



# *Athens Journal of Philology*

Quarterly Academic Periodical, Volume 9, Issue 1, March 2022

URL: <https://www.athensjournals.gr/ajp>

Email: [journals@atiner.gr](mailto:journals@atiner.gr)

e-ISSN: 2241-8385 DOI: 10.30958/ajp



## **Front Pages**

*IBRAHIM A. EL-HUSSARI*

**A Discursive Study of the Unscheduled Dialogue in G. Kanafani's Returnee to Haifa**

*MARIA ROSARIA D'ACIERNO CANONICI*

**The Role of Phonetics and Prosody during a Second Language Learning Plan**

*D PUGAZHENDHI*

**Greek, Latin, Sanskrit and Tamil: The Meaning of the Word Ἐρυθρὰν in Erythraean Sea**

*DONALD C SHELTON*

**Lost in the Scotch Mist – New Attributions to Tobias Smollett**

# Athens Journal of Philology

*Published by the Athens Institute for Education and Research (ATINER)*

## Editors

- Dr. Stamos Metzidakis, Head, [Literature Unit](#) & Professor Emeritus of French and Comparative Literature, Washington University in Saint Louis, USA & Adjunct Professor of French, Hunter College-CUNY, USA.

## Co-Editor

- Dr. Paola Partenza, Academic Member, ATINER & Associate Professor, "G. d'Annunzio" University, Italy.

## Editorial & Reviewers' Board

<https://www.athensjournals.gr/ajp/eb>

## Administration of the Journal

1. Vice President of Publications: Dr Zoe Boutsoli
2. General Managing Editor of all ATINER's Publications: Ms. Afrodete Papanikou
3. ICT Managing Editor of all ATINER's Publications: Mr. Kostas Spyropoulos
4. Managing Editor of this Journal: Dr. Aleksandra Tryniecka

\*\*\*\*\*

*ATINER is an Athens-based World Association of Academics and Researchers based in Athens. ATINER is an independent and non-profit Association with a Mission to become a forum where Academics and Researchers from all over the world can meet in Athens, exchange ideas on their research and discuss future developments in their disciplines, as well as engage with professionals from other fields. Athens was chosen because of its long history of academic gatherings, which go back thousands of years to Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lyceum. Both these historic places are within walking distance from ATINER's downtown offices. Since antiquity, Athens was an open city. In the words of Pericles, Athens "...is open to the world, we never expel a foreigner from learning or seeing". ("Pericles' Funeral Oration", in Thucydides, The History of the Peloponnesian War). It is ATINER's mission to revive the glory of Ancient Athens by inviting the World Academic Community to the city, to learn from each other in an environment of freedom and respect for other people's opinions and beliefs. After all, the free expression of one's opinion formed the basis for the development of democracy, and Athens was its cradle. As it turned out, the Golden Age of Athens was in fact, the Golden Age of the Western Civilization. Education and (Re)searching for the 'truth' are the pillars of any free (democratic) society. This is the reason why Education and Research are the two core words in ATINER's name.*

\*\*\*\*\*

The *Athens Journal of Philology (AJP)* is an Open Access quarterly double-blind peer reviewed journal and considers papers from all areas of sports and related sciences. Many of the papers in this journal have been presented at the various conferences sponsored by the [Languages & Linguistics Unit](#) and the [Literature Unit](#) of the Athens Institute for Education and Research (ATINER). All papers are subject to ATINER's [Publication Ethical Policy and Statement](#).

Athens Journal of Philology

ISSN NUMBER: 2241-8385

DOI: 10.30958/ajp

Volume 9, Issue 1, March 2022

Download the entire issue ([PDF](#))

**Front Pages**

i-viii

**A Discursive Study of the Unscheduled Dialogue in G. Kanafani's Returnee to Haifa**

9

*Ibrahim A. El-Hussari*

**The Role of Phonetics and Prosody during a Second Language Learning Plan**

23

*Maria Rosaria D'Acierno Canonici*

**Greek, Latin, Sanskrit and Tamil: The Meaning of the Word Ἐρυθρὰν in Erythraean Sea**

47

*D Pugazhendhi*

**Lost in the Scotch Mist – New Attributions to Tobias Smollett**

77

*Donald C Shelton*

# Athens Journal of Philology

## Editorial and Reviewers' Board

### Editors

- **Dr. Stamos Metzidakis**, Head, Literature Research Unit & Emeritus Professor of French and Comparative Literature, Washington University in Saint Louis, USA.

### Co-Editor

- **Dr. Paola Partenza**, Academic Member, ATINER & Associate Professor, "G. d'Annunzio" University, Italy.

### Editorial Board

- Dr. Nicholas Pappas, Vice President of Academic Membership, ATINER & Professor of History, Sam Houston University, USA.
- Dr. David Philip Wick, Director, Arts, Humanities and Education Division, ATINER & Retired Professor of History, Gordon College, USA.
- Dr. Patricia Hanna, Vice President of Academic Affairs of ATINER & Professor Emerita, University of Utah, USA.
- Dr. Juliane House, Academic Member, ATINER & Professor Emeritus/Distinguished Professor, Hamburg University/Hellenic American University, Germany/USA/Greece.
- Dr. Galina Bakhtiarova, Academic Member, ATINER & Professor and Chairperson, World Languages and Literature, Western Connecticut State University, USA.
- Dr. Ioannis Christodoulou, Professor, Hellenic Open University, Greece & Lecturer, Department of Classics and Philosophy, University of Cyprus, Cyprus.
- Dr. Michael M. Eisman, Academic Member, ATINER & Professor, Temple University, USA.
- Dr. Abraham Panavelil Abraham, Professor, Department of Foreign Languages, University of Nizwa, Oman.
- Dr. Jean-Paul Kouega, Professor of English Language and Linguistics, University of Yaounde I, Cameroon.
- Dr. Nicholas Meihuizen, Professor, School of Languages, English Department, North-West University, South Africa.
- Dr. Suresh Frederick, Associate Professor & UG Head, Department of English, Bishop Heber College, India.
- Dr. Ma Elena Gomez Parra, Academic Member, ATINER & Associate Professor, University of Cordoba, Spain.
- Dr. Ana Pelosi, Associate Professor, Federal University of Ceará, Brazil.
- Dr. Ramunė Kasperavičienė, Academic Member, ATINER & Associate Professor, Head of Study Programmes in Translation and Linguistics, Department of Modern Languages and Intercultural Communication, Faculty of Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities, Kaunas University of Technology, Lithuania.
- Dr. Victoria Tuzlukova, Academic Member, ATINER & Head of Professional Development and Research Unit, Language Centre, Sultan Qaboos University, Sultanate of Oman.
- Dr. Roger S. Fisher, Academic Member, ATINER & Assistant Professor, York University- Toronto-Ontario, Canada.
- Dr. H. Simour, Assistant Professor of English and Cultural Studies, Hassan II University, Casablanca, Morocco.
- Dr. Nashwa Elyamany, Academic Member, ATINER & Assistant Professor and Head, Languages Department, College of Language and Communication, Arab Academy for Science, Technology and Maritime Transport, Egypt.

- **Vice President of all ATINER's Publications:** Dr. Zoe Boutsioli
- **General Managing Editor of all ATINER's Publications:** Ms. Afrodete Papanikou
- **ICT Managing Editor of all ATINER's Publications:** Mr. Kostas Spyropoulos
- **Managing Editor of this Journal:** Dr. Aleksandra Tryniecka ([bio](#))

### **Reviewers' Board**

[Click Here](#)

# President's Message

All ATINER's publications including its e-journals are open access without any costs (submission, processing, publishing, open access paid by authors, open access paid by readers etc.) and is independent of presentations at any of the many small events (conferences, symposiums, forums, colloquiums, courses, roundtable discussions) organized by ATINER throughout the year and entail significant costs of participating. The intellectual property rights of the submitting papers remain with the author. Before you submit, please make sure your paper meets the [basic academic standards](#), which includes proper English. Some articles will be selected from the numerous papers that have been presented at the various annual international academic conferences organized by the different divisions and units of the Athens Institute for Education and Research. The plethora of papers presented every year will enable the editorial board of each journal to select the best, and in so doing produce a top-quality academic journal. In addition to papers presented, ATINER will encourage the independent submission of papers to be evaluated for publication.

The current issue is the first of the ninth volume of the *Athens Journal of Philology (AJP)*, published by the published by the [Languages & Linguistics Unit](#) and the [Literature Unit](#) of ATINER

Gregory T. Papanikos  
President  
ATINER



## Athens Institute for Education and Research

### *A World Association of Academics and Researchers*

#### **15<sup>th</sup> Annual International Conference on Languages & Linguistics** **4-7 July 2022, Athens, Greece**

The [Languages and Linguistics Unit](#) of ATINER, will hold its 15<sup>th</sup> Annual International Conference on Languages & Linguistics, 4-7 July 2022, Athens, Greece sponsored by the [Athens Journal of Philology](#). The conference is soliciting papers (in English only) from all areas of languages, linguistics and other related disciplines. You may participate as stream organizer, presenter of one paper, chair a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (<https://www.atiner.gr/2022/FORM-LNG.doc>).

#### **Academic Members Responsible for the Conference**

- **Dr. Valia Spiliotopoulos**, Head, [Languages & Linguistics Unit](#), ATINER and Associate Professor of Professional Practice & Academic Director Centre for English Language Learning, Teaching, and Research (CELLTR), Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University, Canada

#### **Important Dates**

- Abstract Submission: **14 March 2022**
- Acceptance of Abstract: **4 Weeks after Submission**
- Submission of Paper: **6 June 2022**

#### **Social and Educational Program**

The Social Program Emphasizes the Educational Aspect of the Academic Meetings of Atiner.

- Greek Night Entertainment (This is the official dinner of the conference)
- Athens Sightseeing: Old and New-An Educational Urban Walk
- Social Dinner
- Mycenae Visit
- Exploration of the Aegean Islands
- Delphi Visit
- Ancient Corinth and Cape Sounion
- More information can be found here: <https://www.atiner.gr/social-program>

#### **Conference Fees**

Conference fees vary from 400€ to 2000€  
Details can be found at: <https://www.atiner.gr/fees>



## Athens Institute for Education and Research

### *A World Association of Academics and Researchers*

#### **15<sup>th</sup> Annual International Conference on Literature**

**30-31 May & 1-2 June 2022, Athens, Greece**

The [Literature Unit](#) of ATINER is organizing its **15<sup>th</sup> Annual International Conference on Literature, 30-31 May & 1-2 June 2022, Athens, Greece** sponsored by the [Athens Journal of Philology](#). The aim of the conference is to bring together academics and researchers from all areas of literature and other related disciplines. You may participate as stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair of a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (<https://www.atiner.gr/2022/FORM-LIT.doc>).

#### **Academic Member Responsible for the Conference**

- **Dr. Stamos Metzidakis**, Head, [Literature Research Unit](#), ATINER & Emeritus Professor of French and Comparative Literature, Washington University in Saint Louis, USA.

#### **Important Dates**

- Abstract Submission: **7 February 2022**
- Acceptance of Abstract: **4 Weeks after Submission**
- Submission of Paper: **2 May 2022**

#### **Social and Educational Program**

The Social Program Emphasizes the Educational Aspect of the Academic Meetings of Atiner.

- Greek Night Entertainment (This is the official dinner of the conference)
- Athens Sightseeing: Old and New-An Educational Urban Walk
- Social Dinner
- Mycenae Visit
- Exploration of the Aegean Islands
- Delphi Visit
- Ancient Corinth and Cape Sounion
- More information can be found here: <https://www.atiner.gr/social-program>

#### **Conference Fees**

Conference fees vary from 400€ to 2000€  
Details can be found at: <https://www.atiner.gr/fees>





## A Discursive Study of the Unscheduled Dialogue in G. Kanafani's *Returnee to Haifa*

By Ibrahim A. El-Hussari\*

*In Ghassan Kanafani's tale, Returnee to Haifa, "What's in a name?" is a restless question in search of an answer. Although it does not openly speak to any specific situation, this question turns into a clue to understanding the cross-sectional narrative discourse of the tale. All four of the main characters are enmeshed in an untimely dialogue over identity and belonging, and find themselves facing a multifaceted dilemma that intensifies the urge for reframing the concept of identity and belonging in regards to homeland and blood kinship. Accordingly, this paper reviews attribution theory and refers to it as a research tool to look at the significance of the messages embedded in the conflicting discourses that shape the unorchestrated dialogue through which all the characters involved tend to tell and defend different versions of the one story, the Palestinian Nakba.<sup>1</sup>*

**Keywords:** Kanafani, Haifa, discourse, homeland, dialogue, memory, identity

### Introduction

"What's in a name? That which we call a rose  
by any other name would smell as sweet."  
(Shakespeare 2009, Act II, sc. ii, 2)

"What's in a Name?" sounds too elusive for a clue used in an academic research paper. However, I am not hunting for an enigmatic title to impress my readers. I just came across the above quote while re-reading William Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (1597) to outline my literature course syllabus prescribed for undergraduate students taking my literature course (ENG311) at The Lebanese American University in Beirut, Lebanon. In her soliloquy, and upon learning of Romeo's identity as a foe in the context of the Veronese Montague-Capulet family feud atmosphere, Juliet whispers nonchalantly, "What's in a name?" to dismiss all the negative connotations threatening to ruin her fresh, calf love for Romeo. This exclamatory question bears some significance in shaping Juliet's character and

---

\*Professor, Lebanese American University, Lebanon.

