the press as a social institution, the press in Norway, regardless of its ownership background, is seen as a channel of public service information rather than primarily as a commercial enterprise. This is the foundation of Europe's most successful press support system, which is based on a well-developed structure of local/small-community newspapers and a broad social consensus (Antal 2011, 226–227).

This does not mean that the explosive spread of the internet and then social networks has not had devastating consequences in Norway. Norwegian public media had to face one of its biggest challenges in its history. In October 2022, the Norwegian government approved the state budget for 2023 and increased the subsidy for the public broadcaster responsible for operating radio and television channels, the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (Norsk rikskringkasting, NRK), by NOK 86 million (total subsidy of nearly NOK 6.1 billion), yet the public broadcaster starts 2023 with a precedent-setting "savings target" of

NOK 300 million and forced to prioritise its future plans.[1] In this context, NRK Director General Vibeke Fürst Haugen said in November 2022: For 2023, NRK will receive a tight financial framework, which, together with abnormally high price and cost growth, means tough priorities. [...] "It has been challenging to save more than NOK 300 million in next year's budget. All reductions are made with a view to how we can best protect our important mission, audience use and NRK's reputation."[2]

However, the significant cut in NRK's budget[3] is mainly due to economic reasons and not to the loss of popularity of the public broadcaster: the public broadcaster NRK is unprecedentedly still the media organisation with the highest reach and trust among Norwegians. Its television and radio channels lead the market[4], and its TV channel NRK1 was the most popular TV channel in Norway in 2021 with an audience share of 36%.[5] NRK also operates three national TV channels, several digital radio stations and has a significant online activity. Until 2022, 94 per cent of its funding came from a compulsory licence fee paid by Norwegian TV owners, but from 2023 this will be changed and it is now funded from the state budget through a special tax established for NRK. In any case, despite the restrictions, Norwegian media is still considered the freest in the world; this northern European country also regularly tops the annual Reporters Without Borders (RSF) press freedom index.[6]

In addition, Norway is the country most often referred to in the literature as the "most connected country" in the world. In July 2022, 98% of the Norwegian

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1 Nordisk Film and TV Fond. Viewed on 3 April 2022. *https://nordiskfilmogtvfond.com/news/stories/nrk-drama-impacted-by-norwegian-pubcasters-nok-300m-budget-cut-for-2023*

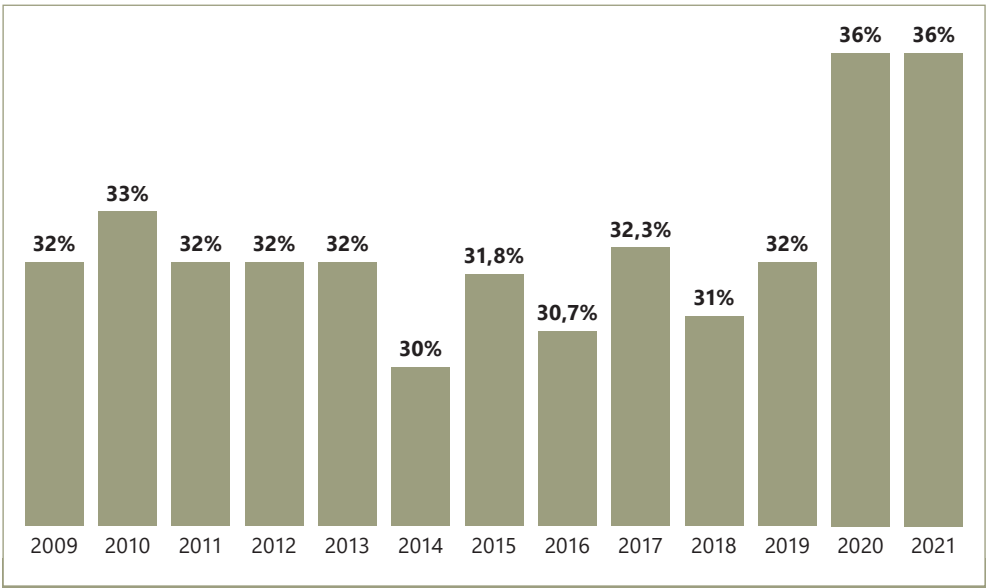
2 Knut Kristian Hauger. 2022. NRK banker sparebudsjett: – Det har vært utfordrende. Viewed on 2 April 2022. *https://kampanje.com/medier/2022/11/nrk-ledelsen-banker-budsjett-pa-sparebluss---det-har-vart-utfordrende/*

3 Around 50 per cent of the cuts will affect content production, with the remainder affecting jobs, support functions and advisory services and investment. In practice, this means that some of the broadcaster's productions will be suspended or postponed until 2024. However, it is important to note that news programmes are the least, whereas cultural and entertainment programmes the most affected by the restrictions. Nordisk Film and TV Fond. Viewed on 2 April 2022. *https://nordiskfilmogtvfond.com/news/stories/nrk-drama-impacted-by-norwegian-pubcasters-nok-300m-budget-cut-for-2023*

4 Medienorge.uib.no. 2022. Norwegian TV channels. Viewed on 3 December 2022. *https://medienorge.uib.no/english/?cat=statistikk&page=tv&queryID=290*

5 Medienorge.uib.no. 2022. Market shares Norwegian TV channels – result. Viewed on 3 December 22. *https://www.statista.com/statistics/625792/audience-market-share-of-the-norwegian-tv-station-nrk1/*

6 Reporters Without Borders. Norway. Viewed on 16 March 2022. *https://rsf.org/en/country/norway*



Source: Statista.com

Figure 1. **Market share of the Norwegian public broadcaster NRK1 between 2009 and 2021**

population of nearly 5.5 million people, or almost 5.4 million people, were active internet users.[7] Facebook is by far the most popular social network, followed by Pinterest and, like in Hungary, Instagram, while "X" (formerly Twitter), which is extremely popular in the US and Western Europe, is one of the least popular social platforms[8]. Norwegians are also among the most avid newspaper readers in the world: while the readership of printed editions has declined significantly in recent years and subscriptions to online newspapers have increased, statistics show that in practice this only means a shift in readership from paper-based printed publications to online media.[9]

The government has also introduced various regulations and guidelines to ensure the responsible use of social media. One of these is the so-called Per-

7 Internet World Stats. Viewed on 4 August 2022. *https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats4.htm*

8 Simon Kemp. 2022. Digital 2022: Norway. Viewed on 3 March 2022. *https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2022-norway*

9 Share of population using the following media daily in Norway in 2022. Viewed on 10 May 2022. *https://www.statista.com/statistics/572615/share-of-population-using-selected-media-in-norway/*

sonal Data Act, which has been in force since 20 July 2018 and provides guidelines for multinational social networks on how the personal data of Norwegian citizens should be handled online. This Act outlines requirements for consent, data storage and data sharing, among other things. Norway generally uses EU directives as a basis for national regulation. And this is the case here: with the adoption of the EU's main data protection law, the General Data Protection Regulation 2017/679 (GDPR), the Norwegian government has repealed Directive 95/46/EC (Data Protection Directive), which was in force until then, resulting in increased – albeit not complete – harmonisation of data protection laws in EU Member States. Although Norway is not an EU Member State, it is part of the European Economic Area (EEA) and therefore the GDPR had to be incorporated into the EEA Agreement before it could be transposed into national legislation.[10] In the same way, the Digital Service Act (DSA)[11] proposed by the European Commission in December 2020 and adopted by the European Parliament in January 2022, which aims to create a safer and more accountable online environment in the EU Member States, is planned to be integrated into national law as well.

An equally important milestone in the regulation of social networks in Norway is the adoption of the so-called E-Commerce Act. This aims to regulate e-commerce in Norway and to ensure that online transactions are carried out in a transparent and safe manner[12], while the Marketing Control Act of 2009 provides guidance on advertising and marketing practices in social media. The latter ensures, among other things, that advertising is not misleading and that products are marketed responsibly within the borders of the country.[13] In this context, it is important to mention the recent amendment to the law adopted by the Norwegian government, which is intended to restrict the marketing

10 General Data Protection Regulation. 2022. Viewed on 3 December 2022. *https://www.datatilsynet.no/en/regulations-and-tools/regulations/*

11 European Commission. Digital Services Act – Safety and accountability in the online environment. Viewed on 15 March 2022. *https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/priorities-2019-2024/europe-fit-digital-age/digital-services-act-ensuring-safe-and-accountable-online-environment_hu*

12 Government.no. 2000. The Norwegian Government Policy for Electronic Commerce. Viewed on 6 March 2022. *https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dokumenter/The-Norwegian-Government-Policy-for-Electronic-Commerce/id419302/*

13 Forbrukertilsynet.no. 2016. The Marketing Control Act. Viewed on 6 March 2022. *https://www.forbrukertilsynet.no/english/the-marketing-control-act*

activities of so-called influencers, i.e. opinion leaders, who market on social networks. This amendment was a high-profile case internationally. The amendment, adopted in the summer of 2022, requires content producers who earned a reputation on social media to flag any photo shared on Facebook, Instagram, Twitter or other social networks that has been enhanced with Photoshop or other image editing software to improve the appearance of the body, skin or face. Consequently, failure to indicate that a photo has been edited results in a fine from the summer of 2022.[14]

It is also important to note that in Norway, hate speech and discrimination are also subject to strict laws, and these laws also cover online platforms. Any content that is deemed discriminatory or incites hatred can therefore be reported and removed immediately under Norwegian law.[15] It is also worth briefly mentioning that Norway follows the principle of net neutrality. In practice, this means that internet service providers must treat all data on the internet equally. This ensures that social media platforms are not favoured over other data or content providers.

1. The intertwining of Norwegian public service media and social networks

From the outset, Norway has sought to keep pace with technological developments and place a strong emphasis on the protection of personal data, the promotion of responsible advertising and the prevention of hate speech and discrimination in computer-mediated communication (hereinafter: CMC) and new media, but most notably in mediatised social communication dominated by social networks. With the advent of social networks, however, it was far from clear how the globally recognised and long-established Norwegian public service media could adapt to the new tools (platforms) made available by new media. Disciplines that draw on the social science paradigm consider it an

14 Jeremy Gray. 2021. Norway passes law requiring influencers to label retouched photos on social media. Viewed on 15 March 2022. *https://www.dpreview.com/news/1157704583/norway-passes-law-requiring-influencers-to-label-retouched-photos-on-social-media*

15 Government.no. 2022. Hate speech and cyberhate. Viewed on 1 March 2022. *https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/equality-and-diversity/likestilling-og-inkludering/hate-speech-and-cyberhate/id2510986/*

axiom that whenever a new medium emerges, the social public sphere necessarily changes (cf. Habermas 1962, Castells 2005, Bajomi-Lázár 2009, Tóth 2022). This change has also posed new challenges for the Norwegian public service media, as there was no ready concept at the beginning as to whether the media belonging to NRK should use the social networks, which are mainly owned by American multinational corporations. This uncertainty was fuelled by the fact that the current tools available to a democratic state governed by the rule of law provide an extremely narrow framework for controlling the cross-border activities of the US Silicon Valley technology giants.[16]

In the debate on this issue, Norwegian society is divided into two camps: one that believes that the Norwegian public service media, instead of enthusiastically contributing to the growth and development of US-based multinational companies providing commercial services (Facebook, YouTube or Twitter), should rather spend time and money on developing local alternatives that are not driven by commercial intentions. This argument is supported by the fact that the original task of public service media is to protect democracy, strengthen national identity and cultural-social integration, and maintain a content service that reflects national interests, values and opinions (Antal 2011, 51). In addition to fulfilling the requirements of the democratic political system, i.e. providing balanced and objective information, the most important objectives of public service can therefore be seen in terms of preserving national culture, language and identity (cf. McQuail 2003, 42), and meeting the social and cultural needs of media consumers and preserving cultural heritage. However, no multinational company can – or wants to – meet these criteria.

The other camp, however, argues that it makes sense to reach the audience where the audience itself is (Moe 2013, 116–117). Because like it or not, in recent years Facebook and other social networks have indeed become a social arena where the Norwegian audience spends a lot of time. Thanks to their rapid growth, social networking sites have become an essential part of everyday life in many parts of the world, an inescapable means of everyday communication. This was precisely the original purpose of social networks: to connect people virtually and to provide a space for communication, mediatized communica-

16 Tóth, Loretta. 2021. Nem várnak az EU-ra: három tagállam is nekimegy a techóriásoknak. (They won't wait for the EU: three Member States fall on tech giants.) Viewed on 10 March 2022. *https://magyarnemzet.hu/kulfold/2021/01/nem-varnak-az-eu-ra-harom-tagallam-is-nekimegy-a-techoriasoknak*

tion, from individual to individual and between groups. Over time, social networks have outgrown their initial purpose and are now used by commercial multinational companies, political actors and even extremist groups to convey their (campaign) messages, often in defiance of public service principles and interests.