<sup>1</sup>An Arabic term meaning mass catastrophe. *Nakba* Day (May 15, 1948) is remembered for the massive harm done to two-thirds of the Palestinian civilians (including the Arab characters featured in the tale) who were intimidated through mass murder inflicted on them by the Zionist Jewish immigrants to Palestine under British mandate. Those armed Zionist settlers used force to terrorize thousands of Palestinian civilians and their families who would soon run for their lives and become homeless, dispossessed refugees in the neighboring Arab countries and beyond. The hope to be back home within a short period of time, as promised by the Arab Salvation Army, then turned into air bubbles. Ironically, Israel was created as a Jewish homeland in part of Palestine, and the Middle East conflict has been exacerbated ever since.

fate. Juliet's discourse of evasion betrays an unspoken challenge to her family's strict orders, and to the Veronese feudal lords whose hollow pride foreshadows the tragic fate of the two young lovers in the last scene of the play.

In yet another context, the same question "What's in a name?" assumes a different level of connotation. In his highly acclaimed novel *The Pessoptimist* (1985), Emile Habibi<sup>2</sup> depicts an absurd situation between the protagonist of his tale and a security police officer. Sa'eed, the character-narrator, is a Palestinian civilian handcuffed as a suspect and is driven into a military lorry by his jailor, who is an Israeli police officer with a machine gun. While seated in the lorry heading for *Shatta* prison for further police interrogation, they come across one of Palestine's most fertile and most bountiful plains in the *Galilee* mountainous region. Sa'eed feels excited and identifies the scenic view of the plain as *Marj Ibn Amer* [the plain of Ibn Amer], but is soon interrupted and hushed by the police officer.

I found that we were then at a crossroads between *Nazareth* and *Nahal*,  
passing the plain of *Ibn Amer*.

"Oh, I see we're in the plain of *Ibn Amer*."

Obviously annoyed, he [the Israeli police officer] shouted and corrected me: "No, it is the *Yizrael* plain!"

"What's in a name?" I soothed him.

(Habibi 1985, pp. 123–124)

In the above quote, the question Sa'eed uses to defuse the anger in his jailor betrays a discourse of tactical withdrawal from an inevitable clash with the officer due to situational power relations. Showing the submissive side to his jailor, Sa'eed simply plays the game of the weaker, for he could not have evaded the situation otherwise.

However, in Ghassan Kanafani's *Returnee to Haifa* (1969), there is much more than love, passion and excitement in a name. The discursive features of the tale evoke a network of images that defy the ordinary expectations of both the reader and the narrator by hinting to big issues that need to be interpreted when properly contextualized in the course of action. When the whole country is captured and renamed, when the left-behind baby is found, adopted and renamed, and when places and private property are expropriated and renamed, then the original name of each one of these items must be based on a story behind which stands a cause that assumes some sort of significance. In this connection, this paper looks at the seemingly irreconcilable basic issues embedded in the dialogic language shared by the four main characters whose voices are constantly made

---

<sup>2</sup>Emile Shukri Habibi (1922-1996) is a Palestinian man of letters, a journalist and a political activist who stayed in Haifa after the creation of the Zionist state of Israel as a Jewish homeland in Palestine in 1948 and the dreadful mass expulsion of two-thirds of its population. His novels shun the existentialist angst caused by the Palestinian national tragedy to embrace the laughter emerging from his use of satire, irony, cynicism and burlesque. The use of such an unprecedented narrative discourse in modern Arabic literature is believed by most of his critics to have heightened the tragedy of the Palestinian mass exodus and widened the sphere of public awareness of the question/cause of Palestine.

distinct but distant as the dialogue among them keeps running less smoothly towards the end of their very first unscheduled encounter. To this effect, the paper explores the following research question: to what extent can the language of the unorchestrated dialogue between the interlocutors inform of their conflicting discourses?

## **Literature Review**

Discourse analysts challenge the common-sense view that language is a purely descriptive medium used to convey information about the real world. They argue that language actually constructs and shapes the real world, as well as our views of it, hence the varied interpretations of the misapprehension between words and reality (Potter and Wetherell 1987, Potter and Edwards 1992, Goodman 2007, Stokoe and Edwards 2006, Meyers 2010). This assumption sounds logical when it comes to passing a causal judgment on people's social behavior in specific situations, where time, space and culture count as basic elements causing that behavior to occur. In the same vein, humans are usually motivated to assign causes to their situational responses. They tend to explain and justify a certain action they take by attributing its occurrence to one or more causes. Social psychologists call this process attribution theory.

Psychological research into attribution began with the work of the Austrian psychologist Fritz Heider. Heider (1958) believes that people are naive psychologists trying to make sense of the social world. That's why, he claims, they tend to see cause and effect relationships, even when there is none! Heider does not develop a theory himself, but his focus on certain themes is taken up by others for further academic study in the field. As a matter of fact, Heider has put forward two main ideas which turn out to be influential in regards to attribution, namely dispositional and situational attributions. Dispositional attribution assigns the cause of behavior to some internal characteristics of a person, rather than to outside forces. Situational attribution assigns the cause of behavior to some situation or a series of events outside a person's control, rather than to some internal characteristics. Consequently, Heider's notion of attribution was advanced into a theory with application in the second half of the twentieth century. Scholars, namely Harold Kelley, Bernard Weiner, Sandra Graham & Valerie Folkes, and Jonathan Potter & Derek Edwards, all contributed to the making of the attribution theory.

A brief definition of the notion of attribution as a hypothetical term reads as follows: "Attribution theory is concerned with discovering the way by means of which we come to conclusions about the causes of our own and other people's social behavior" (Potter and Edwards 1990, p. 1). However, the conclusions we may reach are not necessarily similar or identical. As a matter of fact, social behavior is a complex term. It is more so when short descriptions of a certain situation reported by one person is selective of facts. Besides, our perception of causality is often distorted by our needs and certain emotional biases, especially when we explain the behaviors of others (Heider 1958). This assumption is also

endorsed by Weiner (1992) when he argues that causality influences emotional responses to the outcome of a task. Nevertheless, attribution as a process shaping our causal judgments entails much more than that. As a matter of fact, when sensory data, particularly culture-specific items, evoke some underlying cause in the world, attribution theory looks at a possibly extended level of relationships beyond the personal. Hence, it is inevitable to have wider definitions of the term, as shown hereunder.

- a. Attribution theory deals with how the social perceiver uses information to arrive at causal explanations for events. It examines what information is gathered and how it is combined to form a causal judgment (Fiske and Taylor 1991, p. 23).
- b. Attribution theory is concerned with the perceptions people have about the causes of their own and others' behavior and the effect that these perceptions have on their subsequent behavior (Weiner 1986, p. 29).
- c. A major influence on how people behave is the way they interpret the events around them. People who feel they have control over what happens to them are more likely to accept responsibility for their actions than those who feel control of events is out of their hands. The cognitive process by which people interpret the reasons or causes for their behavior is described by attribution theory (Kelley 1967, pp. 55–56).

In this connection, attribution theory accommodates a wide fan of items that are likely to shape various types of personal behavior. These items range from the rational to the emotional, and from the personal to the impersonal. For instance, people often make causal attributions in a rational manner as they assign some cause to a certain action or behavior observed. The cause here could be a visual memory reactivated to reconstruct a past that once was a reality, or to retrieve a way of living that once was part of a culture dimming out. However, being a process in the first place, attribution theory is likely to host some factors where motives, intentions, sentiments and *memories* manifest themselves in an individual's overt behavior.

As the present study tends to elaborate on the significance of memories, both individual and group, it should be noted here that attribution theory has given casual attention to this item as a central motive for a series of actions and reactions. Hence, varied judgments of memories produced by adult men and women as well as children differ. In this connection, it is argued that people assume the testimony of an adult to be more credible and accurate than that of a child, based on the assumption that adults are better memory reporters (Leippe et al. 1992, p. 187). Besides, adults who recall domestic details from the near past through the general principles of causality help us understand some of the human behavioral patterns in the present. To this effect, looking back, both impatiently and passionately, to recall and reconstruct a family life lost, or a house confiscated, or an occupied homeland renamed is upheld by a strong memory that maintains continuity of interaction between the emotional and the national. In this context, interaction between past and present takes place when we use our mental images of the present to reconstruct our past (Halbwachs 1992, p. 22). It is true that individuals remember, but what is being remembered requires a social context of a

particular time and space. In practical terms, commemorative collective rituals play a central role in articulating the shared memories of some events (Litvak 2009).

Furthermore, one type of attribution theory is meant to explain particular historical events to help us make sense of the world around us. However, the outcome differs in regards to the rules of the game framing the existing power relations. In case of dialogue between the dominant and the dominated, this explanatory model attributes historical memories and recalled events to specific stable or unstable causes. The dominant party usually uses formal historical documents “to validate successive deformation, manipulation and appropriation of the memory of the dominated” (Nora 1989, p. 16). In contrast, the dominated party uses memory, most often in the form of reporting oral historical narratives, as one of the means available to validate national history (Pappe 2006). As this type of attribution uncovers two conflicting discourses, the dominated may retreat, but not concede, due to disproportion in power relations. Historical memories may be silenced for some time, but never forgotten. In fact, those memories can be transformed into political assets where, “the present is interpreted through the lens of the unforgotten past” (Nora 1989, p. 20).

Nevertheless, attribution theory is criticized as being mechanistic and reductionist for assuming that people are rational, logical and systematic thinkers (Graham and Folkes 2014). The theory also falls short of addressing important issues, such as colonial, cultural, racial, and even mythical narratives<sup>3</sup> as factors that are likely to ascribe causes to certain behavior, such as blame. This has been addressed extensively by discourse analysis where language is studied to understand various criteria, including how language influences the attribution style of its users.

Based on the above review of the literature, this research paper looks at the conflicting discourses of the main characters involved in a seemingly pointless dialogue over identity and belonging. All of the four characters featured in *Returnee to Haifa* find themselves on the defensive, as their semi-rational dialogue is replete with memories recalled to justify their hazy present situations. Concurrently, this paper looks further at the discursive features of the dialogic language used and how speakers construct themselves and others in discourse.

## The Tale

*Returnee to Haifa* is the story of a Palestinian couple, Sa’eed S. and his wife Safiyyah, who, on the evening 9<sup>th</sup> of April, 1948, were led by the British colonial troops to *Haifa* harbor and asked to board an unknown boat about to sail off to nowhere.<sup>4</sup> The boat was loaded with many other Palestinian civilian natives from the city of *Haifa* and its surrounding neighborhoods. The two dumbfounded

---

<sup>3</sup>Reference is made to the myth of The Promised Land.

<sup>4</sup>The British troops wanted them to run for their lives when all of a sudden the Zionist militant Haganah gangs attacked Haifa on the 9<sup>th</sup> of April, which is 35 days before the withdrawal of Britain from Palestine as officially announced on May 14, 1948.

passengers had no idea why they were ordered to leave their own home in Haifa, only to discover that they had become homeless refugees. Eventually, they were led by the officers of the International Society of Red Cross to inhabit a tent in one of the refugee camps in the outskirts of *Ramallah*, a city in the Palestinian West Bank, then under Jordan. In the wake of the 1967 Six-Day War between the Arabs and Israel, the remaining part of Palestine was lost, and the Israeli occupation authorities started an open-bridge policy with the newly-occupied Palestinian territories and Jordan. While on board the boat, Sa'eed and Safiyyah found out that they had left behind their five-month-old baby boy, Khaldun. The baby was found by the Jewish Agency<sup>5</sup> that had brokered an agreement with an old childless couple, Ephrat and Miriam Koshen,<sup>6</sup> immigrating from Poland to Palestine. This old couple would soon be the tenants of the house in which the baby was found. Upon the request of the Jewish Agency, Khaldun was handed over to the Koshens, who adopted the baby and renamed him Dov. After the passage of 20 years,<sup>7</sup> Sa'eed and Safiyyah drove to Haifa in order to check on their own "baby" and house in Haifa. Miriam, a widow now, was expecting them to show up, thanks to the open-bridge policy across borders. Silence, interrupted by little talk, filled the atmosphere of the house which had not changed much, including the three peacock feathers in the vase. Expecting their son, Khaldun, to show up in the evening, Sa'eed and Safiyyah found themselves standing in front of a twenty-year old stranger called Dov, who had just come back from a military training exercise, wearing an IDF<sup>8</sup> military uniform. The dialogue held among the four characters over a lot of things, including parental and filial relationships, as well as identity and homeland, led to nowhere due to the tactical defensive attribution strategy they used in order to justify the situations they had passed through. Not admitting that he was a loser, Sa'eed drove back to Ramallah wishing that his younger son, Khaled, had joined the newly formed forces of the Palestinian armed resistance movement against the Zionist occupation of Palestine.