The Norwegian public service broadcaster has finally decided that social networks are an inescapable platform for social communication, and that the Norwegian Media Authority (Medietilsynet) is responsible for regulating the platforms, as it is for all other media services in Norway. The declared aim of the Media Authority is to promote diversity, quality and the freedom of expression in the Norwegian media. This state-run organization also seeks to ensure that social networking sites in the northern European country comply with the country's laws and regulations. The Media Authority therefore has a number of rules and guidelines that social networking sites in Norway must follow, in full compliance with EU regulations. An example of good practices is that social networking sites must have efficient mechanisms in place to handle user complaints: they must ensure that their content is not harmful or offensive and measures must be taken to protect children from harmful or inappropriate content.[17] Social networking sites must also comply with Norwegian data protection laws, in particular with regard to the collection, storage and use of personal data. In addition, the Media Authority monitors the activities of social networking sites to ensure that they do not violate Norwegian laws, e.g. in relation to hate speech, discrimination or incitement to violence. The authority may also take measures, such as imposing a fine or blocking access to social networking sites if they violate Norwegian laws or regulations.

However, the relationship between the Media Authority and social networks was not so clear-cut in the beginning. To understand the considerations and practical experiences that led a national authority to put US-based multinational corporations "on a leash", it is worth following the process chronologically.

Regardless of whether a medium has a public or commercial function, Facebook and similar social networks offer different levels of opportunities to reach citizens, i.e. the target audience. One of the first and most important advan-

17 Medietilsynet.no. 2021. Norwegian Safer Internet Centre: NSIC. Viewed on 23 February 2022. *https://www.medietilsynet.no/english/norwegian-safer-internet-centre-nsic/*

tages of such mediatised networks is that they extend the scope and effectiveness of journalistic work since CMC, or more specifically new media, offer more opportunities than ever before to create direct contact between users, i.e. citizens and journalists. Second, Facebook and Twitter, which are already spreading the latest news at the speed of light, are deeply involved in the media consumption habits of ordinary people, while also encouraging users to spread current news of public interest through their own networks. Journalists – and the media companies behind them – therefore have a vested interest in being perceived as a trusted (news) source by users. In addition, it has also become common practice for media organisations worldwide to target their own content designed for social networks in an attempt to reach as many new users as possible (Moe 2013, 114).

By 2012, the world's most prominent public service broadcasters, from the BBC in the UK to ARD and ZDF in Germany and ABC in Australia, have actively integrated social networks into their services. However, the commercial activity of the multinational – US-based – companies behind these platforms has been a major conundrum from the outset: public service broadcasters can be seen as national, and thus non-commercial entities, which, by using social networks, cross a hitherto clear boundary and enter the area of activity of global commercial enterprises (Moe 2013, 115).

2. Integration in two stages

The existence of public service broadcasting was justified by a specific political, technological and social context in the early 1920s, but the essence of public service broadcasting has changed over time. Despite an ever-changing media policy environment, broadcasters have sought to maintain their central role and to fulfil their public service mission. According to Karol Jakubowicz's definition (2007, 115–116), "public service media can be identified with a service whereby media services are provided free of charge, as a 'basic supply' to individuals who require (such services) as members of a particular society and culture, an individual community and a democratic system, irrespective of the profit motive and the market supply." By this definition, the services provided by state-operated public service institutions and public media services are linked at an essential point: public service media, like any other public institution, must provide basic supply to the citizens of a nation (Antal 2017). It is

also important to emphasise here that the basis for the provision of services is not the individual but belonging to a particular community. Werner Rumphorst, in his explanation to the so-called Public Service Model Law (2007), captures this community aspect very concisely through his definition of a public service media service: a public service media service is a content service for society (the public), financed and supervised by it (Nyakas 2015, 143). The basic supply is based on the principle of universality, which means that all members of society should be provided with a diverse range of services (geographical coverage) – and consequently, with high professional standards.

From the very outset, public broadcasters in the Nordic countries have had a lot in common. Sweden, Denmark and Norway all established state-owned, national, publicly-funded, monopoly radio institutions in the period between the two world wars, and launched television in the same model in the 1950s and 1960s. Since then, both radio and television programmes have shared common features, based on a public service ethos, but are also similar in terms of form and content, as a result of cross-border cooperation. However, while public service broadcasting in much of Europe had entered a drastic decline by the early 2010s, it continued to enjoy the success it had enjoyed in the Nordic countries. It is therefore worth taking a closer look at the micro-processes that have taken place in the integration of global social networks, which operate on a commercial logic, in the case of NRK, one of the best-funded public service media institutions in Europe which is still popular with Norwegian citizens in the 2020s.

The Nordic public broadcasters' approach to social networks should be divided into two phases: the first phase, starting in 2006, was characterised by random, ad hoc experimentation, but with high ambitions. The second phase, starting at the end of 2010, is more uniform and coherent than the first, but also shows a more moderate approach. And the transition between the two phases can best be captured along the lines of a shift from a bottom-up to a top-down approach. Below, this evolution is presented in greater detail on the basis of a study by Hallvard Moe (2013, 114–123), a media researcher at the University of Bergen.

2.1. Bottom-up integration between NRK and Facebook

The first experiments with web services by Scandinavian public broadcasters date back to the 1990s. This period was characterised by creative discovery, which in practice meant that enthusiastic media staff working for the channel started experimenting with the new world of networked communication on their own initiative. Meanwhile, as the web became a major media platform by the 2000s, public service broadcasters found themselves in a sort of regulatory vacuum as they sought to expand their web offerings – then with a small budget – to increase their reach to citizens. In northern European countries, the political sphere also gave public service broadcasters the green light to expand their responsibilities by exploiting the opportunities offered by the internet (Moe 2013, 117). As a result, public service institutions have set themselves the goal of becoming not only present on the web, but also part of it. In practice, this meant expanding beyond their own, existing main websites. In the case of NRK, this expansion also included the possibility of cooperation with other public sector organisations. By this time, global social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Myspace and YouTube were deeply integrated into the everyday lives of ordinary people. And Norwegian public service broadcasters have started to produce their own content for YouTube, even building studios for virtual worlds. One that stands out is Facebook, which was launched in 2004 at Harvard University in the US and has been available to the wider public since 2006. Facebook established itself as a dominant platform for computer-mediated communication in record time by the end of the 2000s. A search in the main Norwegian media database finds only seven mentions of Facebook in 2006, but already 1,154 in 2007. This number continued to rise in the following years, clearly indicating that Norwegian society was becoming more active in using the social network (SSB/MedieNorge 2010). In April 2007, NRK had its first success on Facebook. As part of a trial of an audiovisual service originally intended for mobile devices, the popular Norwegian comedian and sociologist Harald Eia created a fictional character called Rubenmann, a young male video blogger targeting a young audience. The character quickly gained popularity by deliberately posting amateur videos in which he posed dilemmas to his viewers (e.g. What would you do if you never cleaned your teeth again?).

As Rubenmann attracted mainly young viewers, NRK decided to take the experiment online. They started a separate blog for the fictional character,

uploaded the video blog entries to YouTube and created a Facebook account for Rubenmann. Interestingly, it was the character who spoke on all platforms, not the comedian behind Rubenmann or NRK as an institution. The Facebook account in particular attracted the attention of users and the mainstream media, and this led to an expansion of the project over time – both in terms of scope and time frame (Moe 2013, 117). On Facebook, users could start a dialogue with the character and express their enthusiasm, send pictures, and so on. As Sundet (2008) argues, this project was a continuation of NRK's practice of using new entertainment programmes or personalities to try new media services. On the other hand, Rubenmann was different in that there was no actual radio or television programme that it promoted or extended. Instead, the entire Rubenmann universe appeared without the familiar NRK logo, blurring the line between fiction and fact. Although the decision to move Rubenmann to Facebook was in line with the general idea of using external websites to reach new, mainly young, users, it was mostly perceived by the industry as an experiment with low expectations rather than a project based on a fixed and predefined strategy (Moe 2013, 118).

In the years that followed, Facebook and Twitter became increasingly part of the services provided by NRK. More and more radio and television programmes developed some form of presence on social networks, but overall, the Norwegian public service broadcaster's approach to Facebook remained somewhat random and even disorganised. Anyway, in 2010 a survey showed that NRK's news programmes had more than 30 accounts on Twitter and more than 20 on Facebook, and that did not include the individual accounts of journalists. However, these accounts varied considerably in terms of their connection to NRK. There was no uniformity in terms of naming, layout or the specific use of the services, but it was clear that the ambitions of the public service media provider were clearly growing in relation to the use of social networks (Moe 2013, 118). By the end of 2010, NRK's main website, nrk.no, already included invitations to follow the channel's Facebook and Twitter accounts. Moreover, the radio news programmes even featured the editorial team's tweets on the nrk.no official page. At this point, social networking sites started to integrate more and more seamlessly with public service content. This integration was not limited exclusively to the web: television and radio presenters were also increasingly directing citizens to their Facebook or Twitter profiles, and the increas-

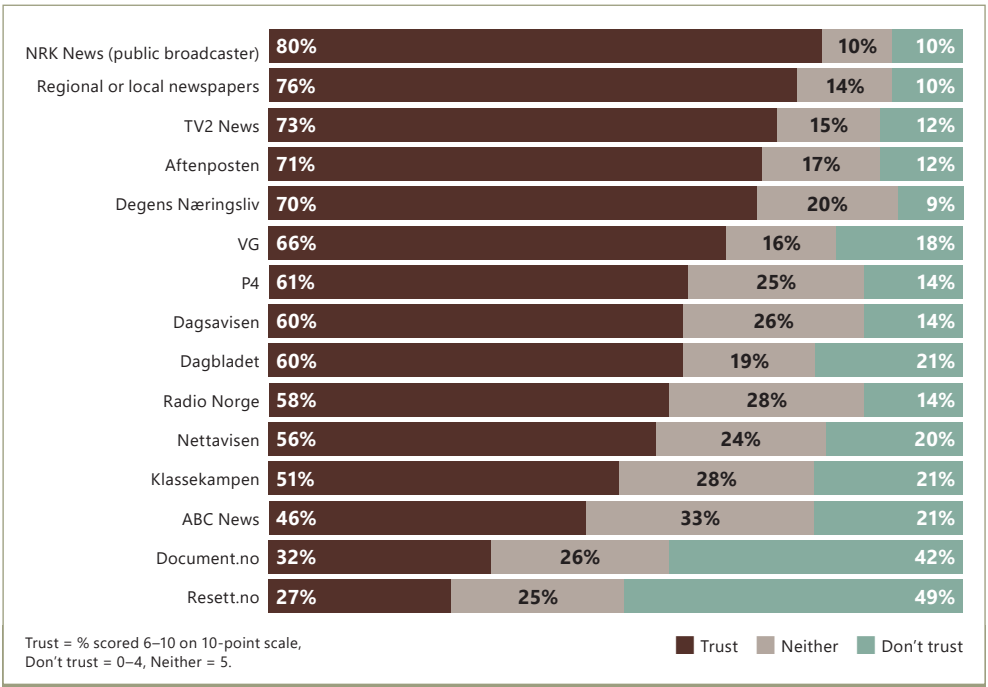
ingly tight integration laid the foundations for a new phase in the relationship between NRK and social networks.

While NRK's various editorial departments continued to experiment with Facebook and similar sites within their own competences, over time the world of politics and regulation began to catch up as a result of the regulatory developments in neighbouring Sweden – illustrating the transition to phase two.

2.2. Top-down integration of NRK and Facebook

The fundamental dilemma of the shift of public service information to social media was exemplified by a report by the Swedish public service broadcaster SVT in a morning news programme of a regional television on 21 May 2010 when reporting on the preparations for the wedding of Crown Princess Victoria of Sweden and Daniel Westing. There were still four weeks to go until the wedding and, according to the report, some clergymen in southern Sweden suggested that the Crown Princess should not be given away by her father, the King, as tradition dictates. After the report, the news presenter turned to the viewers and asked, "Should Victoria enter the church with Daniel or not? What do you think? Go to our Facebook page and tell us your opinion" (Moe 2013, 118–119). However, the programme was reported to the Swedish Media Authority for redirecting viewers to the Facebook page, which, after discussing the matter, concluded that the broadcaster, by mentioning Facebook and encouraging viewers to use a service, was "guilty of unjustified promotion of commercial interests" and violated the Radio and Television Act (Granskningsnämnden för radio och TV, 2010).

In this case, the Swedish public service broadcaster argued that Facebook was like a public space. Like in any public space, commercial actors can be present, but there are also important discussions about socially relevant issues, and therefore public service institutions should also be present there. However, the Swedish media authority did not accept the public space metaphor. It argued that a user agreement with a commercial company would have been necessary to take part in the debate on Facebook. According to this view, the public service broadcaster therefore published publicly funded media content "within the territory" of a multinational corporation controlled from the United States, or more precisely on its platform, which neither the Swedish broadcaster nor Swedish politicians could do much to regulate (Moe 2013, 119).



Source: Reuters Institute – University of Oxford

Figure 2. Brand Trust Scores in Norway

The intervention of an external regulatory body has thus revealed some fundamental problems with the public service broadcaster's use of social media. In any case, the Swedish public service broadcaster has taken a new approach in the wake of the ruling – and so have public service broadcasters in neighbouring Nordic countries. Owing to this case, NRK began to develop internal guidelines for using social media (Moe 2013, 119). The guidelines, in force since the end of 2010, have set out some basic routines for reporting and documenting new initiatives, and also provided guidance on using services according to the "best practices". The guidelines also included rules on how a broadcaster could refer to Facebook or Twitter from its own programmes or websites, stressing that social networks are commercial sites. It was argued that activities on Facebook or Twitter should support NRK's services – and not the other way round.

The Danish public service broadcaster DR followed the Norwegian example in early 2011 and acknowledged the need to stop publishing exclusive content

on social networks and to provide "strong editorial justification" for references to the named service. NRK's document contained a similar rule. In March 2011, following a viewer's complaint, the issue was referred to NRK's Broadcasting Council, an external advisory body, which took the view that it was essential to be present on the platforms people use, but that the practice so far could not be considered perfect. The organisation stressed the need to continue to allow experimentation, while at the same time emphasising the importance of "branding NRK".

By 2012, the Facebook link, the Twitter logo and the embedded Twitter news feed had also disappeared from the official NRK-affiliated pages of the above-mentioned radio and television news programmes. From then on, the use of social networking services at NRK entered its second phase, characterised by a much more modest approach than before, with less obvious connections, a more structured setup and a more uniform and concrete practice. By the end of 2012, revised internal guidelines were introduced, leaving much less room for individual, creative experimentation.

In this context, Moe (2013, 120) notes that there are also differences within the Nordic countries, such as the role of top-down regulation. While in Sweden the regulatory body intervened and directly brought about changes in how the public service broadcaster used Facebook, the shift to a more modest and more unified approach at NRK occurred without formal intervention by an external regulatory body. In a sense, NRK acted proactively, learning from the Swedish example, and solved the problem before the Broadcasting Council, the Norwegian Media Authority or any political actor paid any particular attention to the issue.

In any case, Moe (2013, 122) argues that all this shows that in a sense the power to provide information is shifting from national-political actors (with the exception of Norway) to global commercial actors, as the Swedish case also shows that by operating in the "territory" of multinational corporations like Facebook, the public service broadcaster risks acting outside the scope of the national regulator. However, this does not mean that it is an unregulated environment, as on Facebook, too, all users have to abide by the specific guidelines of the social network.

Summary

The Norwegian public service media model has served as a model in Europe for decades. However, the information revolution and the changes in social communication brought about by social networks have challenged the Norwegian government and the media authority, forcing them to create a new legal environment to adapt to the changed circumstances. But as can be seen from the above, the Norwegian competent authorities have focused on a single aspect in developing the new regulations: the preservation and creation of value by the public service mission.

As one of the best-funded public service media institutions in Europe, and still highly popular with Norwegian citizens in the 2020s, NRK's integration of profit-oriented, commercially driven global social networks into its public service media system has not been a smooth process. In the initial phase, the use of media platforms such as Facebook appeared to have started from the bottom up, without institutional intervention, but over time, the authorities also sought to avert threats to citizens and the public service mission.

However, the – sometimes very significant – differences between European countries and broadcasters should not be overlooked when looking for the recipe for success of the Norwegian public service media model. In fact, the Norwegian public service broadcaster has been in a stable and strong position for decades, enjoying the respect and trust of the Norwegian society. It was therefore well positioned to integrate successfully into the innovative world of social networks.

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Awareness, self-discipline, individual colours

Conversation with Professor Géza Balázs, Head of the Speech Culture Committee of the SZFE

Photo: Gyöngyi Schwarczenberger-Ludván

Teaching speech has always had an important role at the University of Theatre and Film Arts (and its predecessors). What is known about its past?

■ As a linguist, as a linguaphil, I always knew that actors were taught by such eminent speech teachers as Adorján Nagy, József Gáti, Sándor Fischer and Imre Montágh. Legends have grown up around some of them, and they are often mentioned by long-serving actors. But when I read István Nánay's book about the history of the SZFE *(Tanodától – egyetemig. Az intézményes magyar színház- és filmművészképzés száznegyven éve [From the Acting School to the University. One Hundred and Forty Years of Institutional Hungarian Theatre and Film Education]),* it became even more obvious to me that there was no period when the importance of speech training in theatre arts was not emphasized in some way. And so it was in the life of the acting school, the academy, the college and later the university. The speech criterion appeared at the foundation of the Theatre School in 1865. The requirements at the time were: 'For admission, it is desirable to have... a nice, faultless, clear pronunciation in drama, and a nice clear voice, and a standard ear for music in opera faculty'. Zoltán Várkonyi (1974–1979) was a fierce advocate of speech training. "Everyday language – I'm not talking about new words, I'm not talking about slang, I'm talking about emphasis, the value of sounds – is deteriorating, and we're seeing this with the candidates." Therefore, based on his experience in England, he proposed a secondary school where gymnastics and speech would be given priority, with an emphasis on the theatrical needs, and poetry and drama would be given greater emphasis in the teaching of literature. Although linguists are reluctant to use the term 'language deterioration', they do not deny that there are plenty of language use problems – which can be corrected. And even critics constantly complain about the use of language on stage and in film. The importance of speech training has increased even more since the SZFE started to offer media training.

What is the scientific basis of speech teaching?

■ The quality of public discourse has been discussed since antiquity. The rhetoric that is still alive and relevant today was born in antiquity. The first oratorical studies were primarily about judicial and then political speech, but the importance of ecclesiastical oratory soon grew, and, if you think about it, these are all connected with the theatre; but Aristotle, for example, mentions the special

language of tragedy in his *Poetics:* 'Flavoured' speech in my definition is the one which has written, harmony and tune...' "In his *Rhetoric,* he formulates a total view of speech, which today is mostly related to acting: 'The way of thinking includes all that is to be done by speech: proof, refutation, arousal of emotions – pity, fear, anger, and so on – and also magnification and diminution." And he also mentions the art of speech specifically: 'The art of words uses only prose or poetry, and the latter may be either in mixed form or in the same verse throughout, but there is still no summary name for it'. From the Greeks onwards, rhetoric has occupied an important place among the sciences. It has been taught regularly since the Middle Ages and has had a great influence on the use of language in art. In linguistics, it is only since the 20th century that the subject of speech has been dealt with in depth – until then, linguists were mainly interested in linguistic elements, word types, word classes, parts of speech and sentences. Saussure already introduced the task of researching living speech. However, it is only in the age of technological progress in the 20th century (sound and image recording and transmission) and the communication facilities that make use of them (film, radio, television, theatre, multimedia) when this became increasingly necessary and possible. In Hungary, language education has a centuries-old tradition, but speech education can only be counted from the 20th century, with the publication of Kodály Zoltán's manifesto. In recent times, the scientific background of linguistics has been enormously strengthened. This is due to the (instrumental) phonetic research that has become established in linguistics and to the deepening possibilities of speech technology. Together, the two can be collectively referred to as speech science. Rhetorical approaches and the emergence of psycholinguistics have also made a major contribution to speech science. Speech science also includes language pedagogy and speech techniques dealing with speech defects and disorders, and communication theory and practice dealing with communication disorders in general.

What is the practical history of speech teaching?

■ I have already mentioned that in our traditional school system there has always been rhetoric education. This was abolished in 1948, but for a while it was replaced by a similar subject called Speech and Reasoning. Older people remember it, they say they liked it because it was a good class to talk in. At the dawn of the change of regime, rhetoric crept back into the Hungarian language teaching,

which was expanded as Hungarian grammar and communication. It has its place in the curriculum and could be practised, but I often hear that there is no time to hear the students giving oral answers, it is quicker and easier for them to fill in tests. According to some estimates, a primary school pupil speaks in public in a rhetorical situation in school for only a few minutes a year. And the same is true in high school and university. In mass education, oral examinations have declined, and many forms of education have no oral entrance examinations. Therefore, neglected speech teaching was organised through diversions, for those who have succeeded. Such by-passes include elocution, rhetoric and recitation competitions for all types of schools, sponsored by social associations, foundations and institutions. It is a different matter that the methodology of these, which was developed in the 1960s, has not changed, is in many respects outdated and often lays down pseudo-rules of pronunciation, which tend to cause harm. As for the detours, I would definitely highlight the recitation competitions, which have a huge boost for those who want to work with speech at an artistic level. At the College of Theatre and Film Arts, for example, Nádasdy Kálmán revived recitation competitions during his rectorship (1964–1974), after which they disappeared again. The many formal and informal competitions had and still have a stimulating effect on actor training. Many of our actors boast a Kazinczy Medal or a recognition received in a recitation competition. It is a fact, that such a confirmed result makes a significant contribution to an audition for admission.

Institutions that employ "speakers" have also noticed the lack of pedagogical foundations. Therefore, in 1976, Hungarian Radio set up its Language and Microphone Committee, which operated until 2011: it provided scientifically based training and examination requirements for radio speakers. As I was a member of this committee from 1992 to 2021, and its chairman for its last ten years, I know its activities well. We worked together with great linguists (Pál Fábián, István Szathmári, József Bencédy, Imre Wacha), great radio presenters (Ferenc Bőzsöny) and excellent radio professionals. The language committee played more of a consultative role, analysing programmes, genres, radio attitudes and styles. Specific analyses were always discussed with the programme producers. The analyses and the professional materials (textbooks) resulting from them were published by the Education Department of Hungarian Radio. The Education Department ran the continuous radio speech training. Only after completing that training could the microphone examination, inevitable for speaking on the radio, be taken. Those who met the strictest requirements were given a microphone licence

Zoltán Kodály: Let's put a stop to the deterioration of our pronunciation! (Said on Radio on 18 September 1938.)

"There is only one language here whose pronunciation is not taken care of by anyone: the Hungarian. Either they think that everyone knows it, or they think that it doesn't matter: we can pronounce it right or wrong, but we understand each other. This lack of care is evident: anyone who has an open ear for Hungarian life knows how much Hungarian pronunciation has deteriorated over the last two decades. The deterioration of pronunciation is just a symptom of the general deterioration of the language. [...]Nothing is more characteristic of a language than its particular pronunciation. It's like the fragrance of a flower, the flavour of the wine, the fire of the enamel, the opal. To recognises the language far before you even understand the word. Every language has its own timbre, tempo, rhythm, melody, in short, its own music. More and more people are blowing Hungarian in a false way. [...]

So what do we do? There are two reasons for mispronunciation. One is simply a lack of language skills. When it's a foreign language, we take it for granted that mispronunciation is only half knowledge. Why is it not natural in Hungarian, too? If you want to speak Hungarian, learn to pronounce it. This is just self-evident.

We cannot give up foreign languages. In fact, we must strive to ensure that every educated Hungarian knows at least one perfectly. But let us use our knowledge of foreign languages so that our knowledge of Hungarian gains, not loses. We learn Hungarian again in parallel with the foreign language. Let us take note of all its musical differences and the better we master the pronunciation of the foreign language, the more conscious we can become of Hungarian. [...]

And here we come to the second cause of mispronunciation, the more serious one. If one is determined to learn the correct Hungarian pronunciation, it is only a matter of time and diligence. It is certain that those who have not inherited it will have to work hard to acquire it. Keeping it is no less work.