---

<sup>5</sup>A very influential Jewish organization whose main goal was to facilitate Jewish immigration from Europe to Palestine during the British Mandate for Palestine. The Agency was also entrusted to manage the property of the Palestinian Absentees [*sic.*] until further notice.

<sup>6</sup>The Koshens, who came to Palestine from Poland, are introduced as Holocaust and Auschwitz survivors.

<sup>7</sup>Reference is made to the June 1967 War between Israel and three Arab states (Egypt, Syria and Jordan) after which all Palestine, including Jerusalem, was captured by Israel who announced right away a policy of open bridges. Sa'eed and Safiyyah crossed the borders from Ramallah to Haifa through the Mandelbaum Gate on June 30, 1967.

<sup>8</sup>IDF refers to the Israeli army, and it stands for Israeli Defense Forces, which Dov has just joined as a soldier.

## Discussion

*Returnee to Haifa* is a complex, open-ended tale whose sophisticated narrative discourse traverses the unresolved painful memories of its characters to settle nowhere soon after. The conflicting vocal discourses of the four characters involved in a seemingly rational dialogue spring from the dark spots irritating their private worlds. Resorting to defensive attribution strategy, each one of those characters has a story to tell to maintain a robust, unalienable position. In discursive psychology as well as interpersonal communication and social psychology, it is language that is more likely than other factors to “construct the world and the people’s views of it” (Potter and Edwards 1992, p. ii).

In *Returnee to Haifa*, the four characters share the above theoretical assumption when it comes to explaining the various situations they have passed through. It is true that they all have seemingly separate stories and face different challenges, but it is also true that they are all part and parcel of the big story framed by their unscheduled encounter where they hold an informal debate, rather than a dialogue, over big issues regarding homeland, homelessness, dispossession and blood kinship. Apparently at a crossroads due to the conflicting discourses, each one of them has a say in those issues, especially the one defining paternal and filial relationships. As a matter of fact, this issue becomes the central point dramatizing the clash, not only in form of an external struggle between Sa’eed S. and Miriam Koshen (the tenant of his house), but also in the form of an internal struggle within Sa’eed himself. The internal struggle is between a photographic memory storing up an intimate day-dream nourished for twenty years of exile, and a stark reality slapping the day-dreamer hard in the face. The four characters share similar discursive features of the language describing the defensive attribution strategy. As for Sa’eed, the round trip he has taken with his wife to recover a hazy past seems to have unfolded abruptly. Sa’eed, a Panglossian day-dreamer at the beginning of the journey, matures in no time into a man with a sarcastic vision when he faces reality and receives a hard slap in the face.

This part of the paper is divided into two sub-sections, each of which illuminates one side of the central narrative. This is done through a discursive study of the language used by the four main characters, namely Sa’eed, Safiyya, Miriam and Khaldun/Dov.

### *The First Encounter*

This encounter takes place between the Palestinian couple and the tenant of their house in Haifa. Sa’eed and Safiyyah are sketched as two journeying souls in search of an illusion. They drive off from Ramallah, under the Israeli military occupation, to Haifa, the city of their birthplace and early life, hoping to redeem a past they have lost for twenty years due to mass expulsion.<sup>9</sup> While journeying, Sa’eed recalls their intimate memories to reassemble the past: Khaldun, their left-

---

<sup>9</sup>Mass expulsion of the civilian Palestinians started on April 9, 1948 when, all of a sudden, the Jewish militant gang, Haganah, attacked the city of Haifa with full coordination with the British colonial troops in the city.

behind baby in arms, their house which they describe to the last detail, the road they used to take in that part of the city, the neighborhood, and some other details. In this context, memory is extremely treasured by the Palestinians for it is the only thing left to them after the occupation of their land and the life of deprivation they would lead as homeless refugees afterwards. To quote Meir Litvak, the Jewish Harvard professor of history:

While true for every nation, memory is particularly appropriate for the Palestinians as a semi-diasporic people still engaged in a struggle for statehood and a process of nation building (Litvak 2009, p. 29).

Sa'eed knows the topography of the region by heart, so he makes it to his own house in Haifa easily. However, standing on the doorstep for a moment, Sa'eed sounds like a stranger gazing at the door name plate, as he exclaims quietly:

- "They changed the bell."

He was silent a moment, then added: "And the name. Naturally."

(*Returnee to Haifa*, 26)

Safiyyah, dumbfounded by the door of her own house, remains a passive listener most of the time. Asked by the tenant, an old woman called Miriam Koshen, to come in, the couple feels spellbound by almost the same interior design of the house they were forced to leave twenty years ago. However, old Miriam, now the host, breaks the spell when she implies that she shares in their experience of being victimized, for she is an Auschwitz survivor. Her discourse is in no way offensive, especially when asked how she happens to know who they are.

- "You are the owners of the house. I know that. I have been expecting you for a long time."

- "How do you know?" Sa'eed and Safiyyah both asked the question simultaneously.

The old woman continued to smile. Then she said:

- "From everything. From the photographs, from the way the two of you stood in front of the door. The truth is, ever since the war<sup>10</sup> ended many people have come here, looking at the houses and going into them. Every day I said that surely you would come." (*Returnee to Haifa*, 28-29)

It may be argued that this encounter portrays a scene that betrays a victim-blaming language. However, this assumption is soon proven invalid as there is no expression called "victims of victims."<sup>11</sup> The Jewish victimhood, promoted worldwide by the Holocaust narratives, is not applicable in the context of justifying the causes of the Palestinian *Nakba*. The phrase "victims of victims" sounds insensible and ironical as a claim, for victims are not supposed to victimize others who are not their oppressors. To make it clear enough, let's have a look at the story of the

<sup>10</sup>Reference to the 6-Day War of June 1967 between Israel and three Arab countries (Egypt, Syria and Jordan).

<sup>11</sup>The phrase "victims of victims" is mentioned by Amos Oz in his novel *The Tale of Love and Darkness*, 2004. The use of this phrase in terms of discourse is no more than amelioration.



two Jewish Polish immigrants to Palestine, Miriam and Ephrat Koshen. The Koshens, who were about to fall victim in *Auschwitz* during World War II, were released after World War II had ended, but they chose to immigrate to Palestine, aided by the Jewish Agency, the mastermind and financier of waves of Jewish immigration into Palestine under the British Mandate. Ephrat Koshen, Miriam's husband, joined the Jewish militant gang *Haganah* as a fighter against the British troops in Palestine and as an intimidator to scare off the Palestinian civilian communities. The Jewish Agency gave the childless Koshens the house of Sa'eed to live in and the baby son (in arms then) who was left behind. The Koshens accepted the offer and adopted the baby naming him Dov. Thereupon, the dialogue taking place in the first encounter, though rational and polite, implies the first set of conflicting discourses. Hence, Miriam advises the Palestinian couple to wait until Dov [Khaldun] is back home to see how ready he is to recognize his parents. In taking this move, Miriam switches her discourse strategy from defensive attribution to evasive attribution through a tactical withdrawal.

More responsibility will be attributed to the harm-doer as the outcome becomes more severe, and as personal or situational similarity decreases (Graham and Folkes 2014, p. 92).

### *The Second Encounter*

The second encounter takes place between the Palestinian couple and their biological son, Khaldun, in the presence of Miriam. The parents cannot wait to meet Khaldun, who is by now twenty years old, and whose coming on the scene would be decisive in regards to the issue of blood kinship. Miriam remains silent at this moment in time, but she makes a point when she suggests that they all leave it for the young man to make a choice.

For the past twenty years I've been confused, but now the time has come for us to finish the matter. I know who his father is. And I also know that he is our son. But let's call on him to decide. Let's call on him to choose. He's of age and we must recognize that he's the only one who has the right to choose. Do you agree? (*Returnee to Haifa*, 46).

The response comes right away. Saffiyeh agrees that Khaldun/Dov makes a choice. She got up and said, her voice trembling.

"That's a fair choice. I'm certain Khaldun will choose his real parents. It's impossible to deny the call of flesh and blood" (*Returnee to Haifa*, 46).

Soon after, Miriam senses his coming when someone turns the key into the door key-hole. "It's Dov!", she says, showing a coy smile (p. 57). After that, Miriam is no more part of the game. Her resignation from the scene is also part of her discourse of evasion.

The coming of Khaldun/Dov fills the space around the three people who have been waiting for him impatiently. The sign language in that space around them

soon betrays a feeling that everybody is taking a hard test. The young man appears in the IDF<sup>12</sup> military uniform. He says he has just finished his military afternoon drill, for his name is listed in the Army Reserves. After being introduced to each other, the group splits into two camps whose discourses keep widening the gap of estrangement between them. Dov is now on the offensive, his parents on the defensive. Their conflicting discourses over family blood ties, homeland, and childcare have reached a deadlock, an irresolvable impasse – a fiasco. The following dialogue between father and son says it all and settles the score once and for all in favor of the son.

“Even when they told me - later on - that my original parents were Arabs, it didn’t change anything. No, nothing changed, that’s certain. After all, in the final analysis, *man is a cause*.” I kept asking myself: “How could a father and mother leave their five-month-old son behind and run off? How could a mother and father not his own raise him and educate him for twenty years? Twenty years? Do you wish to say anything, sir?”

“No,” Sa’eed replied briefly and decisively, motioning with his hand for him to continue.

“I’m in the Reserves now, I haven’t been in direct combat yet so I can’t describe my feelings...but perhaps in the future I’ll be able to confirm to you what I’m about to say: I belong here, and this woman is my mother. I don’t know the two of you, and I don’t feel anything towards you.”

“There’s no need for you to explain your feelings to me later on. Maybe your first battle will be with a fida’i<sup>13</sup> named Khalid. Khalid is my son. I beg you to notice that I did not say he’s your brother. As you said, *man is a cause*. Last week Khalid joined the fedayeen. Do you know why we named him Khalid and not Khaldun? Because we always thought we’d find you, even if it took twenty years. But it didn’t happen. We didn’t find you, and I don’t believe we will find you.” (*Returnee to Haifa*, 47-48)

The second encounter between Sa’eed and Khaldun/Dov is unexpectedly explosive. It is the son who turns the tables on the father, who eventually recognizes him as Dov, not Khaldun. The position Dov assumes all the time looks aggressive, while that of Sa’eed looks recessive. Dov’s language is not rhetorical; it is both brisk and straightforward. Its discursive features carry a two-level message: one to reproach, the other to edify. Dov’s tutorial position drives Sa’eed to retreat sheepishly and search for words, more especially when the issue of identity is viewed as part of their conflicting discourses. In discursive psychological theory, “identity is not something fixed and stable within an individual. This assumption allows for an analysis of ‘when’ and ‘how’ identity is invoked and constructed in conversation” (Stokoe and Edwards 2006, p. 60).

Denied by Dov as his real father, Sa’eed resorts to a tactical discourse of retreat, thus admitting defeat indirectly. He whispers to himself that blood kinship is only a transitional reality, and that Khaldun has been “stolen,” renamed Dov, and converted into an enemy soldier who might encounter Khaled, his own brother, in the battlefield; so is the case with Palestine, which has been taken by

---

<sup>12</sup>IDF stands for the Israeli Defense Forces.

<sup>13</sup>Arabic term for a guerilla fighter.

force and renamed “Israel.” However, one of the statements which has prompted Sa’eed to rethink his own position and earlier assumptions and quit his short visit to Haifa is borrowed from Dov’s; it runs as follows: “Man is in the end nothing but a cause” (p. 54). Sa’eed has come to a realization that leaving a baby behind is not that different from leaving a home or a city or a homeland. Memory, no matter how sharp it is, cannot be enough to recover the past. Thanks to Dov, Sa’eed has learned the lesson the hard way. He murmurs unto himself:

“What is parenthood? Man is a cause, what cause? What is homeland? Is it these seats that have remained in place for twenty years? The framed painting of Jerusalem hanging on the wall? ...” (*Returnee to Haifa*, 83).

The language used throughout the second encounter with Khaldun/Dov marks a point of departure. Sa’eed’s discourse has undergone a considerable change.

Our perceptions of causality are often distorted by our needs and certain emotional biases, especially when it comes to explaining the behavior of others (Heider 1958, p. 22).

However, the change is not yet complete. Having been rebuffed recovering a past “stolen,” Sa’eed refuses to admit defeat tacitly. On his way back to Ramallah, he seems to be shedding his old skin and wishing for more rounds of combat in the battlefield with the occupation forces of his homeland. However, he foresees that these rounds need a young Palestinian generation, like that of his second son, Khaled, belongs to and represents.

I wish Khaled had joined the *fida’yeen* [freedom fighters] by now (p. 83).

Having developed a discourse of flight, Sa’eed switches from a day-dreamer feeding on past memory that resists oblivion, to a wishful thinker unable to act. His memories have failed to restore him to a confiscated intimate past, hence he is left with some wishful thinking which likens a Lutheran<sup>14</sup> dream. Sa’eed allows himself to retreat and withdraw from the scene, leaving enough room for the new Palestinian generation to right the wrong done by their parents for over twenty years.

Endorsing this assumption, Kanafani manages to save his tale from the curse of moral defeat. His narrative technique manages to shield the tale from falling into the hole of wishful thinking by creating an episode in which one of the Palestinian martyrs is featured as a national hero. As none of the main characters in *Returnee to Haifa* fits for a hero, Kanafani outlines a role in search of a hero who could possibly provide a definitive answer to the implied question “What’s in a name?” besetting the world of the tale. The episode recalls the heroic role of the absent hero, Faris al-Lubdah, who fell defending his city of Jaffa in 1948. The framed photo of this martyr is still hanging on one of the walls inside his family

---

<sup>14</sup>Reference to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr, famous for his iconic phrase “I have a dream” repeatedly voiced during his Lincoln Memorial Speech in Washington, DC. In 1963.

house in Jaffa. Placed there to be cherished with reverence all the time, the photo of Faris al-Lubdah keeps sending clear messages and loaded signals to that effect.

## Conclusion

This research paper has shown that the discursive features of the dialogic language painting the world of Ghassan Kanafani's tale *Returnee to Haifa* is seemingly more rational than emotional. All of the four characters involved in a smooth-running verbal encounter over big issues, such as victimhood, belonging and identity, plead their causes through a defensive attribution strategy, only to avoid feeling vulnerable to situations that they have no control over. Ironically, however, the outcome of that untimely encounter is provocative enough to make a shift in the protagonist's discourse as he leaves *Haifa* and drives back to *Ramallah*. Memories that keep running in the blood of the Palestinian individual families are likely to refuel the collective national repertoire of these people who have been living under occupation or in exile since 1948. Only then would the question "What's in a name?" find a satisfactory answer.

## References

- Fiske ST, Taylor SE (1991) *Social cognition*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Goodman S (2007) How to conduct a psychological discourse analysis. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines* 9(2): 142–153.
- Graham S, Folkes V (Eds.) (2014) *Attribution theory: applications to achievement, mental health, and interpersonal conflict*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Habibi E (1985) *Al-Waqa's al-Ghariba fi Ikhtifa' Sa'eed Abi an-Nahs al-Mutashael*. (The pessoptimist). Translated by S Jayyusi and T La Gassik. New York: Interlink Books.
- Halbwachs M (1992) *On collective memory*. Edited by LA Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Heider F (1958) *The psychology of interpersonal relationships*. Kansas, USA: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Kanafani G (1969) *Returnee to Haifa and other stories*. Translated from the Arabic A'ied ela Haifa by Barbara Harlow and Karen Riley. London & Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Kelley H (1967) Attribution theory in social psychology. In D Levine (ed.), *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*, 15, 192-238. University of Nebraska Press.
- Leippe MR, Manion AP, Romanczyk A (1992) Eyewitness persuasion: how and how well do fact finders judge the accuracy of adults' and children's memory reports? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 63(2): 181–197.
- Litvak M (Ed.) (2009) *Palestinian collective memory and national identity*. London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Meyers DG (2010) *Social psychology*. 10th Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Nora P (1989) Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire. *Representations: Special Issue* 26: 7–24.
- Pappe I (2006) *The ethnic cleansing of Palestine*. Oxford, England: Oneworld Publications.
- Potter J, Edwards D (1990) Nigel Lawson's tent: discourse analysis, attribution theory and the social psychology of fact. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 20(5): 405–424.

- Potter J, Edwards D (1992) *Discursive psychology*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Potter J, Wetherell M (1987) *Discourse and social psychology: beyond attitude and behavior*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Shakespeare W (2009) *Romeo and Juliet*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stokoe E, Edwards D (2006) Story formulations in talk-in-interaction. *Narrative Inquiry* 16(1): 56–65.
- Weiner B (1986) *An attributional theory of motivation and emotion*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Weiner B (1992) *Human motivation: metaphors, theories, and research*. SAGE Publications.



## The Role of Phonetics and Prosody during a Second Language Learning Plan

By Maria Rosaria D'Acierno Canonici\*

*New technologies have changed the methodology applied to the teaching of foreign languages. Moreover, teachers do not use them sufficiently. The oral language should gain more ground because communication uses speech more than writing. Each language has its phonetic, phonological and prosodic system. These features become important during a foreign language learning process, since the learner tends to assimilate the foreign sound to the sounds of his/her mother tongue because 1) his/her ear is not able to distinguish them, and 2) the brain couples the sound with the written sign. By following a traditional methodology, students achieve an adequate level in constructing correct sentences, but their oral performance remains poor. New technologies help students to practice the new sounds more precisely, thus, provoking the muscle of the phonetic apparatus to become so stretched to be able to produce them easily. Talking in a new language is the equivalent of making a physical exercise; it is a question not only of new commands received by the brain, but also of a flexible vocal tract. It is a physical, psychological and mental process, which, considering Italian and English, becomes even more difficult, because the two alphabets have more or less the same written signs (a,b,c, d, t, etc.). Rather, if we consider an Italian student of Arabic the problems are different for two reasons: 1) the letters, having different shape, avoid overlapping, so that the student 2) has only to develop the muscles for the emphatic and guttural letters (ع غ ص ض ط ظ). His/her mind has not the duty to cancel the sounds of the mother tongue and to substitute them with a new pronunciation. In this study, my challenge is to give much more emphasis to phonetics, phonology, stress and intonation, so to facilitate interaction during a speech act using real and not a limited classroom language. For these reasons, I planned a specific course in pronunciation, helped by spectrographs and laryngographs, for a separate group of students with the purpose to stress phonetics and phonology more than grammar. The results obtained after one year, at last, gave voice to my suppositions.*

**Keywords:** methodology, foreign languages, phonetics, phonology, prosody

### Introduction

“There are many different sorts of voicing that we can produce – think of the differences in the quality of your voice between singing, shouting and speaking quietly, or think of the different voices you might use reading a story to young children in which you have to read out what is said by characters such as giants, fairies, mice or ducks; many of the differences are made with the larynx. We can make changes in the vocal cords themselves – they can be made longer or shorter, more tense or more relaxed or be more or less strongly pressed together. The pressure of the air below the vocal cords can also be varied.” (Roach 1983, p. 27)

After reading this quotation it is clear that this essay is about the importance of the voice, and of all the nuances that give colour to our discourse during a speech act. Moreover, this paper wants to emphasize the crucial role of the voice

---

\* Associate Professor, University of Naples Parthenope, Italy.

during a conversation between a mother tongue and a foreign speaker, especially if this conversation is a working conversation for professional aims. For this reason, my research covers the field of foreign language learning and teaching in order to improve speech as well as oral comprehension between two or more speakers.

The learners I refer to are the Italian university students of the Department of Viticulture and Oenology learning English. These students are offered only one course in English for special purposes throughout their university career. Following this methodology, the accent is on specific vocabulary and idiomatic expressions related to their fields of study. Unfortunately, the basic course does not include any reference to phonetics and intonation, so that, at the end of the academic year, a split between the oral and the written communication has been created. They have achieved a good level in the written skill since they have acquired a large vocabulary connected to the phases of vinification, but they are not able to communicate through speech because they cannot either understand or answer any question. In other words, there is no balance between the written and the oral system of the English language they have been studying for one year. The situation of this department is common to that of the other departments where English is learned for special purposes (Economics, Physical Education, Engineering, etc.). Based on my previous teaching experience in a university specialized in foreign languages, I decided to take advantage of the Laboratory of Experimental Phonetics<sup>15</sup> to train a small group of students in order to offer them, in combination with the general grammar course, a session in which phonetics, phonology and prosody would gain an important role.

In brief, the languages involved are Italian (the students' mother-tongue), and English (their foreign language). I achieved this conclusion, because I think that the majority of the learners have great problems when they attend international meetings in which English is requested. After all, the language they have studied reflects only one aspect of communication; that is to say, the one belonging to the formal written communication, totally forgetting the oral skill.

A cross-linguistic analysis between Italian and English, focusing mainly on the acquisition of speech features, has guided the present experimental plan. Thus, stimulated by past experiences applying such an analysis (comparison between the two phonetic-phonological systems), I forged my new foreign language teaching class (Py 1996, Read 1978). Adding cultural details within the lessons and comparing the ways of life of the two populations will increase the semantic evaluation of discourse. The comparison between the native and the foreign language and culture, as well as the knowledge of the physiological organs involved during speech will greatly help the acquisition of communicative competence. Moreover, stressing the role of pronunciation, and focusing on intonation patterns, will avoid misunderstanding and distortion of discourse. We know that an adult learner cannot easily hear and then pronounce correctly the sounds of a new language immediately, even though he has no speech impediment and he suffers no hearing defect. Despite this, s/he is called 'stutterer' and 'deaf,'

---

<sup>15</sup> "... il lavoro della fonetica sperimentale, sfruttando i progressi della tecnologia, dovrebbe consistere nel mettere in evidenza, nell'oggettivare le caratteristiche fisiche, acustiche e, fisiologiche di queste voci." (De Dominicis 2002, p. 73), cf. Wells (1982).



because s/he does not recognize even very familiar words. In a non-phonetic language as English is, also rich in homophones (e.g., affect-effect; flow-floe; flower-flour; heart-hart; higher-hire, etc.), there is no match between written and oral words, so the task becomes really difficult. The students' ear has to be trained to perceive real speech, that is why they cannot understand sequences of utterances in which words blend. In English a consonant at the end of a word blends with the vowel that begins the next word (*We might find some red berries here* becomes in "unconventional spelling" speech, as Smith (1975, p. 351) calls this phenomenon, **We mite fined sum read buries here**). As a consequence of the liaison process, also timing speech is compromised, so the gap enlarges. On the contrary, linguistic competence means to achieve the same level of knowledge in each skill, either phonological, semantical, syntactical, so that, students can perform both illocutionary (oral) and propositional acts (written). Because our students need speech more than writing, they should be trained to perform utterances which affect the audience/hearer, since they require or ask for an answer, or some feedbacks which stimulate the whole of discourse. Speech informs, convinces, requests, in other words, influences the listener's feelings, thoughts and actions; relevant features, especially during a business transaction. Of course, perlocutionary, illocutionary/locutionary acts, which are composed of a phonetic and a phatic act, might also, by using a particular sound inflection or a particular stress on some words, mean something beyond the literal meaning of the sentence. That is the case when the voice adds insinuations, irony, metaphors etc.

Searle (1997, p. 30) gives us this example: *Can you reach the salt?* Both meaning either the literal sense of the question or a gentle request.

"We have ample evidence that when learning a foreign language, we tend to transfer our entire native language system in the process. We tend to transfer to that language our phonemes and their variants, our stress and rhythm patterns, our transitions, our intonation patterns and their interaction with other phonemes. ... The speaker of one language listening to another does not actually hear the foreign language sound units – phonemes. He hears his own. Phonemic differences in the foreign language will be consistently missed by him if there is no similar phonemic difference in his native language." (Lado 1957, p. 11)

In brief, when a phoneme of the foreign language does not exist in the native language, the student's *deaf ear* substitutes it with a similar native phoneme. A methodology stressing the contrast between the sounds of the two languages will help the ear and the brain to recognize the differences, so that the muscles of the vocal tract receive the correct stimuli and, after a series of exercises, are ready to utter the correct sounds. For example, the student has to go through various steps (theoretically and practical) before being able to perceive the difference between the dental-voiceless-fricative *t θ* in *think* in contrast to the dental-voiced-fricative *t ð* in *then*, and *t* in *ten*, in which it is a plosive (Lado 1957, p. 24).

Thus, being the focus on the oral language, pronunciation and intonation should cover the most relevant role during the learning/teaching schedule through sessions stressing the importance of phonetics, phonology and prosody. Nowadays, technology helps this approach greatly, and experimental phonetics seems to be a

valuable aid, because it guides both ear and eyes by providing images that point out every nuance of the voice recorded even revealing timing speech issues, which in English are important data. By using a spectrograph, teachers help students to identify visually, the stress, the pitch, the time, the intonation of their utterances. The voiced sound is analysed in detail, so that students can compare their voice, also printed on a diagram, with that of mother tongue speakers. By following this procedure, we teachers help students to recognize the many differences between the two languages, which a non-native's ear is not able to perceive instantly during a speech unit.