The work to be done is big. Specialists are needed to discover and organise the basic facts of pronunciation. It will be up to the educational authorities to ensure that the findings of science are disseminated through schools. The first steps have already been taken on both counts. But this can only be brought to life by a mass movement. If we can get all Hungarians interested, no one will care whether we pronounce a word one way or another. A language is the creation of millions, and it is only truly alive if more people use it consciously. In the Radio, in addition to presentations on the correct use of the language, experts will also be dealing with the details of pronunciation. I urge our distinguished listeners to listen with the attention and interest that the language issue, the genuine fundamental cause of the nation, deserves."

for announcers or presenters. This was followed by a reporter's and a specialist reporter's licence. This may show that everyone could find their place in the system. To give an example of the two extreme positions: a radio announcer could not be speech impaired, but for a specialist reporter this was not a disqualifying factor. In the 1980s, Hungarian Television had a similar committee. The former language committees were replaced by a so-called Montágh board in MTVA, but it did not take over the system of microphone licences. And after the regime change, communication and speech training was introduced into the training of managers, with a variety of mixed methods and topics – but the point is that the need for it was recognised, so much so that individuals and companies paid huge sums of money to develop speaking skills. A number of private rhetoric schools and speech training courses – in the latter case also known as fashionable voice hygiene – are advertised on the web. I myself have been asked to develop a course in speech-writing and delivery and it has been an incredible success. This shows that there is a huge demand for effective speech training

What are the main research centres and textbooks in speech science?

■ The only department of phonetics is at ELTE's Faculty of Humanities, but speech research is also carried out at the ELKH Language Research Centre and the University of Technology. Phonetics, which is specifically linguistic (segmental and suprasegmental), is not relevant for our purposes, since we are not interested in the theory of speech production. In practical speech teaching, the works of speech teachers previously associated with SZFE (e.g., Sándor Fischer's *A beszéd művészete [The Art of Speech]*, the textbooks by Imre Montágh: *Figyelem vagy fegyelem?! [Attention or Discipline?!])*, or *Nyelvművesség. A beszéd művészete [Language Art. The Art of Speech]*). For the study of speech defects, I recommend the books *Frequent Speech Defects* edited by László Szabó, and *Gyakori beszédhibák a gyermekkorban [Frequent Speech Defects in Childhood]* by Imre Montágh, Nelli Montághné Riener and Etelka Vinczéné Bíró. You may also find useful the work on *A hangképzés és zavarai, beszédzavarok [Voice production and disorders, speech disorders]* edited by László Surján and Tibor Frint. For the theory of rhetoric, I recommend the works of Anna Adamikné Jászó, Petra Aczél and Imre Wacha. I would like to draw particular attention to the works of Imre Wacha – especially because he practically developed media-based speech training in Hungary. In the 1960s, there was a pronunciation conference in Eger,

where it was decided to create a manual of colloquial Hungarian pronunciation. In the end, it was only László Elekfi and Imre Wacha's huge individual undertaking. *Az értelmes beszéd hangzása [The Sound of Intelligent Speech]* (2004), but Imre Wacha has also laid the foundations for our speech culture in several other works: *A tiszta beszéd [The Clear Speech]* (2015), *Az értelmes beszéd [Intelligent Speech]* (2015), *Igényesen magyarul [Quality Speech in Hungarian], A helyes kiejtés kézikönyve [A manual for correct pronunciation]* (2010). I also have some works that can be classified here: *Médiakommunikáció. A nyelvi közszolgálatiság [Media communication The Language of Public Service]* (1996), *Médianyelv. Az igényes sajtó/média nyelve [The Language of Quality Press/Media]* (2000), *A nyilvános megszólalás esztétikája [The Aesthetics of Public Speaking]* (2002). And this was the purpose of my former Duna television series, *Hey, hey, orthography* and *Hey, hey, correct speech*.

What are the most common speech defects and speech disorders today?

■ There are, so to speak, eternal, i.e. always characteristic of a part of the population, voice disorders: hoarseness, mutation disorder, as well as typical speech disorders: lisp, nasalization, fast speech, stammering. If we look at speech disorders in the overall communicative context, many more phenomena emerge, and these can be treated with little help from a speech teacher, but rather with rhetorical or, in more serious cases, psychological help. These include communication disorders resulting from disturbances of attention and thinking (incoherent communication, circumlocution, phonetic associations, the communication-distorting consequences of delusions) and speech disorders such as compulsive speech, verbosity, excessively soft or loud speech... The odd thing is that, perhaps due to some habits of our time or perhaps because of more attention, there seems to be an increasing number of children and adults with speech defects and disorders. But, as the media now say, "the good news is" that some of these are outgrown by young people, or relatively well corrected by the early twenties. And let me add something that a speech teacher would never say: a little speech impediment is not a problem! It is neither necessary nor possible for everyone to have the same exact ("regular") articulation. In fact, let me reassure you ladies: a minor speech impediment can be "sexy". But this is not to say that for those who speak for a living, i.e. in the old-new media, radio and television broadcasters, spokespeople, communicators, teachers, clergymen, public

figures and, of course, actors, good speaking skills, based on good articulation, are not a priority.

And what about dialects, or more precisely the use of dialects in every day language or on stage?

■ Anyone who watches old Hungarian films may have noticed that in the period between the two world wars and until about the end of the 1950s, the language used by actors was much more colourful, for example, it was natural for an actor to have a dialect peculiarity. After that, only a few actors retained their dialect pronunciation, and they were the only ones used to portray the peasant world. Such were Teri Horváth and Ádám Szirtes. The imitation of the vernacular is often unsuccessful and therefore arouses disapproval or controversy among experts – such was the case with the television series Sándor Rózsa, which was accompanied by a controversy over actors who did not produce the ö sound of 'Szöged' professionally. Today, we hardly have any actors who speak the dialect. There is no doubt that dialects (regional dialects) have declined, but they are alive. Hungarian dialects are alive all over the country and beyond its borders, and contrary to the former prevailing opinion of linguists, they do not wish to die out. And dialects are of great value: partly because of their linguistic tradition, partly because of the specific identity of small communities, partly because of the emotional identification. In the current situation, my practical advice is that those who still have their dialect should preserve it, use it courageously in the situation, and also strive to learn the vernacular. Public service radio should not report news in dialect, but a local correspondent should feel free to use their dialect. On the stage, Hamlet should not be performed in the Palóc dialect, but there could be room for dialect in a popular play – and not just in radio comedy shows, where there is a tendency to use offensive dialect imitations! Let me give you a beautiful, even touching example! Björn Runeborg's Swedish voice play *Az autókereskedő (The Car Dealer)* tells the story of a young man from Gotland who goes to work as a car dealer in a big Swedish city, but is told that he cannot be a car dealer with such a terrible dialect. So, the young man of Sweden, who speaks the dialect of Gotland, enrols in a Swedish language course. How do you translate that into Hungarian? The Hungarian Radio asked László Csendes, a member of the Thália Theatre in Kosice, to perform the role in the Palóc dialect. I recommend listening to the voice play to everyone to understand the ethics of

using dialects, and I also recommend learning about and appreciating the radio play genre in general. Once upon a time, most actors were employed in radio plays, and the "pagoda" (lobby) of Hungarian Radio was always full of actors.

What tasks do you see in the training of actors in the field of speech training?

■ There is also speech training at the SZFE, and talking to students I know that there is demand for it. Those who come here know that their most important tool is the voice, and good speech shaped by a good voice. Let me tell you an anecdote. In one of our buildings, I entered the men's restroom and witnessed a bizarre scene. I heard this: cím, cin, citrom, címez, cél, cégér, cica, cián, cifra, cinkos, cédula, cérna.... (all Hungarian words beginning with the letter c) (title, squeak, lemon, address, target, signet, kitty, cyan, fancy, fancy, tag, thread...) Anywhere else I would have been shocked..., but not so much there, while washing my hands I found out that a young drama student was practising, apologised, but only here, in the men's toilet, he found a mirror... I didn't tell him that I teach this and how appropriate I think this act is. But seriously! I've been hearing the complaint for years, and for some time I've been experiencing it myself: there are a lot of actors with speech impediments. The peak was a severely speech impaired Adam, not so long ago. Because, as I may have already alluded to, in a character role, speech impediments may go unnoticed. Of course, you can direct a speech impaired Adam and Eve, but I wouldn't. The other: the volume. Very often I can't understand what is being said on stage. Of course, it can be a concept, for example multitasking so that you don't always understand the text. But let this be an exception. The third: the poetry recitation. It's completely regressed. And yet poetry, with its splendid verse interpretation, has a therapeutic effect. I think it is very important that as many people as possible recite poetry, and that everyone should listen to and recite poetry every day!

I would also add that the state of speech culture, the phenomenon of speech defects, speech disorders, should not be considered as a disease – by this I mean not to be considered an illness. Every person has their own idiolect, their own phonetic formation, their own use of language. Obviously, a major or multiple speech impediment impairs communication; but let's not consider it a medical case. At best, we should gently bring it to the person's attention, indicate that there is a solution, and of course not necessarily that they should choose a profession that involves public or artistic 'speaking' with such features.

In many cases, it is a minor or major speech impediment that triggers the desire to prove oneself. It is said of Demosthenes, the great orator of antiquity, that he overcame his inhibition by a ruthless self-discipline: he put pebbles in his mouth and recited on the beach.

A working group on the culture of speech was set up at the SZFE. With what plans?

■ When I came to SZFE after 38 years at ELTE, where I had taught rhetoric and communication for a very long time, I immediately proposed the creation of a working group on the culture of speech. This was done. In my first year here, I brought the national Kossuth oratorical competition here, from which the drama students had been excluded for some reason. In November 2022, we held the national final at the National Theatre, and we would like to continue to link the competition to our university and the theatre. Of course, the previous organisers will also remain: the ELTE Faculty of Primary School and Kindergarten Teacher Education, the International Society for Hungarian Language and Culture and the Petőfi Cultural Agency. Preparatory programmes, meetings and training sessions will be launched from the middle of the year for the final in November 2023. Personally, I would also encourage more articulation and thematic recitation competitions. Another area is speech training. As I am not a speech teacher myself, I would actually like to learn from speech teachers first, I would like to learn about the problems. Rhetoric and other communication training can be superimposed on the profound work of speech teachers, and these are my own fields of specialisation. So the two are not independent. And the third area is the development of a so-called speech exam. I have been asked by the management of the SZFE to organise a series of speech courses for internal and external actors (on a fee basis for external actors), which could help them in the media, in theatre work and in public life. As we have the experience of the Radio Language Committee in the past and as there is no such training in Hungary, we are working on developing and introducing this. The working group on the culture of speech will also seek to report on the latest developments in speech science to the university community, for example in Urania, the university's scientific journal.

The interview was conducted by Zsolt Antal

Gábor Viktor Kozma

Body and Space

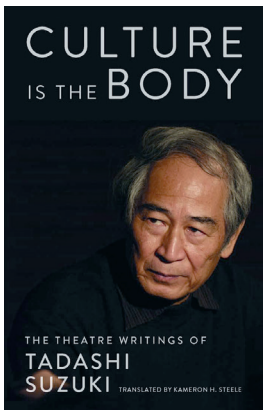
Essay on Suzuki Tadashi's post-humanist-humanist creative thinking

Abstract

The paper presents Suzuki Tadashi's theatrical thinking, with a special focus on his insights into the body and space. It introduces the key stages of his creative career and discusses why the director sees the social function of theatre as primarily critical. Following a discussion of the importance of artistic reflections, the author discusses Suzuki's unique insights, contextualising them with an interpretation of the Japanese cultural tradition. The paper depicts the actor's body and the theatrical space as an inseparable unit, and their interdependent relationship is elucidated in the theatrical act. Continuing this idea, the author frames Suzuki's humanist philosophy with some of the claims of postphenomenology.

Keywords: Suzuki Tadashi, Suzuki actor training method, body and space, bodymind, bodyworld

"As I was constantly searching for ways to achieve my creative goals, I went against these tendencies and decided to work without sacrificing my ideals."
(Suzuki Tadashi: Culture is the Body[1])



Suzuki Tadashi's theatrical thinking and philosophy is extremely complex and multifaceted. His work is constantly in contact with tradition, which he constantly questions, reimagines and represents according to the socio-cultural context and problems of the present. In order to resolve the paradox in the title, I first need to present Suzuki's oeuvre from a broader perspective, and then turn to the relationship between body and space, showing how the director anticipates the thinking of his time.[2]

Suzuki's track record is an inspiration in itself. Joining the Waseda Jiyū Butai, the theatre circle at Waseda Jiyū University in Tokyo, he has been experimenting with theatrical expression since the 1950s. In contrast to the Japanese realistic theatre trend, the shingeki, he sought his own theatrical thinking and formal language in his early theatre works. In the 1960s, after leaving the university group, he founded first Jiyū Butai and then Waseda Shōgekijō in 1966 (Goto 1988, 46). Although the critical reception of his performances was not always favourable at first, their production of *A kis gyufaáruslány [The Little Match Girl]*, co-edited and produced with playwright Minoru Betsuyaku, brought Suzuki and Waseda Shōgekijō professional recognition in 1966.