Another more complex machine is the laryngograph monitoring the vocal-fold activity during ordinary speech. The laryngograph, used principally to correct linguistic problems, especially related to deaf population, would be a valid instrument for increasing the foreign language learning methodology. It will help the student's *deaf ear*<sup>16</sup> to visualize the movements of the larynx when pronouncing foreign words. It will be extremely important, since it corrects the inappropriate use of voiced or voiceless segments in an utterance, as well as the duration of vowels, nasals, laterals preceding voiced or voiceless consonants and so on:

"Electronic aids will not diminish the role of teachers or speech therapists, however. On the contrary, their effectiveness will be increased, but greater demands will be made of them as the effective use of speech processing devices in teaching and therapy depends on the teachers having a thorough knowledge of the phonetic bases of the linguistic structures of their language. ... In normal speech, timing and intonation play a vital role. ... Intonation is not a superficial attribute of speech; normally it is the basis on which all else is built. Without sufficient auditory feedback, intonation and rhythm, like other speech skills, are abnormal." (Abberton and Fourcin 1975, p. 157)

The methodology applied to the learning of a foreign language should take into great account the specific studies concerning the development of the language in children and deaf people, for the simple reason that the foreign student has to go across the same steps followed by the child during his development. S/He has to learn a new language, s/he has to adapt her/his *deaf ear* to new sounds, new pitches, new intonation; s/he has to stretch his vocal muscles in order to achieve a new flexibility suitable for new positions, while the brain has to store the new information and send it to the various organs suitable for speech.

Of course, a methodology focusing on phonetics needs the collaboration of an expert and motivated team, where all members aim at promoting such learning schedule. While following this scheme, motivation is also encouraged and stimulated.

In sum, this study endeavours to achieve an adequate proficiency in the oral production and comprehension of the foreign language, without negating the study of grammar, rather, accompanying it during the whole learning process. Thus, I want to highlight all the nuances of the oral language through a much careful and

---

<sup>16</sup>Deaf-ear not because of physiological problems, but only because foreign students are not able to perceive the sound nuances of the foreign tongue.

attentive consideration of the phonetic system of the tongue studied; a phonetic system, at first faced theoretically, and then, experienced with the help of technological aids (spectrographs and laryngographs). This happens because language is a complex arrangement made of oral and written communication, where the oral speech also provides rules, often forgotten or underestimated, so depriving language of a vital side. A low-level spoken language frustrates the speaker who feels unable to speak because his/her ear is unqualified to hear; moreover, it creates a big gap between the written and the spoken discourse. In order to avoid all these problems, our plan stimulates the teaching of foreign languages by starting with a full and long course in phonetics and phonology even anticipating the formal teaching of the written system. The languages used during the experiment are Italian (mother tongue) and English (foreign language). Arabic has been introduced only as an example to highlight the contrast existing between this Semitic language and the Indo-European languages, and also because its acquisition, which I want to stimulate, will surely facilitate the learning of other foreign languages, since Arabic is so rich in sounds that trains the muscles of the vocal area in order to cover all the possible nuances related to its alphabetical letters.

### **Planning English as a Global Language: The Brain and the Vocal Tract**

In our global world, we all know that English is the *lingua franca* mostly used for commerce and business, so that this language, spread everywhere, should have achieved an adequate and acceptable proficiency among foreign speakers. Unfortunately, this is not the case, since the majority of people show very low levels and try to rely either on body movements, or any other compromise in order to fulfil a satisfactory business transaction or to be understood during a cultural seminar or a conference when the speaker asks for help to video images, handouts or slides. Poor English level is caused, in my opinion, by two reasons, which are difficult to understand in our multicultural/multilingual world, so highly civilized, and with so many foreign languages and cultures around us. I try to explain this phenomenon from my point of view.

1) Learning a foreign language, should not be driven only by better working opportunities so that, once one has learned a few rules within a specific vocabulary and phrases, the goal seems to have been achieved. Rather, approaching a foreign language is a matter of cultural, mental and behavioural acquisition first of all. Fortunately, we can remedy this low approach, because as Michael Studdert-Kennedy said many years ago (1983) in the Foreword of John L. Locke's book *Phonological Acquisition and Changes*: "Language now becomes a *mental organ* or, if we prefer computer metaphors, a *module*" (Locke 1983, p. ix). Under these premises, by considering language an organ, we can study it from its physiological, anatomical and mental development in order to understand how inborn faculties shape the growth of language in general, and speech in particular, according to the impulses derived from both environment and context. This process, helped also by that of imitation, the most relevant spring either for a child or for an adult learning

a foreign language, works very well. Studdert-Kennedy adds, under the influence of the epigenetic process, that this process permits through “an accumulation of adaptive changes” to acquire the accent, lexicon, and syntax of the language one is exposed to. The child’s initial phonetic proclivities modify during life according to the particular environment, and survive in the adult, eventually to conform to the learning of new languages. This procedure finds an example when we examine *babbling*, which mainly seems to be common to all children despite their linguistic environment. This phenomenon shows that the muscles of the vocal tract have to be strengthened first of all through *canonical babbling*<sup>17</sup>. Only later, when the child’s articulatory organs and also his mind have achieved a certain maturity, the process of adaptation to the linguistic inputs around the child will start.

Roman Jakobson was one of the few phonological theorists, who gave much attention to the data coming from child’s speech development. He distinguishes two discontinuous periods of phonological growth when analysing children’s speech: 1) the pre-language babbling, in which the sounds of the child’s vocalization do not follow any particular order of development, and are not related to the later productions, and 2) the acquisition of the language proper, that is relatively universal, during which the child acquires the sounds of the language around him/her. In so doing, Jakobson highlights the difference between the mere production and the systematic use of the sound (cf. Jakobson and Halle 1956).

For the adult learning a foreign language, it might be the same; certain articulatory muscles have never been used, so that they have to be stretched and stimulated, once the mind and the ear recognize the different sound required by the phonemes belonging to the foreign language. The motivation, driving that learning, should involve our mood up to the point that we feel part of the community we are learning their mother tongue. This atmosphere is absent in the one whose aim, when learning a foreign language, follows only practical working purposes. As a consequence, the learner wants to achieve the acquisition of the foreign language (English) as soon as possible. Rather, we all know that patience is the first virtue guiding foreign language learning. It takes time because our brain has to adapt to

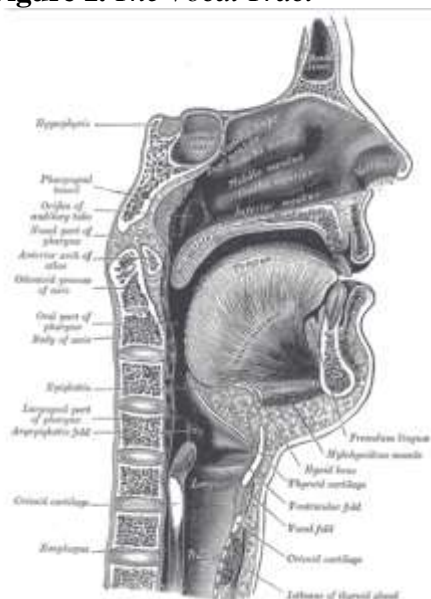
---

<sup>17</sup>Research has shown that 95% of infants babbled vocalizations involve the 12 speech sounds that are most common across the world’s languages: m, d, j, p, h, b, w, t, n, k, g, and y. The vocalizations babbled by all infants are strikingly similar across the world, regardless of the infants’ native language. It is common for infants to produce speech sounds that are not among the speech sounds of their native language. For example, infants reared in English-speaking environments may produce non-English speech sounds, such as the click sounds that occur in certain African languages. Likewise, infants reared in Japanese-speaking environments may produce speech sounds not occurring in Japanese, such as [r]. As infants mature, more of the speech sounds produced are those speech sounds heard in the environment in the language or languages of the home, and fewer of them are speech sounds from other languages. This phenomenon has been referred to as *babbling drift* (cf. Hoff 2001). Of course, there are two opposing schools about the theories concerning babbling: 1) one following R. Jakobson’s prelinguistic conception attesting “an astonishing quantity and diversity of sound productions ... never found within a single language or even a group of languages,” the other 2) adopting R. Brown’s *babbling drift* conception which poses his theory on “the fact that (babbling) drifts in the direction of the speech the infant hears.” Thus, babbling is influenced by the language around the child. In conclusion cross-linguistic babbling has produced a large literature even attesting opposed realities (Jakobson 1968, p. 21, Brown 1958, Weir 1966). Cf. Ashby and Maidment (2005).

the new stimuli that regulate the perception of the reality around us. Our ear has to be able to recognize new sounds and our mind and our eyes have to associate the new sounds to the letter of the new alphabet. If the foreign language belongs to the same linguistic family (e.g., English and Italian) might be much confusing, because the learner tends to associate the two signs during the vocal uttering. Rather if the foreign language belongs to another family tree (e.g., Arabic and English), the student does not confuse the two written signs but still pair their sounds if the teacher does not carefully describe the two sounds from the phonetic point of view, also showing the position of the mouth, the lips and the tongue; thus, focusing on the whole of the vocal cavity mechanism.

In brief, our lungs, our lips, and our glottal muscles have to be prepared to take different positions when speaking two or more languages (Figure 1). As we have seen before, this is possible because even the adult learner has not lost the capacity to adapt his/her organs to the stimuli coming from other languages. Considering the oral aspect of speech production, also hearing, repetition, practice, memorization, etc. become main features, when we want to achieve an adequate performance in a new language. Training the ear, as well as providing a formal knowledge of how sounds are performed, go hand in hand during a methodology whose focus is on oral production.

**Figure 1.** *The Vocal Tract*



Source: Wikipedia.

2) The other problem when planning a foreign language course is related to the approach suggested. Emphasis is generally given to the explanation of grammatical rules which prepare the formal use of the language, while less weight is given to direct interaction during formal and informal speech. From my perspective, any foreign language plan should start with a phonetic course examining the pronunciation of the letters of the alphabet, and then, proceeding with the single sounds in different positions within the words, up to utter full

sentences and paragraphs. This course should support the one about grammar for the whole learning scheme since pronunciation is the most difficult skill to be acquired. Being able to understand someone else's voice takes time because the learner has to get used to the speaker's vocal tonality first, then, to the sounds of the foreign language, once he is able to dissociate them from the ones belonging to his mother tongue. When teaching English pronunciation, we have to face two well distinct problems, one not excluding the other: 1) the first is related to phonetics (perception of the sound) and 2) the other has to consider the rules of pronunciation. In English, for example, there are many rules: e.g., silent L after *a*, *o*, *u*; e.g., walk – B silent after *m* e.g., bomb – voiced and unvoiced consonants e.g., pledge pledʒ, etc. These rules are often neglected and delegated to the practical use of the language. But practice comes after conscious apprenticeship leading to conscious knowledge, otherwise the ear remains always *deaf*. Once the student has internalized the rule through a series of exercises in which a phoneme is evidenced, he will be able to memorize all the alternatives related to that sound by practising it through repetition. Because most of the students are called '*tone-deaf*,' since they identify any sound of the foreign language in terms of their mother tongue, especially when helped by the fact that the two languages use the same signs for the alphabetical letters (b, c, d, etc), the teacher has to insist on phonetics and phonology. Of course, this phenomenon happens also when the alphabet uses different symbols. It is extremely difficult to distinguish and to pronounce the long and the short vowels, which determine also the accent of the word, as well as the emphatic sounds of the Arabic letters ض ط ظ (Z, T, S, D) or the guttural sounds related to غ ع ق from similar sounds in Indo-European languages. Besides, from the phonological point of view, the *deaf ear* might impede to identify the pitches and the tones distinguishing one language from another, even though Indo-European languages share more or less the same intonation patterns, especially considering simple interrogatives. Declarative utterances at the end share the same relatively high to relatively low pitch in most Western languages. Rather the difference, which becomes important to focus on with students of English, is tested in both simple questions (e.g., *Are you coming?*) and questions beginning with an interrogative word (Wh questions: e.g., *Where are you going?*) that end with a falling pitch. (Italian questions end with a high tone while English *wh* questions tend to end with a low tone (How old are you? Where do you come from?). This typical English intonation comes from the relationship between intonation and grammar since the grammatical structure of the sentence influences the pitch contours of an utterance. 'Wh'questions have a falling tone (Figure 2).

**Figure 2.** *Intonation*



In English, the order of elements in pattern questions is fixed, so that each sentence unit is determined by its syntactic function. In this case, it seems that

even intonation follows a kind of “grammatical” rule. These syntactical rules in other languages are not so determined when constructing a sentence or an utterance, and they can be of three types: 1) functional, 2) concomitant and 3) weak. In this case, the intonation is much more influenced by the speaker’s attitude and by the context. Of course, the context has always a strong weight in determining the sense of the words beyond their referential lexical meaning. Any discourse, either spoken or written cannot be treated in isolation, with its context stripped away, because in any case, its relevance evaporates and as Richard Gunter says: “without context there is no relevance. ... Context may have an important bearing even upon the lexical meaning of an utterance” (Gunter 1972, p. 194). After acquiring the most essential ‘rules’ about intonation, the time the student has achieved a high proficiency, he/she may alter the formal intonation pattern according to his/her attitudes and reactions. This alteration will no longer come from mother-tongue suggestions, but rather, from a conscious examination of the content as well of the context. Any interruptions, changes of pitches, breaks, in other words, any pattern variations from the standard pronunciation will not reveal poor language production, rather a conscious alternative used in order to insist and to focus on some phonemes or words which serve to give them a particular emphasis within the discourse. This is called “fluctuation in pitch,” a device that occurs in all languages when the speaker reacts to a situation.

“Fluctuation in pitch occurs in the sentences of all languages. No language uses a pure monotone. Once a person trains himself to listen for pitch in speech he notices considerable fluctuation even in the voices of persons reputed to be monotones. ... the changes of pitch which occur within a sentence are not haphazard variation. The patterns of variation, the rules of change, are highly organized. ... In each language, however, the use of pitch fluctuation tends to become semi-standardized, or formalized, so that all speakers of the language use basic pitch sequences in similar ways under similar circumstances. These abstracted characteristic sentence melodies may be called *intonation contours*. ... In English, many intonation contours are explicit in meaning. Whenever a certain sequence of relative pitches is heard, one concludes that the speaker means certain things over and above the specific meanings of the words themselves. A change of pitch contour will change the meaning of the sentence.”<sup>18</sup> (Pike 1972, p. 53)

Emotive intonation does not point only on one word or one utterance, rather it might cover other words or phrases, too. It might even be justified by the syntactical structure of the whole speech act. To achieve this level, when speaking in a foreign language, means to have deeply internalized the mind of the people speaking that language. This process takes a long time and many hours of imitation exercises. Imitation means to try to modulate one’s own voice on the sound of the foreign language, on the many pitches typical, in our case, of the English language,

---

<sup>18</sup>“La voce non è solo lo strumento di realizzazione del piano del significante, ed in quanto tale, in un certo senso ancella del significato, ma è anche strumento, per così dire, autoreferenziale, portatore e generatore di sensi in sé, in una dimensione olistica, iconica, in cui significante e significato tendono a coincidere: ...” (De Dominicis 2002, p. 52). Cf. Hughes et al. (2005), Ladefoged and Johnson (2011), Locke et al. (1956), Schneider et al. (2004).

so many that “the American thinks the Britisher is ‘singing’ rather than speaking normally” (Hall 1972, p. 283).

“... one can detect the rhythm of ... a piece of music. ... It has often been claimed that English speech is rhythmical ... The theory that English has stress-timed rhythm implies that stressed syllables will tend to occur at relatively regular intervals whether they are separated by unstressed syllables or not; ... Many foreign learners of English are made to practise speaking English with a regular rhythm, often with the teacher beating time or clapping hands on the stressed syllables. It must be pointed out, however, that the evidence for the existence of stress-timed rhythm is not strong.”<sup>19</sup> (Roach 1983, pp. 102–103)

To be able to control one’s own voice is not an easy matter, even for mother-tongue speakers. Intonation and prosody, often helped by paralinguistic features, reveal inner thoughts and reactions, most of the time not sufficiently masked by the structure of the sentences. Talking with a clear, well-modulated, pleasant voice that attracts and captures the listener’s interest is a virtue that requires practice and attention.

Since any people develop, either personal intonation (contours showing physiological/psychological states like anger or happiness or reactions to a certain atmosphere) or formal pitch sequences typical of the mother tongue spoken, the foreign speaker needs to learn these features, otherwise, his/her communication will be compromised, and s/he will soon be labelled as a foreigner with a bad accent and a low knowledge of the language. A wrong intonation contour, always considering the context, besides altering the intrinsic lexical meaning of the utterance, might also confuse the listener who is not able to pair the speaker’s kinesic features (facial expression, body movements, distance, etc.) with paralinguistic signals (pitch, volume, modulation, tone, etc.). If, for example, an Italian student of English utters an interrogative (e.g., Where are you going?) following only the native rising intonation contour, s/he might be misinterpreted as adding a sense of reproach to a simple question. Such a shift of meaning is only determined by the fact that he interprets everything in terms of his own language. The student should become aware of the differences as well as the similarities between the mother tongue and the foreign language; similarities we can find more easily from the intonation side if the learner is Italian and s/he is learning Arabic. Rather, the differences, as above stressed, are related to the phonetic production of emphatic, guttural and vocal stops letters.

Generally speaking, students are not able to distinguish and even to perceive an *up* from *down* tone. This phenomenon regulates the listening of our mother tongue, too. When mother tongue speakers listen to somebody, very rarely perceive differences related to pitches or tones, and when they perceive them, these do not disturb listening comprehension, because, as O’Conner (1976) says “we accept as being ‘the same’” without considering them under an articulatory, acoustic or perceptual strict category. We have to add that, mother-tongue speakers, even though they do not focus on different tones and pitches, automatically produce

---

<sup>19</sup> Arabic, like English has a stress-timed rhythm.



and understand their mother tongue helped by natural language acquisition; rather foreign students need to be systematically instructed about pronunciation and intonation if we want them to achieve good communicative results. This problem is increased since languages have more than one allophone corresponding to the same symbol (in English, for example, two allophones are representing the same phoneme 'p', one is exploded-aspirated with a puff of air following it [p<sup>h</sup>] as in *pin*, the other is unexploded as in *spin* or *capture*; the *t* sound in the words *hit*, *tip* and *little* have different allophones because even though phonemically they are considered to be the same sound they are very different phonetically in terms of aspiration, voicing and point of articulation). The problem is difficult to face since different languages have different numbers of phonemes (c and b in cat and bat are different phonemes) and different allophones to represent them, so it is easy for the students of foreign languages to associate one foreign sound to a similar sound of the mother tongue, thus, pairing the two of them.

"We ignore differences of individual voice quality and of absolute voice pitch as between men, women and children; we certainly notice them and act upon them, but we are able to go beyond the differences to a sameness which is essential to communication as a social activity." (O'Conner 1976, p. 121)

If we start from the general consideration that intonation and prosody are essential features which highlight the speaker's intention, interest, attitude and responsibility about the topic discussed among natives, even more, the concern will be when speakers of different countries meet for communicative purposes. Phonetics, phonology and prosody should be subjects included in the school curriculum even for native speakers, for both students and teachers.

In brief, the course here suggested might go through four steps: 1) to learn how to pronounce the single phoneme, 2) to understand its mechanism, 3) to include it within words, 4) and to give it the right intonation while being aware of the exact position of the mouth, lips and tongue (Figure 3). These steps become essential aids during a foreign language plan because the student should be aware not only of the different intonation patterns related to the foreign language, but also of the exact pronunciation of isolated phonemes, first, and then of these within words and phrases. The care of one's own voice (how to modulate, soften, enrich, etc.) as well as a proper physical exercise of the muscles of the vocal tract, is a valuable practice of great effectiveness because it will highlight the difference between the phonetic and phonological system belonging to the two languages (the mother tongue and the foreign language). To pursue this aim, of course, we need a collegial participation of the teachers of a) the mother tongue, b) the foreign language, and c) the researchers of the department of Experimental Phonetics handling with care both spectrographs and the laryngographs.

**Figure 3.** *The Mouth Positions*

Source: Phonetic Laboratory.

A final consideration should be debated, that is the one related to our global world, which is called multilingual and multiracial, only because there is a huge migration flow of people from their own land to new countries either for improving their standard of life or because forced by miserable conditions in their motherland. Under these circumstances, multilingualism and multiculturalism do not involve the natives, but simply migrants who have to learn the language of the host country just to survive. With so many languages and cultures around us it is simply unacceptable to ignore them and to study only English because its knowledge will offer better working opportunities. Plurilingualism should be the answer for two reasons 1) because it will save many languages from extinction, 2) because it will help migrants to feel less isolated, offering them the occasion to teach their languages, and so the natives may take advantage of mother-tongue speakers, and 3) because it will enrich both the mind and the mother tongue, besides facilitating the learning of English as *lingua franca*; a language nobody must ignore any longer. It has been proved that the more languages you know the easier their learning will be.

“The last speakers of probably half of the world’s languages are alive today. As they grow old and die, their voices will fall silent. Their children and grandchildren – by overwhelming majority – will either choose not to learn or will be deprived of the opportunity to learn the ancestral language. Most of the world’s languages have never been written down anywhere or scientifically described. We do not even know what exactly we stand to lose – for science, for humanity, for posterity – when languages die. An immense edifice of human knowledge, painstakingly assembled over millennia by countless minds, is eroding, vanishing into oblivion. ... many linguists now predict that by the end of our current twenty-first century – the year 2101 – only about half of these languages may still be spoken.” (Harrison 2007, p. 3)

Then culture, which is a feature strictly linked to language, will help to achieve better cognitions not only for young children but for adults, too, who will gain a more tolerant attitude towards the other, often viewed as an enemy only because s/he is a stranger with different customs and religions (D’Acerno Canonici 2021).

## **The Brain**

During the foreign language learning growth, the creative function is central, just because language is a creative process.

“In acquiring a language, a child does not memorize the utterances he hears; rather, he somehow utilizes these utterances to construct for himself a grammar, that is, a collection of rules in accordance with which he can produce and understand an unlimited number of utterances, many of them new to him and not similar in any significant sense to those previously encountered. The rules that constitute the grammar of a particular speaker determine in detail the form of the sentences that the speaker will produce and understand.” (Chomsky and Halle 1968, p. 249)

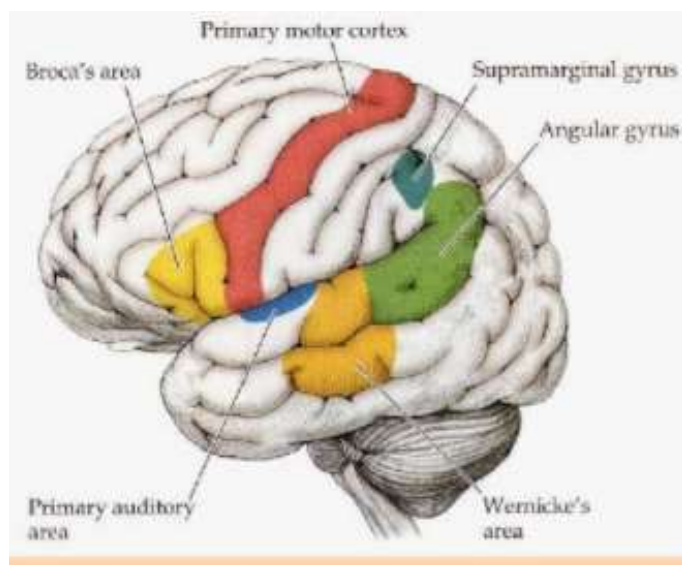
As Chomsky attested, the speaker always creates new sentences, even sentences never heard before, and this happens because of both the structure of the brain and the inborn attitude for learning languages. The brain, in fact, stores all the knowledge received, and, uses that knowledge when it is necessary. Considering foreign languages, the brain, time by time, accumulates the new notions referred to grammar, syntax, vocabulary, intonation, stress, etc., and processes them. It interiorizes them, and when the stimuli arrive, all the previous knowledge is ready for use. During this procedure, the brain does not work in isolation, but collaborates with the ear, the muscles of the vocal area, the lungs, the larynx, the tongue, the lips by sending them the input received and previously stored. It is a complex neurological activity which takes time when learning both the mother and the foreign language, and it relies principally on repetition and memorization of words, phonemes and the whole of the new information related to the foreign language.

Let us explain how the brain is influenced by the exercise of repeating utterances and single phonemes. During the training of phonetic and phonological foreign utterances, students are helped by the brain plasticity, which activates, besides the sensory system, the movement system, too (Figure 4). Control of movements adapts to the changing demands, thanks to neural plasticity. It is a question of reflexes, controlled by neural circuits either in the spinal cord or in the brainstem. Our reflexes can be trained in order to be increased, or even suppressed. In brief, by changing the stimuli of the reflexes (increasing, reducing or suppressing), we might alter body movements, which depend on controlling reflexes according to the signals coming from the motor cortex. It is a circuit caused by of the neural plasticity which strengthens the synapses, which in turn activate the reflexes.