1 This essay is based on the Hungarian translation of the US edition of Tadashi Suzuki's *The Culture is the Body* (2015). The Hungarian edition is expected to be published in the spring of 2023 by the University of Theatre and Film Arts and Theatre Olympics Nonprofit Ltd.

2 In my essay I use parts of my PhD thesis, which will be defended in 2022. The quotations from non-Hungarian sources are my own translations.

Along with Kara Jūrō, Terayama Shūji, Satō Makoto and Őta Shōgo, Suzuki would become one of the most influential creators of the *angura* movement, which was opposed to the Japanese mainstream, questioned shingeki and sought other forms of expression (Goto 1988, 9–10). Angura is a shortened form of *andãgurando,* which evolved from the use of the English word underground in Japanese theatre parlance. Suzuki opens Waseda Shōgekijō's studio building on the roof of Tokyo's Mon Cheri café with *A kis gyufaáruslány [The Little Match Girl]* (Goto 1988, 46–50). His theatrical experiments turn towards the physicality of the actor, seeking full-bodied expression and the creation of a formal language that can bridge the gap between classical performance traditions and contemporary theatrical messages.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, he and his company achieved breakthrough success, and in 1972 Jean-Louis Barrault invited them to Paris for a festival, which proved to be a revelatory experience for Suzuki. According to his description, Kanze Hisao's performance of the nó revealed a new strength for him. He recognised the liveliness and exquisite theatricality of the nó as it emerged from its own medium (Suzuki 1987, 71–72). Suzuki's thinking in the 1970s was embodied in a search for methodology. Through constant experimentation, he begins to develop the Suzuki method of actor training, which functions as a continuous training for his company. In the 1970s, the director enjoyed success after success, including the premiere of his emblematic production of *A trójai nők (The Trojan Women)* in 1974. In 1976, Suzuki moved his headquarters from Tokyo to the mountain village of Toga in Toyama Prefecture and changed the name of his company to Suzuki Company of Toga (SCOT). It is from this village that his art, pedagogy and thinking have become known worldwide over the last fifty years. Suzuki, in establishing his rural centre, joined the wave that characterised the work of Copeau, Grotowski, Barba and Staniewski: the isolated medium became an integral part of his way of working. What makes SCOT's work unique, however, is that they are not only creating a thriving cultural centre, but also integrating it into the international theatre circuit by hosting tours and international events. In 1982, Suzuki established the first international theatre festival in Japan, the Toga Festival, which has been held every year since. In addition to the continued development and expansion of Toga Arts Park, Suzuki also took on the artistic direction of Art Company Mito (ACM) from 1989-1995 and the Shizuoka Performing Art Centre from 1995-2007. It would be beyond the scope of this essay to list Suzuki's Japanese and international accolades, so I will not

go into that. The trajectory of his career clearly places him among the most influential theatre-makers and thinkers of the 20th and 21st centuries.

For me, Suzuki's inspiration lies not in the grandiose arc of his career, but in the nuance of his theatrical vision and thinking. Suzuki's philosophy carries a complex world view, a broad interest and a strong ethical outlook. The director certainly conceives of his own work as an artistic reflection of society.

> "Contrary to popular belief, the people who have influenced world theatre and succeeded in making a significant difference have not been interested in making theatre itself, but in changing the minds of those who shape society. They chose drama simply as a means to do so."

Suzuki sees creation as a 'social action', which cannot lack a critical edge. Accordingly, in his work he constantly reflects on the phenomena around him. The experience of the Second World War, the changing national identity, and the upheaval of classical Japanese values and customs in the course of modernisation are all starting points for Suzuki's reflections. "Acting is always most active when a nation is going through an identity crisis". Suzuki himself often refers in his book to the fact that the basis of European acting is the common discussion of social issues and the exposure of problems. The political dimension of his work is strong in this sense. The director's task is not only to reflect and criticise society, but also to formulate an idea for improvement. In this respect, Suzuki sees the artist as being able to exercise this through his own society, but he is not sure that it stops there.

> "When the desire to change the society of a given country transcends the boundaries of that country and becomes universal, that is the moment when a work of art can become great art (...) A true artist does not merely deal with the problems of a particular nationality or ethnicity, let alone the problems of his own group, but rather asks questions that concern humanity as a whole, exploring the spiritual condition of the universal human being."

In this respect, Suzuki sees theatre as both a local forum and a universal tool that can address shared human experiences.

The director's relationship to the text is also determined by this social engagement and message-shaping attitude. For him, theatre is a physical and linguistic expression, created by a kind of fragmented structuring rather than by the formation of a coherent linear narrative. For him, the written play only defines 'the text and context of the performance'. In his thinking, the intellectual heritage of Artaud and the classical logic of 20th-century directorial theatre can be recognised. Suzuki often makes use of the technique of text montage, even when he chooses an existing dramatic work as the starting point for his performances: "[...]he preferred to use the term honkadori, a term from Japanese literature meaning »allusive variation«, to describe his intertextual practice" (Carruthers 2004, 125). This practice has defined the director's work from the beginning of his career. Even when he directs plays by Euripides, Shakespeare or Chekhov, he himself acts as an author, incorporating various guest texts into the text of the performance. "As the text is embodied in space, so the drama exists in the theatre. [...]Does the text help the actor's »magic« or not? This is the real question". For Suzuki, this 'magic' is the actor's physical and vocal effect, which fully engages the spectator: not an intellectual stimulus, but an auratic experience of presence in a shared space and time.

> "The extra power needed for the »magic« is created when the actor is able to create a kind of extraordinary, ever-changing atmosphere of visceral alertness between the audience and himself through the animating effects of language and space, action and energy. This is commonly referred to as an actor's presence. [...]These moments, the actor's »magic« creates a saturated space in which the spectator who sees and the actor who is seen – the two who have just existed structurally separated and alienated from each other – merge into one. At the moment when the fusion of actor and audience is achieved, the theatre is born."

Suzuki shares Grotowski's thinking that theatre is best defined by stripping it of all the elements without which it can still exist. The director agrees with Grotowski that theatre cannot be imagined without an actor, but he is not satisfied with this and also evokes Brook's concept of empty space (Brook 1973, 5). From the fusion of the two, for Suzuki theatre is not only an encounter between spectator and actor, but what is created in that specific space. His philosophy is pervaded and deeply informed by thinking about body and space.

One of the central elements of Suzuki's social reflection is the thematisation of de-physicalisation. Although the rise of intellectual disciplines in the second half of the 20th century, including phenomenology, has led to a widespread turn towards the body, Suzuki also pays particular attention to the themes of the body and disembodiment, as well as to the theme of living or mediatised communication. Suzuki distinguishes between corporeal (animal) and incorporeal (non-animal) energies. His observation focuses on the ways in which modern society is changing people's physical experiences and cultural images through the inclusion of non-animal energies. As more and more work and activities are replaced by machines during modernization, the physical activity of humans decreases, and the expression of animal energies naturally declines. Suzuki's perception of culture is also shaped by its relationship to bodily energy:

> "[...](The) culture means, on the one hand, the animal energy that the group uses and, on the other hand, the mutual trust with which this energy is managed by the members of the group. Culture is a form of response to stimuli, be it art, sport, sexual activity or even cooking. The extent to which these forms differ across groups, especially as far as ethnic groups are concerned, tends to be treated as cultural difference."

In the product-oriented perspective of disembodied modernisation and the market economy, embodied culture is also redefined: since it cannot contribute effectively to production, this is why Suzuki sees the social engagement and critical function of culture and theatre as so important.

In Suzuki, mediatised communication breeds mistrust. As he describes it, he tried to avoid telephone conversations when he was young, because it bothered him not to see the other person's face and the non-verbal communication of their body. Perhaps because of his own experience, his attention turns already in the 1960s towards tendencies that only with the rapid spread of digital and information culture become a truly significant shared experience. Suzuki recognised early the global changes around him, and he watched with suspicion as human experience became increasingly disconnected from the own intense, bodily experience. This, Suzuki says, is also significantly changing people's perception of space.

The director thinks about space from many angles. Above all, he is very attentive to the effects of space on the body, values and habits. He details

at length how modern Japanese architecture of the 1960s is changing the everyday experience of his nation. He explains how the *tokonoma,* which is so prominent in classical architecture, has been transformed. This type of niche traditionally housed either a sacred picture or an ideological symbol. The ceremonial nature of the space demanded that whoever sat before the symbol was aware of their own unquestioned authority and had to represent their unchallengeable authority. As post-World War II reconstruction squeezed living spaces into narrow prefabricated dwelling units, the function of the spaces was transformed, and the tokonoma became the space where television was located. Since television demanded a frontal viewing direction, it forced people to sit facing it, and therefore in effect took over the physical and metaphorical place of authority in everyday life. Suzuki argues that culture is constantly changing and should not be identified with old value sets. Yet his reflections force the reader to think about his own space and the value system it generates. In a broader sense, Suzuki provokes our insight into our behaviour as determined by space. In this sense, our behaviour is not determined, but is made sense of by adaptation and suggested by others.

Suzuki uses two other examples to illuminate the relationship between space and the use of the body. Another result of modern Japanese housing design is the disappearance of the traditional *rōka,* which were passageways that led to the interior of the family home. Their floors were made of wood and had a slippery surface due to their polishing. Walking on wooden floors thus required care to avoid slipping and creaking floors. Since these passageways were separated from the adjacent rooms by rice-paper walls, they functioned as a kind of common space for the family. Suzuki draws the reader's attention not only to the controlled way of using the body, but also to the importance of communal attention and the responsibility of living together. He shows the relationship between the individual and the closest community, the family: the individual had to limit his own use of the body in order to ensure the tranquillity of the community. In another example, he points to the disappearance of the classic Japanese toilet. He claims that this was brought to his attention by the producer Tetsuji Takechi when, during the American occupation, English toilets gradually began to replace traditional Japanese toilets. The latter required the body to do active muscle work, as the squatting gesture meant that one had to constantly control one's body centre and weight. In the case of the English toi-

let, this body use is not required, and the comfortable sitting position has also changed time management .

Suzuki points out the changes, but he is not driven by idealisation of the past or mere nostalgia. Rather, his writing focuses on a search for cause and effect, a search for the effects on the human body. Somehow, he is looking for obstacles against which man can exert his energy. Sartre's philosophy is mentioned several times in his book as having had a great influence on him. It is as if Suzuki is constantly looking for those 'hopeless' situations of struggle where he can do work, where he can express energy. Changing society could be seen as the hopeless task of the Sartrean, absurdist man, but Suzuki still fulfils his mission by creating physically active theatrical experiences, and works against the tendencies I have listed above. Suzuki's theatre is thus a space of social struggle: not against something, but for the experience of something; for an intensely and collectively lived, physically and mentally active shared experience. It is not narrowly focused, goal-oriented propaganda, but a forum for public social politics in the broader sense.

Suzuki explores the theatrical implications of both changes in body use and changes in space. The disembodiment of modernisation naturally affects actors. The "[...] Japanese people received a kind of basic actor training through tokonoma and rōka, simply by growing up in these houses". Suzuki sees the gap that occurs as one that the actor must make up for through regular training in order to be free to experience the vital bodily presence, the intensity of his expression, the 'magic' and the quality of 'physical sensitivity' and to be able to convey the director's message to the audience.

> "Against this crippling modernisation of the acting craft, I have sought to restore the wholeness of the human body in my performances, not simply by borrowing elements of stage forms such as the nó and kabuki, but by drawing on the universal values of these and other premodern traditions. For through them we have the possibility of regaining the full strength of our currently fragmented physicality and of reviving the sensory and expressive capacities of our bodies."

The director's approach is best embodied in the Suzuki actor training method he has created, which gives SCOT members the opportunity to practice daily.

The actors train their physical and vocal expressiveness, as well as their physical sensitivity and the intensity of their imagination through the exercises.

His method is seen as a skill-building tool to counteract the performance limitations of modernization; a language for actors to communicate with each other; a diagnosis by which the director can assess what 'illness' the actor is suffering from; and a standard against which the actor's work can be compared to certain performance minimums. Yet for me, his training fits beyond its functionality into some broader philosophical and 'ethical framework' (Camilleri 2009, 27). It proclaims the unattainable restoration of the wholeness of the human body. It is a space for consistent daily confrontation and a means of coping, through which performers choose to better their creative selves every day through physical and mental work. Suzuki's work reveals both a Sisyphean and a Sartrean struggle: hopeless, futile, physical and yet perhaps ultimately happy.

Suzuki analyses the relationship between space and performer from a number of perspectives. In this case, I would like to focus on Suzuki's analysis of the importance of the fixed stage structure in the nó tradition.