**Figure 4. Body and Brain**

Source: Wikipedia.

In conclusion, brain plasticity works in favour of muscle movements (Figure 5). In our case, when viewed under the foreign language learning perspective, it favours the movements of the muscles of the vocal tract, which move into the position required by the linguistic stimuli received. If the stimuli belong to the mother tongue, the signal received is already familiar, and there is no training for the muscles to follow; rather, if the brain receives a new signal, it will send new input to the muscles that have to prepare to provide new movements and new forms of stretching. The neural plasticity adapts the muscles to acquire new shapes in order to emit new sounds. The brain, the reflexes and the muscles reorganize their functions and, because of their flexibility satisfy the new linguistic stimuli.

**Figure 5. The Brain**

Source: Wikipedia.

Recent studies have suggested that the only difference between an adult and a child while learning foreign languages is during the acquisition of pronunciation, since the muscle of the vocal tract have not been trained enough for the production of foreign sounds. This skill is so problematic because the muscles have acquired the shape for the emission of sounds belonging to the phonemes and phonology related to the mother tongue. New researches have revealed the incredible neural flexibility of the developing (and aging) brain. Karni et al. (1995) demonstrated expansion of cortical involvement in performance of motor tasks following additional learning in other words, the cortical map can change even in adulthood in response to enriched environmental or learning experiences (Genesee 2000). It is the cerebellum, however, which mainly regulates and coordinates not only movement but posture, balance and motor learning (D'Acierno 2015, cf. Genesee 2000, Karni et al. 1995; Greenenough et al. 1993).

Repetition, oral practice and a lot of patience reformulate the structure of the brain, that of our body as well as that of our behaviour. Of course, as already pointed out, repetition, as experienced by the child, linked to empathy, will guide the student during the whole of the foreign language learning process following the child's steps. The child not only repeats what has heard after the adult aloud, but he continues his exercise by repeating himself. Repetition is a skill that comes after imitation; imitation of the teacher's movements of the lips and the tongue, imitation of his/her intonation after mastering the formal acquisition of the phonetic and phonological 'rules', and after visualizing the voice on the screen of specialized instruments. This brain plasticity never finishes, because the new stimuli generate new synapses which reinvigorate the human brain at any age, even slowing the aging consequences.

"That muscles reflexes can be made more active and easier to elicit by training is another sign of how use can affect the function, which can be explained by neural plasticity being accomplished by training where activation of neural plasticity can make synapses less effective and thereby weakening reflexes. ... learning to speak as a child involves neural plasticity that is activated through training. Later in life, learning to pronounce unfamiliar words requires involvement of neural plasticity for proper activation of the many different muscles that are involved in speech production. Training is necessary for being able to pronounce unfamiliar words, but after some attempts it becomes natural. That means neural circuits have been changed appropriately to produce a new series of commands to muscles. Training of muscles function involved in speaking can make it easy to pronounce such unfamiliar words. The skill remains for a long time, often forever." (Møller 2009, p. 65)

In essence, every detail belonging to the sound of the foreign language is analysed by the whole body before being able to produce it. If the learner has been sufficiently instructed to recognize the sounds s/he hears, through a well-planned course in phonetics and prosody, his/her ear will be able to recognize all the nuances of the spoken language by sending impulses to the brain, which in turn, sends commands to the lungs, the vocal cord, the tongue, the jaw, the lips. When the student realizes that there is no gap between the written and the oral language, and also, there is no gap between his language and that spoken by a native speaker,

s/he will enjoy the learning and will proceed with more enthusiasm. On the other hand, if the course has not offered this global view of the language, the written and the spoken skills will remain separate, betraying the real essence of the tongue. For the unfortunate learner the foreign language will remain foreign for ever. Rather, language is a single unit made of both the written and the oral skills, being always creative, but meanwhile, respecting its linguistic system.

## **Methodology**

The methodology suggested here, in other words an approach stressing the role of phonetics, phonology and prosody, takes its implications from personal studies and researches on bilingualism, plurilingualism, language growth in both children and deaf population, as well as from anthropological studies about how language achieves communication helped by the context in which the message evolves, also helped by the environment from which the speech act matures because of certain types of inputs that stimulate the message (D'Acerno 1990).

The aim is to let students acquire a linguistic competence that will embrace pronunciation, intonation, grammar, syntax, including socio-cultural features, as one of the main means of communication (Hymes 1971). A linguistic competence that will offer the occasion to interact either as listeners/addresser or as hearer/addressee. I do not mean that students have to be forced to become perfect mother-tongue speakers (this will surely demotivate them, since for an adult is very difficult), but they should be stimulated to improve their oral performance as much as possible. Teachers have to plan the course according to the learners' expectations never questioning about their ability.

Since the spoken language is a gift for most people, while the written ability is more limited, I think that emphasis should be, in any case, to improve the 'Verb', the 'Word', the speech, the oral language, which is used more commonly and more often in order to give and receive information of any kind, from a simple request at the greengrocer's to a formal question during a conference. Within these features the voice becomes central.

In conclusion, to convince people that phonetics, phonology and intonation are the pillars of any foreign language planning, and they require a great deal of patience and practice, we have to stress that 1) speech is a highly skilled motor activity, which can be studied as part of the general study of movement, 2) speech is also a type of sound, generating sound waves which can be compared with other types of sounds from the perspective of general acoustics, and 3) falling the language under the category of sound, it is associated with music, so it has to respect certain tones, vibrations, intonation and rhythm in order to represent correctly the notes (phonemes) to be played/spoken. Under these premises, speech becomes an important skill which needs 1) to hear and recognize sounds, 2) to practice them many times, so to facilitate the muscles of the vocal tract to acquire the regular elasticity to produce all the allophones belonging to the language studied, and 3) to achieve an adequate intonation respecting the formal scheme typical of the foreign language. Once these essential features have been mastered,

the speaker will be able to add also his/her own intonation, so to show his/her attitude toward the topic discussed without altering the content of discourse.

In essence, how we do with gymnastics and music, when we repeat the same physical exercise or we practice the same sheet-music every day for so many times, so we will ask our students to do with the foreign language sound system.

“Language and music define us as human. These traits appear in every society, no matter what other aspects of culture are absent. ... The central role of music and language in human existence and the fact that both involve complex and meaningful sound sequences naturally invite comparison between the two domains. Yet from the standpoint of modern cognitive science, music-language relations have barely begun to be explored. ... Focusing on commonalities over differences claims that these two domains, although having specialized representations (such as pitch intervals in music, and nouns and verbs in language), share a number of basic processing mechanisms, and that the comparative study of music and language provides a powerful way to explore these mechanisms.” (Patel 1998, p. 2–4)

The brain, too, works for the three subjects in the same way, because it has to a) memorize and b) recognize the inputs in order to send commands to the physical organs (muscles, ears), to the mind requiring concentration, and to our soul in order to stimulate the right emotions needed to perform each act. In addition to the physical specific organs required for each exercise (legs, or arms – in the gym, arms and finger when playing a musical instrument, muscles of the glottis, and cultural body movements when speaking a language), visual aids, too, become essential for any of these activities, since they add motivation coming from the feedback we receive during our communicative or physical or musical performance.

Teaching how to speak a foreign language, in an adult subject, needs 1) to emphasize the exact pronunciation of single phonemes first, 2) to let students visualize the position of the tongue, the lips, and 3) to feel the vibration of the vocal cords helped by images showing the internal position of the organs. Once the learner associates each phoneme to a specific position, the brain memorizes it, and after a series of exercises the brain will automatically send the input to the organs implied. In more abstract terms, learning a new speech sound involves the brain to recognize it and send it to each area deputed to language, so the speech organs adopt a new position, after acquiring a new flexibility; at last, the brain associates this new activity with a new and distinct auditory percept. During this process, students may be led to a new awareness of their own vocal organs, especially if they have never studied any foreign language. By starting with the sound of the alphabet, students and teachers will be helped to face pronunciation more practically. They have a few steps to follow: 1) to listen to the sound; 2) to produce a vocal imitation of it as many times as possible; 3) to become aware of the muscles of the glottis implied; 4) to listen to the sound once more, and 5) to reproduce and record it, so to compare the original sound with one's own. During all these steps the visual and vocal organs, as well as the brain, are implied, also involving emotions like motivation, shyness, hesitancy, self-confidence, etc. etc. All these feelings have a heavy weight during the foreign language learning

process and might even disturb the acquisition of the new tongue. It is the teacher's duty to motivate even adult university students by using all the strategies he/she thinks useful to raise their interest. One device, I have experimented with my learners, is to cover, during the language course, also cultural habits, enriched with anecdotes and personal experiences in the foreign country. In so doing, the lesson becomes less monotonous, while providing cultural details involving the real life of the foreign people; it will also link formal and informal language to habits and behaviour. This happens because language is a vital process, which follows the speakers' life, shaped on, and at the same time shaping the environment and the context it belongs to. The utterances pronounced are not isolated pieces of language, they inevitably match with both content and cultural background.

The acoustic signal defines the common ground between the study of speech production and the study of speech perception. Experimental phonetics includes at least some aspects of both the study of speech production and the study of speech perception.

Stress on phonetics is not a new study, rather it is a new strategy not yet enough appreciated and applied to foreign language teaching. The various nuances of intonation give shape to the spoken communication. During speech, the accent, the rhythm, and the stress we put on some words make plain the significant distinction of meaning more than the grammar and the vocabulary chosen. In addition to the exact intonation, also the pronunciation of single words has to follow established phonetic patterns, otherwise the words not only lose their meaning, but most importantly, mislead the whole message. When the learner has achieved an acceptable level on intonation, s/he can use and also recognize those patterns of pitch that imply a more personal attitude. This evidence is much clearer when the spectrograph let us visualize the different pitches of our voice related to the same sentence, each time meaning differently, according to the event within a specific context: e.g., *I thought you were going to the party* (but you did not or you did). If the same sentence is included in a written text, it will be the whole essay to offer the exact meaning after a strict analysis of the events described and the general syntactical structure employed. Rather, we cannot hazard any hypothesis about the meaning of an oral speech if we are not able to distinguish the many nuances related to intonation.

Anyway, even though Phonetics is still considered a second-hand branch compared to syntax and grammar, we must appreciate Bloomfield's interest for this area. For him in 1934, language was a string of phonemes: "a sequence of 'strings' of morphemes and ... language would actually consist of such units and it was the task of the linguist to establish what they were and how they related to one another and the other (smaller) units of the language" (Bloomfield 1933, p. 274). His theory was associated with the 'mechanistic' point of view, opposing the mentalists, because he thought that language should be examined in scientific terms. Of course, Palmer, at that time, did not agree with him and to prove his opposition he used, as examples, words like *love* or *hate*, which cannot be reduced to a scientific element of analysis like the word *salt* Bloomfield used to prove his theory. Moreover, Palmer pointed out that also another of Bloomfield's prediction was false. He referred to the fact that also the oral language with its phonemes, sounds



and the like, could never be defined in purely physical terms in specific laboratories, because at that time they had only an automatic typewriter “that can take dictation and is still a long way from perfection ...there has been no simple machine that will simply convert speech into written symbols” (Palmer 1975, pp. 107–109). We all know now that Bloomfield’s prediction was truthful. In fact, the spectrum let us visualize sound waves, tones, pitches, length, stress, etc. providing us with a valuable task when comparing voices, in order to push our motivation to earn a better imitation of mother-tongue speakers. The student achieves a better speech perception when s/he is able to recognize and identify individual phonetic elements as well as the whole intonation and length of a complete utterance. Speech perception is also applied to the study of word recognition, because by visualizing the rhythm of the whole sentence it is easier to isolate and recognize single words. During a speech act, words are strictly linked one another.

## Conclusions

I hope that the almost satisfactory results obtained after the combination of audio and written discourse will surely stimulate the future plans related to the teaching of any foreign language, but in particular of English which has become the only language used all over the world during international meetings. We cannot accept listening to low-level English; it disturbs the whole communicative act, even belonging to very interesting matters, and interrupts important commercial transactions.