> "In order to show the nó in all its glory, it was necessary to have a fixed playing field, interiorised by each player. If we underestimate the importance of this fact, we will not understand anything of the art of the nó. The collective sense of space evolved through the memorisation of just such a playing space, and although actors must pass on the tradition from generation to generation, it seems unlikely that their art could flourish without the collective nature of the nó stage. The basis for this lies not in the choreographed gestures but in the space itself. These actors never say that their art is based on this or that performance technique; because when the quality of a performance reaches its highest level, it is because their teachers have explained to them in detail the knowledge of space that has allowed the actors' bodies to become accustomed to the nó stage. There is a huge difference between the fact that the performing skills have developed on their own and the fact that these skills are inseparable from the space in which they are shown."

On the one hand, sensitivity to the relationship between the performer and space is also culturally determined. In Japanese, the stage is called *butai,* where

bu means dance, movement, and *tai* means stage. A rough translation is therefore it is the stage of dance, the space of dance. However, tai also means the body. The alternative meaning of the term thus refers not only to the space in which performers dance, but to a space that is made to dance by the actor's performance (Oida and Marshall 1997, xviii). In this way of thinking, the actor is not the centre of the process, but the operator, not occupying but animating the space through their physical presence. On the other hand, Suzuki, even within the Japanese way of thinking, treats the relationship between space and performer with particular care. The director sees the actor as having to inhabit the space in which he is performing in order to achieve the maximum of his physical presence and expressiveness.

Suzuki's thinking is clearly humanistic: his choice of themes, his social sensitivity towards the village of Toga, his pacifist approach, his faith in cultural exchange, his body-centred thinking, his emphasis on the community role of theatre all reflect this. However, the way in which he analyses the impact of space on the individual and the community brings him into close contact with certain ideas of post-humanist philosophy, even if he would probably reject them.

With his concept of the inner aesthetic body [bodymind], Philip Zarrilli expands the conceptual framework of 20th century phenomenology (Merleau-Ponty, Noë, Leder) by interpreting the body in terms of theatre and acting. He looks at the aesthetic inner bodymind as a realm of perception and experience beyond the everyday, which emerges as a result of long-term psychophysical practice or intensive participation in training. Through this type of training, the participant engages both their physical body and mind in action, whereby the experience and consciousness of both are taken to ever-subtler levels. This kind of attunement is aesthetic in Zarilli's sense, because it is non-ordinary and takes time. In this way, instead of a dualistic bodymind dichotomy, it seeks to make our thinking and our dialogue

> "[...] move to a dialectical relationship of body in soul and mind in body. It is therefore marked as aesthetic, as experience gradually refines to ever-subtler levels of consciousness, and internal, as the mode of experience begins with an inward discovery as consciousness learns to explore the body." (Zarrilli 2009, 55)

Through Suzuki's training and in his directorial vision, he seeks this ever-subtler state of the bodymind, which physiologically affects the viewer, reminding us of our collectively forgotten full bodily experience, lost to the achievements of modernisation. At the same time, Suzuki is ahead of his time in seeing that this state is vulnerable to the environment that surrounds it.

Frank Camilleri is moving away from the 'conservative' psychophysical practice of Zarrilli towards post-humanist intellectual trends. Although Merleau-Ponty and the phenomenological approaches that continue to reflect his work include the relation between the body and its environment, Camilleri proposes a more radical approach (Camilleri 2020, 57–69).

> "The Cartesian dichotomy, which Zarrilli and others leave untouched in traditional psychophysics, is the dichotomy between human and non-human. How, for example, can my experience of the world be »fully human« if it is mediated by the clothes and glasses I wear; the air-conditioned spaces in which I exercise and perform; the equipment and objects I use; the mostly processed foods and drinks I consume; the air I breathe and the sounds I hear, especially in urban environments?" (Camilleri 2020, 61)

Camilleri, applying to the theatre the trend of post-phenomenology, including the work of Don Ihde, proposes the use of the term bodyworld instead of bodymind. Moving away from human-centred thinking, Camilleri focuses attention on the interaction between the human and the non-human. »I« am not merely a »bodymind«. »I« am a »bodyworld«, a set of human and non-human constituents that are bound and constituted in relation to exteriority' (Camilleri 2020, 62 emphasis in original).

Camilleri's term accurately describes what Suzuki also says: the human or acting experience cannot be separated from the environment in which it is created. Suzuki's thinking in this sense anticipates later philosophical trends. However, Suzuki's primary mode of expression is not the written or oral sharing of his thoughts, but their theatrical manifestation. He communicates his critical insights through his constructed use of the actor's body, the infinitely refined precision of his treatment of space, his eclectic, often meditative treatment of time, and the shared act of theatre.

> "As far as I am concerned, even if the theatre dies before its time, I will still be a theatre-maker. That's why I find it difficult to trust something that doesn't have a certain degree of continuity or permanence. The contemporary theatre faces a single challenge: how to ensure historical continuity while relying on the spontaneity of the human body and spirit."

His creative vision creates social exclamation points for us. It reminds us that we have lost a significant surface of our own bodily experience, and encourages us to undertake the desperate struggle to regain it. Through a critical view of his own society, he draws our attention to the shortcomings of our common culture. By thematising the universal human experience, his art becomes part of continuity and permanence, while expanding the vanishing moment.

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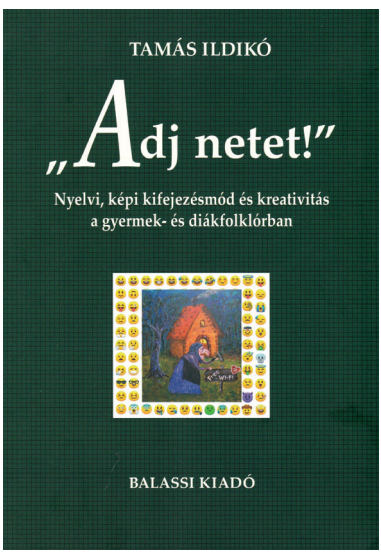
Géza Balázs

Review of Ildikó Tamás: „Adj netet!" – Linguistic, visual expression and creativity in children's and student folklore

There is something in common in a child and a poet. And art often reinforces that. Think of children's graffiti, Sándor Weöres' doodle verses, or artistic endeavours that use graffiti. This "commonality" is best captured in creativity. The child and the poet move more freely in the world of language, less bound by rules. It is because a child learns the language with an internal, innate program and adapts it, rightly or wrongly, to the already set expectations of the environment, and the poet because he dares to go beyond the linguistic conventions he has already mastered.



Source: Balassi Kiadó

Perhaps the most striking phenomena of creativity and linguistic and visual expression are the surprises and "irregularities" offered by the new information technologies of our time. Ildikó Tamás, a linguist and ethnographer, has focused her attention primarily on children's and youth folklore, but she also occasionally cites poetry as an example. The title of her book is "Adj netet" (Give me net) because, in her experience, this is the most frequently heard request for mobile net sharing in schools after the end of the lessons. In the

past, in the same situation, it was probably said: "Give me a bite", a taste of your food. When parents who are concerned about the internet dependence restrict their child's use of the net and "the data run out", children also use this request to ask for more time. Ildikó Tamás' book explores the linguistic phenomena (genres) of children's and students' folklore, the characteristics of the creative groups (old and new genres, verbal literacy-written literacy, offline-online register shift, "meme culture"), and two key areas of the creative process: ethno-ethymology and gibberish. Method: anthropological-folkloristic, including observation and interview.

The child lives mostly in a linguistic world shaped by themselves or by their parents, while the student is influenced by other community (school, college, group cohabitation), cultural (learning) and technological effects. The study of the culture and language of childhood is an old and rewarding task, because it was recognised early that the world and culture of the child is very specific, not necessarily the world of the adult simplified and reduced, but with its own rules and phenomena. The language world of a child is not merely a reproduction of the language spoken by adults, but has something of its own, something that is built up from within (from evolution and history). It is also a feature of children's folklore. Research on the linguistic world of youth has so far been particular interesting in the field of group language (subcultural), and slang phenomena with another approach. However, for both age groups, little attention has been paid to the new linguistic folklore that has emerged as a result of modern, mainly technological, phenomena. For some time now, children have been born to the world of new technological devices. Even children who cannot read and write are now using smartphones, and are developing a way of communicating and using technology that they could not have learned from their parents. This phenomenon is similar to the learning of a mother tongue, where patterns are not the only factor.

The ethnographer Vilmos Voigt, a teacher of many of us, recognised early on the problem of the survival and transformation of traditional folklore phenomena and predicted 'technological folklore'. His 1983 study in *Ethnography* on the research of children's folklore in Budapest is relevant for our topic. For the folklorist and the linguist, it is striking that a significant repertoire of texts has emerged which cannot be classified in traditional, fixed, unwittingly learned genre typologies. Ildikó Tamás has also taken note of these. A specific form of cultural transmission is paraphrasing or imitation, or even tran-

scription (transcription of prayer texts). Mixed-medium, picture-text humour (graphic text, caricature, montage; today's – incorrect – summary term: internet meme) is spreading. There are also the (absurd) 'tall tales' based around Chuck Norris (world karate champion and actor), reminiscent of tall tales. The absurd are a source of intellectual humour ("The coronavirus is not dangerous to the young, only to those who catch it"). The playful interpretation of foreign words and proper names is a well-known process. There are a remarkable number of jocular lists (e.g. nonsense occupations, Hungarian language features). There have been macaronisms (language mixes) in the past and still are today, e.g. in the past animal texts (Ton a lud atus > tonaludatusz), these days there are more English examples (This no all ~ pigsty), jibberish jargon (e.g. Big in Japan > bikicsunáj), foreign language imitators and interpreters (What is the name of the rich Dutch man? Stex van Boeven). Several people have been interested in antiproverbs (distorted proverbs). Pseudo-sentences are spreading. Real linguistic plays on words are the use of cyiasms (e.g. a traditional one: Nem mindegy, hogy mögöttem vagy nem öttem mög, (it doesn't matter whether you're behind me or not), and another: egyöntetű, (you are alouse). There is also intellectual humour in segmentation language games: For the one who lives on top of the tent, the bottom of the tent is a new place = Sátoraljaújhely). Everyone is enchanted by children's mouth-texts (in fact, specific narrative language examples of children's mother tongue learning, e.g. "I don't know how old I am because it keeps changing"). There are also divinatory challenges today, reminiscent of divination. segmentation language games…

Ildikó Tamás draws attention to a particular genre group, which is characterised by containing 5-7-9 etc. (brief) statements about something. It is a kind of collection, perhaps the closest to a sorting, listing designation. For example: book and film humour (e.g. Parents' meeting: Final Countdown), one-line justifications for failed dates (e.g. The lawyer: not my type). Nowadays, it is mainly spreading on the internet through online journalism, but it used to be a popular genre in student newspapers. Its motivation may be space saving and the fact that people don't like to read long, concise texts, but this outline is easy to read. Tamás Ildikó provides a very good introduction to the cento genre. Cento is a literary form (quotation, enumeration, elaboration) of literary works. There is nothing new under the sun so the list (cento) "deaths and crafts", which is now circulating on the Internet, can be found word by word in the 1912 volume of the Magyar Nyelvőr (Nyelvi halálok (Deaths in Language), and in the book on

page 69): "The tailor's thread of life is broken. The gardener goes to paradise. The door of heaven opens for the doorman. The watchmaker strikes his last hour. The conductor reaches the last station. The Darwinist returns to his ancestors. The pen falls from the writer's hand."

As it can be seen, there is a precedent for everything, because man is basically always the same. The chain letter described by Mihály Hoppál anticipates the texts to be forwarded (reproduced, shared); the memorial book, the manuscript booklet, the social media timeline; the wallpaper, the comic book, the Internet meme; the reader's letter, the comment…

Anti-proverbs or proverb-mixing is interspersed with an underlying meaning (the similar proverb) and becomes humorous. This is possible in some cases. But e.g. "pulls the wet sheet off" is, in my opinion, only humorous to someone who knows the source (puts the wet sheet on), and this is rare, because we hear similar mixes in the media every day, not intended to be humorous at all – which are then happily picked up by the press. (E.g. The cardinal question hangs over Hungary's head.) The humorous nature of the new (hybrid) genres is striking. If it is humour, it is of course almost certainly student humour, because humour is not a feature of children's folklore. Physical, action humour develops into adolescent humour (self-humour, abstract humour) after the age of 10 – if it develops, because we know people who are humourless ('acidified'). It is possible to live without humour, but for some reason our age is very favourable to the spread of the types of humour. But why is there so much humour? Asks Ildikó Tamás. It is a good question. Humour has probably always existed, think of the laughter culture of the Middle Ages (Bahtyin), or the traditional Hungarian folklore forms of humour, from the naughty stories to anecdotes and jokes. We know that humour is therapeutic: it cures fear and is also a way of life and conflict management. Laughter is an age-appropriate characteristic; a form of resistance to the dominant and restrictive culture of adults (a phenomenon of rebellion, counterculture, vernacular authority). But the important, and partly unanswered, question remains: why is folklore 'humourised'?

The main characteristic of old and new folklore is its spread. Gossip is also a well-known medium for folklore. Fashion, as a cultural factor, is expressed in the form of group rituals of 'enthusiasm' in adolescence: badges, dress codes, and especially 'accessory' habits. An interesting and under-reflected observation is the infiltration of the world of the East: anime, martial arts, Korean (K) pop.

A common interest of the folklorist and the linguist is the grammatical and semantic analysis of the textual repertoire. According to Ildikó Tamás, in children's folklore, "rhythm and sound are much more important than the meaning of the text", as is shown, for example, by the jibberish texts. How accurately this phenomenon echoes my introductory thought, since it is clear who likes to 'gibberish': children and poets. The other important observation is the research into the origins and etymology of children's language texts, which gives us an insight into the world of earlier periods, cultural-linguistic and possibly sacral influences. And also, of changes. With reference to Piroska Tóth's collection of urban (Budapest) children's folklore, it is noticeable that images of rural life, of flora and fauna, are being displaced, thus also indicating an alienation from nature.

Research into children's and student folklore has already uncovered many linguistic treasures; new technologies offer even more opportunities for observation. What is this new medium? The boundaries of reality are blurring. Offline and online are merging, hybrid behaviour and communication (language?) are emerging. Many of the folklore phenomena have moved online, images, written and spoken content are merging, a new form of folklore (folklorism) has emerged, internet or e-folklore, but there is also the term newslore (a collective term for folklore works of various genres spreading through different channels). The common feature is distribution (e-mail, SMS, Facebook, Messenger, Viber). The author draws attention to certain narratives: I, when..., You know, when..., but, I might add, this elliptical beginning, for example, is very common: The feeling when..., even without an article: Feeling when... (it would be a full expression so: You also know the feeling when...).

The author highlights the process of creation of gibberish and folk etymology. She notes that there is a lack of in-depth folkloric-linguistic study of gibberish, which is widespread throughout the world (i.e. in all linguistic cultures). Gibberish is a text without a specific meaning, but if it is artistically motivated, it is absurd (nonsense). Here too, child and poet meet. But it seems that gibberish is not quite gibberish either. Certain regularities can be detected in it. For example, phoneme sequences that imitate sounds, such as the stress on the deep vowels being greater. In other words, there is a kind of system to gibberish, words are built up from more phonetically motivated, expressive sound sequences. At first sight, the phonetic structure and possibly onomatopoeic emergence of the gibberish texts overrides the scholastic Saussurean tradition

– that is, the notion of the obligatory arbitrariness of the linguistic sign. Yet it is indisputable that the linguistic sign is synchronistically arbitrary. Only we do not stress enough that it is purely synchronic. Because historically it is indisputably not. From a historical point of view, the linguistic sign is most certainly motivated, whether we realise it, or we don't. But there is a latent, subconscious belief and desire in man that things are motivated, that something is what it is for something, so if we don't know the reason, we will find a reason. We do this mainly with the help of folk etymology (folk etymology), and at a higher level, of course, we can also draw on the history of language, folklore, the concept of indexicality and iconicity in semiotics, and psychoanalytic linguistics, and, more recently, cognitive linguistics (echoing the effects of sound metaphor tests, as already suggested by Fónagy Iván in the 1950s, or the phenomenon of sound symbolism, often described by stylists).

Folk etymology is an instinctive way of creating words, e.g. to facilitate pronunciation, but it can be more than that. As a psychoanalytic explanation, it is man's eternal desire for meaning, and this is a real anthropological linguistic subject.

I suppose that there is some kind of connection between language learning and sound imitating phonemes, that gibberish involves two moments (the playful instinct to play with language at the subconscious level and consciousness at a higher level); the gibberish may well have preserved relics (inclusions), so it is not futile to investigate them, but they may also lead nowhere, remaining indecipherable because they contain an ancient mode of language production that is inaccessible to our present logic. Béla Hamvas writes that man today has lost his sensitivity to symbolic vision and language, in other words, he does not understand the language of earlier times. But in us – in every human being – a kind of continuous motivation (aspiration, need, urge) for interpretation (folk etymology), and a system of rules of patterns, musical samples, principles of editing (thought patterns) operates unconsciously in every human being have still remained in us. This is also where (organic) misinterpretation appears, but there is also conscious, humorous misinterpretation. Nonsensical, absurd texts also appear on a higher level, as an artistic endeavour, especially in the avant-garde (Futurism, Dadaism, Lettrism, Weöres Sándor: "blind text"), the obvious reason for this being a kind of conscious return to language misuse. It is often asked whether children learn culture and language by imitating adults, by learning from them. For me – precisely on the basis of examples from

folklore and language – it is clear that the child's programme of culture and language acquisition (i.e. their innate nature) is a programme that offers broader possibilities and contexts than the specific cultural environment, and it is precisely these that are reflected in certain phenomena that cannot be explained by the culture in question. Children's folklore, and with it children's language, is the (hidden) collective unconscious in the Jungian sense, the world of current stimuli and contexts surrounding the child and the infinitely free creativity that it brings with it. Children's folklore and children's language are evidence of our all-humanity.

Ildikó Tamás also refers to the continuation of this kind of research (which is not rootless in Hungarian culture), and I see great potential in this, especially if our disciplines do not retreat into ivory towers and closed professional frameworks. Her interesting, exciting book, with many examples of language, will be useful for those who want to know and understand the art of language better.

■ Tamás Ildikó. 2022. *„Adj netet!" Nyelvi, képi kifejezésmód és kreativitás a gyermek- és diákfolklórban.* Budapest: Balassi Kiadó.

András Timár

On the Generosity of Theatre Historiography

Review of Eugenio Barba–Nicola Savarese: The Five Continents of Theatre. Facts and Legends about the Material Culture of the Actor[1]

"Tradition is also the practice of rejection, attraction and resolution. For us, tradition is a retrospection to mankind, our craft, and the history just preceding us, from which we are dissociating ourselves with consistent and permanent work."
(Eugenio Barba)

It will be a special celebration for those interested in theatre studies when they pick up this curious volume, exceptional in both content and design, as *A színház öt kontinense. Tények és legendák a színész materiális kultúrájáról [The Five Continents of Theatre. Facts and legends about the material culture of the actor],*

1 This review is based on the English translation of the book.

Picture 1. **Demolition of the National Theatre/ Nemzeti Színház building on Blaha Lujza Square**

a book series by the Theatre Workshop of the University of Theatre and Film Arts, which will be published in 2023 under the names of Eugenio Barba and Nicola Savarese.

The Hungarian edition of the book is based on the text of the 2019 English edition of the original Italian work, first published in 2017, and was translated by János Regős, an expert in Barba's oeuvre, and Nikolett Pintér-Németh.

This volume, which is unique in the Hungarian-language publishing on the history of theatre in terms of its visual appeal – with prepress work carries out by WellCom Graphic Studio and the printing by Pauker Printing House – creates for the reader-spectator a patchwork-like contemporary "playbook" with scientific sophistication, inviting associative thinking on more than 400 pages with 1400 black and white and colour pictures and texts of various length and types. The text system of the six chapters (five plus one extra), consisting of fragments, shorter and longer trains of thought, along with a huge number of images interwoven with them with captions which sometimes contain exciting facts, historico-philosophical analyses, at other times impressions, anecdotes and a variety of questions, constitute the structure of the volume. And they create the hermeneutic freedom, the infinite web of interpretation, which – hopefully – can make the volume lasting even in the age of a change in the structure of thought identified as the "pictorial turn,"[2] for a public of readers who enjoy the primacy of visual experience and imagination, and who in many ways have changing and altered demands.[3]

2 W. J. T. Mitchell, The Pictorial Turn [A képi fordulat]. Transl. Sándor Hornyik, *Balkon,* 2007/11–12. 2–7.

3 The first caption on the opening page may as well be read as a motto for the digital native generation: "This book is a tree that sprouted from graves – and the Internet."

The theatre director Barba, with the systematic support of the theatre scholar Savarese, transformed some fifty years of professional experience into a discourse in the visual and textual world of their volume, consciously and repeatedly bringing to our attention that their intention was not to theorise and conceptualise, but to do practical work. They do this knowing that Barba's oeuvre is perceived by theatre studies as a crucial point of reference for theatre anthropology, for inter- and transculturality, and as such, certainly contributing to the theoreticality of theatre studies.

The Barba–Savarese volume is worth contextualising from various aspects. On the one hand, it is important to establish a dialogue with the previous Barba–Savarese book, *A színész titkos művészete. Színházantropológiai szótár [The Secret Art of the Actor. Dictionary of the Anthropology of Theatre],* published in 2020 by Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary and L'Harmattan.[4] The authors of this book make an attempt to provide a systematic description of the highly Grotowski-influenced laboratory research to uncover the underlying principles of the Eastern and Western dancer-actor's craft built upon the universal laws that inform performative techniques and transcend cultures. They studied awareness of the Western dancer-actor's use of the body and their relationship to rhythm, the generation of extra-daily energy, the actor's pre-expressive ('prior to expression') state and tensions, the methods of realising presence in the resolute body created by extra-daily body techniques.[5]

The publication of the Barba-Savarese volume is timed to coincide with the 10th Theatre Olympiad, which will be part of the 17th edition of the Pécs-Pécsvárad-Budapest Theatre Olympiad. It will also be linked to the ISTA/NG (International School of Theatre Anthropology/New Generation founded by Barba in 1979) and the resulting production *Anastasis/Resurrection,* which will be performed only once, at the National Theatre in Budapest, and will be presented by ISTA/NG masters and participants from twenty-seven countries under Barba's direction.

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4 Eugenio Barba–Nicola Savarese, *A színész titkos művészete. Színházantropológiai szótár [The Secret Art of the Actor. Dictionary of the Anthropology of Theatre].* Transl. János Regős, Zsófia Rideg, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary–L'Harmattan Kiadó, Budapest, 2020.

5 Read more about the volume in András Tímár, Eugenio Barba–Nicola Savarese: *A színész titkos művészete. Színházantropológiai szótár [The Secret Art of the Actor. Dictionary of the Anthropology of Theatre].* Uránia, December 2021, 104–109.

Thus, whereas the 2020 "dictionary volume" addressed the dancer-actor's physical-mental techniques and his relationship with the audience, the *Anastasis* performance, unfortunately scarcely documented in contemporary critical writing, summarised the artistic diversity of Barba's theatre aesthetics, which drew upon the archetypes that recur throughout the oeuvre (such as birth, death and rebirth, celebration and sacrifice, the intoxication of the vegetation of existence).

The Five Continents of Theatre..., edited for almost twenty years with the collaboration of numerous contemporary theorists and scholars, exposes the Barba–Savarese experience that the bodily techniques and the relationship with the audience presuppose another, equally important element: the actor's auxiliary techniques. The material culture of the actor is based on the various levels of organisation and forms of activity of the theatre profession. Everything that determines the practical, economic, aesthetic and social aspects of the actor. Since these auxiliary techniques do not only recur in various historical periods but also in all theatrical traditions, a comparative study of them shows that the actor's material culture, with its varied processes, forms and styles, derives from the way in which they respond to the same practical needs. The authors suggest that all readers and spectators of the publication may find analogies with their own theatrical traditions, but they nuance the comparative approach by noting that their analysis cannot be exhaustive, since "not all theatrical traditions have transmitted their cultural heritage through words and images".[6] Based on Barba's definition of the genre, reading his "travel guide" allows us to become part of a multicultural journey across millennia and continents, witnessing a dialogue imbued with a desire for knowledge, whose fundamental and only question is: *how to make theatre?*

The first five units of *The Five Continents of Theatre...* are organised around the five basic questions of Anglo-Saxon journalism (the five English Ws): *when, where, how, for whom and why theatre is made*. Each of these chapters discusses the aspects of "the material culture of the theatre" listed under each question-word subheading by the authors, and shows the impact on the participants in the event (actors, audience, directors, writers, etc.). While the first five chapters include discursive text units alongside the fourteen hundred images and captions, selected from eleven thousand, the sixth concluding chapter – subtitled *Theatre*

6 Quotation from the manuscript.

Picture 2. **Using the handkerchief on stage (Stanislavsky as Gajev Chekhov in *The Cherry Orchards,* 1904)**

and History. Pages fallen from Bouvard and Pécuchet's notebook, contains only images and captions.

The theatre-historiographical approach of this publication evokes the ideal of freedom in Barba's theatre aesthetics and form. The brief statements of fact, glosses, dictionary-like entries, and passages from the theatre artists, creators and theorists of the 19th and 20th centuries do not add up to become a voluminous argument, neither do the hundreds of images become a didactic picture album. The reading process is repeatedly interrupted, changes direction and forces the reader to focus on the theatrical-cultural traditions of the five continents referred to in the title, as represented in texts and images, and their interrelationships, through the discovery of the links between two narratives (as the subtitle indicates, *"facts and legends"*) of historicity and cultural traditions and rituals.

The publication offers a history of theatre that does not seek to create the impression of linear-causal historiography. The postmodern distrust of grand narratives is dissipated through a sometimes shocking, sometimes playfully ironic, but always easy-to-read-and-watch form that does not impose, or even articulate, exclusive values and judgements. Offering experience is thus more easily perceived as *generosity* rather than revelation.

The authors steer clear of chronology: the cave paintings are not intended to represent performative acts of prehistory but are part of an argumenta-

tion that first links them to the dance of humans with animals and gods, and then examines the diversity of cultural traditions in which animals are found on stage, from Greek vase paintings to Peking opera to masked characters in Balinese spectacles, while also not being oblivious to the visual and textual narrative of where the humanised ape stories of the 20th century, from King Kong to Tarzano to *Planet of the Apes,* originated. Events are also examined as constructs when creating a highly eclectic chronology called *"Stages 1 and 2 of the Great Reform"*. This exciting chapter charts the development of theatre architecture and technology, as well as the rise of neo-avant-garde theatre independent of literature, through a hundred years of design, political and cultural history, from the opening of Wagner's theatre in 1876 in Bayreuth to the end of the Vietnam War in 1975.

The opening conversations of the chapters evoke the figures of Bouvard and Pécuchet, the titular characters in Flaubert's unfinished novel, written over almost two decades, who, as Barba and Savarese's doubles, discuss the facts and legends surrounding the actor's material culture. The playfulness of the analogy of the two author pairs lies in the fact that the two Parisian scribes in Flaubert's novel pursue sciences driven by a desire for encyclopaedic knowledge but are gradually led to realise how incomplete the answers to their questions in the textbooks are. The comic-ironic presence of these characters is a reminder of the need to avoid the classical seriousness of narratives on theatre-making, as well as the incompletability and humility of accumulating knowledge.

It follows from the above that, in presenting the structure of this collage-like volume, we should respect the regular derailments of narrative logic, while establishing our dialogues with the events, places and people, traditions, myths and methods that the authors consider crucial, in Savarese's words, "personal compasses."[7] *The five continents* and *the five question words* provide a structure around which the themes and the questions emerge: what are the changes in material conditions that have shaped theatrical performances from the beginning to the present day; how the economic and organisational aspects of public performance have changed; what is the role of patronage; how have payments, tickets and subscriptions changed; how have the audience and the performers travelled; how has advertising been introduced and used increasingly; what is the origin of box office practice and how it has changed; how experiments with

7 Quotation from the manuscript.

theatrical space have affected the relationship between the performer and the spectator; how has the role of staging grown; how the design and construction of theatrical sets, lighting, make-up, props and costumes have evolved.

By the material culture of the actor, therefore, the authors mean everything that the actor curious about the world surrounds himself with and that he interacts with: a theatre building, a candle, a handkerchief or a theatre telescope, as well as the events of world history.

We must also see that in a volume organised around five question words, there are some 'stories' that clearly receive more attention. Throughout his oeuvre, Barba very consciously canonises the so-called Third Theatre, the 'poor theatre' movements that are organised outside the mainstream at the group level rather than within the institutional stone-built theatre and commercial entertainment theatre. He embraces theatre-makers in a state of political and social emergency, who are *struggling, homeless, discriminated against,* driven by the need to create professional theatre despite their difficulties, even at the risk of their lives. The two authors indeed select theatre companies, creators and theorists from five continents who have contributed to and/or played a significant role in the material development of theatre in places and situations less familiar to the reading public. Great passages from the writings of Rousseau, Baudelaire, Banu, Tolstoy, Lukianos, Goethe, Grotowski, Orwell, Appia, Artaud, Walter Benjamin, Brecht, Fuchs, Meyerhold, Suzuki, Mnouchkine, Isadora Duncan, Sarah Kane, among others. The fifth sub-chapter (Why?) titled *The Little Anthology of Actor's Honour* contains columns on the exemplary and shocking (fate) stories of the theatre profession, such as the lives of Ira Aldridge, Josephine Baker, Ichikava Kumehachi, Abdias Nascimento, Meyerhold's prison letters, suffragette actresses, the Soviet Gulag and the theatres of Nazi concentration camps.

The sixth chapter features long pages of tiny thumbnails and (press) photographs, juxtaposing many of the defining historical and theatrical figures and events of the 20th and 21st centuries. This, for instance, juxtaposes masked figures from the most diverse places and eras in theatre history (from the ancient Greeks, Chinese, Vietnamese opera and Kathakali to Ivory Coast or to the clown Grock from Gibraltar) and the cover of The Economist, which featured a medical mask of Mao Tse-tung during the spread of SARS-CoV. There are also photos of protests by a number of rights groups where participants covered their faces with masks carrying important messages. Juxtaposed are ornate and burnt-

down theatre buildings (such as the ruins of the National Theatre/People's Theatre building in Blaha Lujza Square, Budapest),[8] jubilees and heroes, victims, photographic documentation of the remembrance of crimes against nations and humanity. Portraits of Rosa Parks, Jan Palach and Thích Quảng Đức, and a photograph in prisoner's clothing of Auschwitz-Buchenwald prisoner number 18,729, Józef Szajna, who later became an internationally renowned artist as Grotowski's designer colleague.

The volume, great not only in terms of Barba's oeuvre and for art education, but also from the point of view of educating people to think, concludes with a sentence that may be read as the ars poetica of this publication: "I am sure that there will always be people – many or few, depending on the vicissitudes of history – who will cultivate theatre as a kind of bloodless guerrilla warfare, as a secret rebellion under the open sky, or as the prayer of an unbeliever. In this way, they will find ways to channel their separateness into an indirect path without turning it into destructive actions. They will experience the apparent contradiction of rebellion, and it will be transformed into brotherly love and a solitary vocation that creates bonds".[9]

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- This review is based on the Hungarian translation of the English edition of Eugenio Barba-Nicola Savarese: *The Five Continents of Theatre – Facts and Legends about the Material Culture* (2017). The Hungarian edition will be published by the University of Theatre and Film Arts and is expected to be available in spring 2023.

8 Quotation from the manuscript.

9 Quotation from the manuscript.

About Our Authors

Adamikné, Jászó Anna (born 1942):
linguist, reading and rhetoric researcher; promoter of modern Hungarian rhetoric education. Doctor of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Professor Emeritus of the Department of Modern Hungarian Language at ELTE. Her scientific work is mainly concerned with mother tongue education, especially reading education, methods and history of reading education, rhetoric, but she also participated in the work on the volume The Historical Grammar of the Hungarian Language. Main works: 1991. A magyar nyelv könyve. Budapest: Trezor Kiadó; 2003. Az olvasás múltja és jelene. Budapest: Trezor Kiadó; 2004. Retorika. Budapest: Osiris Kiadó; 2006. Csak az ember olvas. Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó; 2013. Klasszikus magyar retorika. Argumentáció és stílus. Budapest: Holnap Kiadó; 2016. Jókai és a retorika. Budapest: Trezor Kiadó; 2019. Stilisztikai kisszótár. Budapest: IKU-TÁR; 2021. Humor és retorika az irodalomtanításban. Budapest: IKU-TÁR.).

Antal, Zsolt (born 1972):
Hungarian social researcher. Associate professor and head of the Antal Németh Institute for Drama Theory, the University of Theatre and Film Arts. Founder and editor-in-chief of the interdisciplinary journal Uránia. His research interests include public service and the public good, community-centred media and communication, media reception studies, competence development, and talent management. Main works: 2011. Közszolgálati média Európában: Az állami feladatvállalás koncepciói a tájékoztatásban. Szeged: Gerhardus Kiadó; 2015. Médiabefolyásolás. Az új kislexikon. Budapest: Századvég Kiadó; 2017. Közszolgálati kommunikáció, közbizalom és médiaszabályozás. Budapest: In Medias Res; 2017. A közintézmények közérthetősége: Az állampolgári bizalom és az intézményi kommunikáció összefüggései. Győr: Jog Állam Politika; 2019. Factors Affecting the Implementation and Performance of Public Service Communication. Tirgu Mures: Curentul Juridic; 2022. The National Character of Hungarian Culture (Urania Interdisciplinary Academic Journal Vol. 2 Nr. 1).

Gough, Richard (born 1956):
a Professor of Music & Performance at the Faculty of Creative Industries at the University of South Wales (USW) in Cardiff and Emeritus Professor of Theatre & Performance at Aberystwyth University. He actively participates as a member of the International Research Centre "Interweaving Performance Cultures" at Freie Universität Berlin and is also a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts (FRSA). His research interests revolve around the connection between performance and various other artistic and social domains. Currently, his research areas encompass the intersections of performance with photography, tourism, and the role of performance in health and medicine. Additionally, he explores the signifi-

cance of performance in everyday life, with a particular emphasis on the field of cooking. Main works: "Performance Cosmology: Testimony from the Future, Evidence of the Past" (Edited by Judie Christie, Richard Gough, Daniel Watt) Published by Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London and New York in 2006. ISBN: 0-415-37358-5 "A Performance Cosmology" (co-authored with Judie Christie) Published in London by Routledge in 2006.

Kisházy, Gergely (born 1969):

speech therapist, forensic occupational and organisational psychologist, political expert, associate professor. He specialises in individual and group leadership development, effectiveness analysis of media and public appearances, business presentations, speech-based selection, speech performance evaluation and development. Main works: 2002. Az alkalmazott lélektani hatásmechanizmusok változása Orbán Viktor politikai kommunikációjában (Köz-Politika, 8. 5-20.); 2010. Hangmás. Az atipikus emberi hangok prezentációs helyzetekben utolérhető kommunikációs üzenetei. Szónoklatok nagykönyve. Budapest: Raabe Klett Könyvkiadó; 2021. A szerepléssszorongás csökkentésének szuggesztív kommunikációs technikái. Beszédek könyve polgármestereknek. Budapest: Raabe Klett Könyvkiadó; 2021. A szervezeti működés modellkoncepciója (Új Munkaügyi Szemle, 2021/3. 12-33.); 2022. Mérgező pozitivitás, toxikus hurráoptimizmus: a pozitív gondolkodás csapdái. Beszédek könyve polgármestereknek. Budapest: Raabe Klett Könyvkiadó.

Kozma, Gábor Viktor (born 1990):

theatre maker, actor trainer, adjunct professor at the BBU Cluj, artistic director of the association A Vadász Esélye. His research interests include actor training, including the methodology of companies that regularly train actors. He graduated from the University of Arts in Târgu Mures. He is a member of the International Suzuki Company of Toga since 2016. He is a scholarship holder of the Hungarian Academy of Arts from 2018 to 2022. He received his PhD with Summa Cum Laude at the University of Arts in Târgu Mures in 2022. In 2022, he was awarded the Excellentia Prize for outstanding teaching.

Pölcz, Ádám (born 1989):

linguist, assistant professor, chief organiser of the Kossuth Rhetoric Contest since 2016. He is the acting head of the Department of Hungarian Language and Literature of the Faculty of Teacher Education and Early Childhood Education at Eötvös Loránd University, and a member of the Senate of ELTE. His research interests include the interaction between rhetoric and linguistics (language teaching, stylistics, grammar) and the semiotics of everyday life. Main works: 2015. Az emberközpontú nyelvművelés és az antik retorikai hagyomány (Magyar Nyelvőr); 2019. A klasszikus retorika mint a nyelvművelés alapja. Filologia.hu; 2020. Nyelvi tehetség: anyanyelv, beszédtudomány, idegen nyelv. 2021. A nyelvművelés retorikai gyökerei. Monográfia. MNYKNT – Interkulturális Kutatások Kft., Budapest. 2021. Hallgatólagos tudás az anyanyelvi nevelésben. A gyermekirodalom szerepe a nyelvi tudatosság kialakításában (Gyermeknevelés Tudományos Folyóirat).


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