Testing pronunciation and intonation was not contemplated in the past. Nowadays, it seems that this area related to foreign languages is gaining space and time, helped by spectrographs that immediately give their answer by making possible a strictly and accurate comparison between the mother-tongue’s voice and that of the student, thus, stimulating her/his interest and desire to achieve better results. In so doing, s/he gains an insight into the real problems concerning communicative competence. Achieving communicative competence will mean to satisfy both the teacher and the learner’s expectations. On the contrary the language/teaching process will be betrayed:

“... the harm that we do our students by not teaching them a foreign language or by teaching it as if it were just different words from those of our own language lies in the false idea they will hold of what it means to learn a foreign language. They will never be ready to struggle to pronounce things in different sound units, different intonation, different rhythm and stress, different constructions, and even different units of meaning unless they realize that this is exactly what’s involved in learning a foreign language, and that although learning those things will require effort, often dull and uninteresting, the rewards for the effort will be great.” (Lado 1981, p. 8)

The road is still long and difficult, and courses in phonetics and pronunciation are nowadays more widely spread on the computer through You Tube. We principally rely on students and their motivation to take advantage from the many courses offered by audio-video programs related to phonetics phonology and

pronunciation, very often also adding phonetic transcription using I.P.A. Even cellular phones, which I use as much as I can, also during the basic English and Arabic lessons offer each student quick evidence of perfect pronunciation. We hope that the above-described technological instruments (spectrographs and laryngographs) will, at last, find their road towards the foreign language teaching/learning process without remaining limited to improve comprehension within the field of language disorders. I hope this research will support those who really believe that the sound of the voice comes before the written system, and it is the real beginning of everything, as we learn in the sacred texts from the Ancient Hindus to the Old Testament, the Gospel of John and the Holy Qur'ān. In these books the Word, the Word of God guides people for all their life.

John1: 1 In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.

The ancient Egyptians had Thōth, “the power of the name, and no creature animate or inanimate could be said to have an existence until its name was called. ... In the Ancient Hindu writings, speech is personified as a goddess, Vāk. ... To the Ancient Hindus the world was created by ‘verbal being’ with ‘the world building power’ of Vāk. God created the world by saying *bhū*. ... The speech of man gave him special power in the performance of sacrifices and in the recitation of the *mantras* or fixed and prescribed language forms .... In the Tāntras the meaning of all speech as well as of the *mantras* is its magical ‘power.’ A *mantra* is the living symbol of a deity, and its meaning is its power. In other words, the meaning of God is the power of his Name” (Firth 1937, pp. 4–5).

Indeed, *Kun* (كُنْ), *Fiat*, is the command God gave the universe to be, to exist, and then, the world came into existence: *Fayakun* (فَيَكُنْ). The sound of this single word pronounced by God had the power to give life to a complex nature, as well as to a more intricate nurture process involving the human being. The association of sound and speech has been established from the beginning, thus, becoming the very first element in the universe. In fact, in Arabic the verb reduces the infinitive form to a noun and calls it *masdar* (مَصْدَر) which means *source*, *origin*, reminding that before the action there is the verb<sup>20</sup>.

To sum up, whatever the origin of the language either divine (early chapters of Genesis – God’s gift) or natural, the real problems about its evolution started after Sir William Jones’ discovery of Sanskrit in the seventeen-eighties. But the problem related to language evolution had always occupied the human mind. Socrates, while leading a discussion with Plato in the *Cratylus*, came across words that he supposed to be not of Greek origins rather belonging to barbarian neighbours, whose language was unknown to the Greeks. Rousseau’s essay the *Origin of Languages* (around 1750), in which we read about the relation of language to music, is considered the landmark of the discussion between the old and the new perspectives concerning the origin of language. The imperfection of language held by Herder was the focal point to sustain the natural evolution of

<sup>20</sup>The noun *Kalam* (speech كالم) is the science related to God’s word (علم الكالم).

language. Then, Rask, Grimm, Bopp, and Friedrich Schlegel's *The Language and Wisdom of the Indians*, in which it was faced for the first time a comparative analysis between Sanskrit and some of the European languages (Greek, Latin and German) gave a further push to the theory concerning the natural evolution of language. Max Müller's *The Science of Language* (1861) aimed at analysing language from a scientific point of view similar to that applied to geology, anatomy, etc. Richard Albert Wilson, in his book *The Miraculous Birth of Language*, pairs the world evolution to that of language; in brief he claims that when the human mind was able to perceive notion related to time and space, because "conscious reason emerged in man" (Wilson 1949, p. 154). Once these notions were established language acquired its real dimension: "*Form*," or shape, is the natural expression of space; *sound*, is the natural and direct expression of time. On the passive side the eye is the receiving organ of the expressions of space, the ear of the expression of time" (Wilson 1949, p. 158). At this point Wilson poses this question: "Which of these two, the space-forms of *shape* or the time-forms of *sound*, was to prove the natural raw material of language?" he answers this question by saying that "Oral speech is a more universal medium of communication" because it is more practical, even compared to gesture-speech: "It can be heard in the dark, or on the other side of a wall, or while the person's back is turned; while sign-speech requires light for the eye to see, and can only be received when the eye is turned in that direction and no object intervenes. Sound radiates from the speaker in every direction in a way that gesture-speech does not" (Wilson 1949, p. 159). When analysing the origin of speech, Wilson connects it to the mind and points out that both thinking and sound are connected to time, the first is a time process while the latter a time expression: "thought and oral expression become merely the inward and outward sides of a single time-movement. ... Primitive man everywhere apparently felt the causal connection between the two, and acted on the impulse of his feeling in using sound in his very first steps in language." He proceeds by examining also the connection between thinking and the vocal tract; so close an association lasted for so long that the muscles of the phonetic apparatus shaped in such a way to be able to produce sounds and their variables.

"Even in silent thinking we are conscious of a corresponding movement by the vocal organs when we attend to it, though no audible sound issues from the lips." (Wilson 1949, p. 162)

When Wilson faces the problem related to the birth of the written language, he focuses on the urgency to link time to space, too, in order to materialize, to give language a shape similar to an object. In so doing while the sound hits the ear people felt the urgency to visualize it so they convert sounds into signs: "by the *conventionalization* of natural sounds, by transmuting *sounds* into *sound symbols*, ... the conventionalized sound symbol into which it is converted may express either time or space. This is what has actually been done in every human language. ... the two sounds have been differentiated so as to express space and time with equal facility. ... This is what constitutes language, and has enabled man to elaborate a complete space-time world of mind which rises above the space-time

world of nature, and gradually approximates towards a complete mental counterpart of it.” (Wilson 1949, p. 167).

## Acknowledgments

Many thanks to the Neurological Department in Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois USA for showing me some of their researches, and to the colleagues Mario Pettorino and Donatella Locchi at University L’Orientale who gave me the chance to attend the Phonetic laboratory, when I was a researcher at Università L’Orientale in Napoli (Italy).

## References

- Abberton E, Fourcin AJ (1975) Visual feedback and the acquisition of intonation. In EH Lenneberg, E Lenneberg (eds.), *Foundations of Language Development*, volume 2. London: Academic Press New York.
- Ashby M, Maidment J (2005) *Introducing phonetic science*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Bloomfield L (1933) *Language*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Brown R (1958) *Words and things*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- Chomsky N, Halle M (1968) *The sound pattern of English*. New York, Evanston, and London: Harper & Row Publisher.
- D’Acerno MR (1990) Three types of bilingualism. In *Versione Integrale e da IATEFL News Letter* N. 4, April.
- D’Acerno MR (2015) The inter-relationships between language, music and movement pattern learning. *Athens Journal of Sport* 2(1): 17–30.
- D’Acerno Canonici MR (2021) *The evolution of the idea of God: a socio-anthropological perspective*. Rome: Irfan Edition.
- De Dominicis A (2002) *La voce come bene culturale*. (The voice as a cultural asset). Roma: Carocci.
- Firth JR (1937) *The tongues of men and speech*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Genesee F (2000) Brain research: implications for second language learning. In *ERIC DIGEST, Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics*. Washington D.C., USA.
- Greenenough WT, Black JE, Wallace CS (1993) Experience and brain development. In M Johnson (ed.), *Brain Development and Cognition*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gunter R (1972) Intonation and relevance. In D Bollinger (ed.), *Intonation*. England: Penguin Books.
- Hall RA (1972) Elgar and the intonation of British English. In D Bollinger (ed.), *Intonation*. England: Penguin Books.
- Harrison KD (2007) *When languages die*. Oxford University Press.
- Hoff E (2001) *Language development*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson.
- Hughes A, Trudgill P, Watt D (2005) *English accents and dialects: an introduction to social and regional varieties of English in the British Isles*. 4th Edition. London: Hodder Arnold.
- Hymes DH (1971) *On communicative competence*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press.
- Jacobson R (1968) *Child language, aphasia, and phonological universals*. The Hague: Mouton.

- Jacobson R, Halle M (1956) Phonemic patterning. In *Fundamentals of Language*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Karni A, Meyer G, Jezard P, Adams MM, Turner R, Ungerleider LG (1995) Functional MRI evidence for adult motor complex plasticity during motor skill learning. *Nature* 377(6545): 155–158.
- Ladefoged P, Johnson K (2011) *A Course in Phonetics*. 6th Edition. Stamford, Wadsworth: Cengage Learning Press.
- Lado R (1981) *Linguistics across cultures*. Ann Arbor, USA: The University of Michigan Press.
- Locke JL (1983) *Phonological acquisition and change*. London: Academic Press New York.
- Locke JL, Jacobson R, Halle M (1956) *Phonemic patterning in fundamentals of language*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Møller AR (2009) *The malleable brain: benefits and harm from plasticity of the brain*. New York: Nova Biomedical Books.
- O’Conner JD (1976) *Phonetics*. England: Penguin Books.
- Palmer F (1975) *Grammar*. England: Penguin Books.
- Patel AD (1998) *Music, language, and the brain*. Oxford University Press.
- Pike KL (1972) General characteristics of intonation. In D Bollinger (ed.), *Intonation*. England: Penguin Books.
- Py B (1996) Reflection, conceptualisation and exolingistic interaction: observations on the role of the first language. *Language Awareness* 5(3–4): 179–187.
- Read C (1978) Children’s awareness of language with emphasis on sound systems. In A Sinclair, RV Jarvella, WJM Levelt (eds.), *The Child’s Conception of Language*. Berlin: Springer Verlag.
- Roach P (1983) *English phonetics and phonology*. Cambridge University Press.
- Schneider E, Burridge K, Kortmann B, Mesthrie R, Upton C (2004) *A handbook of varieties of English*, volume 1. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Searle JR (1997) *Expression and meaning*. U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith F (1975) Spoken and written language. In EH Lenneberg, E Lenneberg (eds.), *Foundations of Language Development*, volume 2. London: Academic Press New York.
- Weir RW (1966) Some questions on the child’s learning of phonology. In F Smith, GA Müller (eds.), *The Genesis of Language*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Wells J (1982) *Accents of English*, volumes 1–3. Cambridge: CUP.
- Wilson RA (1949) *The miraculous birth of language*. London: J.M. Dent and Sons LTD.



## Greek, Latin, Sanskrit and Tamil: The Meaning of the Word Ἐρυθρὰν in Erythraean Sea

By D Pugazhendhi\*

*Ἐρυθρὰν of Greek and Erythraeos of Latin denote a portion of ocean. From the Greek word ἐρεῦθων, it is thought that the sea is red in colour and so got its name, the Red Sea. There is also another thought that the name of the sea is not due to its colour, but the first person who crossed this sea was called Erythras, and so the sea is named after him. The research that has been done so far has taken into account the Greek and Persian language root to this word, but has not yet reached a final conclusion. Tamil Nadu also has a remarkable place in this connection. In the word Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν, “Ery” means “throw” both in Greek and Tamil and “thrae” means hair in Greek and “wave” in Tamil. The word “thrae” has a common meaning which is that of either a group, or in general any gathering of a small number of objects. Thus, Ἐρυθρὰν of Greek and Erythraeos of Latin has the meaning of ‘throwing ocean wave’ in Tamil. In studying the other word Περίπλους (Περί + πλους), of Περίπλους της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης, the first part of the word, Περί, means big or long and the latter part of the word πλους, which is the metathesis of πόλεις has the meaning land or city. Thus the words Περίπλους της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης has the meaning – “the cities or the lands of the ocean of throwing waves”. It is well known that both the Greeks and Romans had a flourishing sea trade with Tamil Nadu in the ancient period of history and there was ample possibility of words being borrowed from Tamil to Greek.*

**Keywords:** Erythraean Sea, Greek, Latin, sea trade, Tamil Nadu

### Introduction

Many are aware of the Red Sea, but may not know the reason for calling it so. Only a few know the ancient name of the Red Sea, and when looked by its name, has a lot of hidden mysteries.

### Ἐρυθρὰν Θάλατταν (Red Sea)

The ancient literary sources of Greek mention a sea name called Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν; this is translated as “Red Sea.”

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν διελθόντες εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἐξερεύγονται θάλατταν. Diod. 2.11. 2, 3	After this they pass through Babylonia and empty into the Red (Ἐρυθρὰν) Sea. (Oldfather 1989)
--	---

---

\* Associate Professor, Tamil Nadu Nandanam Government Arts College, India.

The ancient literary sources of Latin also mention the name of the same sea. Here it is translated as Indian Ocean (Heraeus 1976).

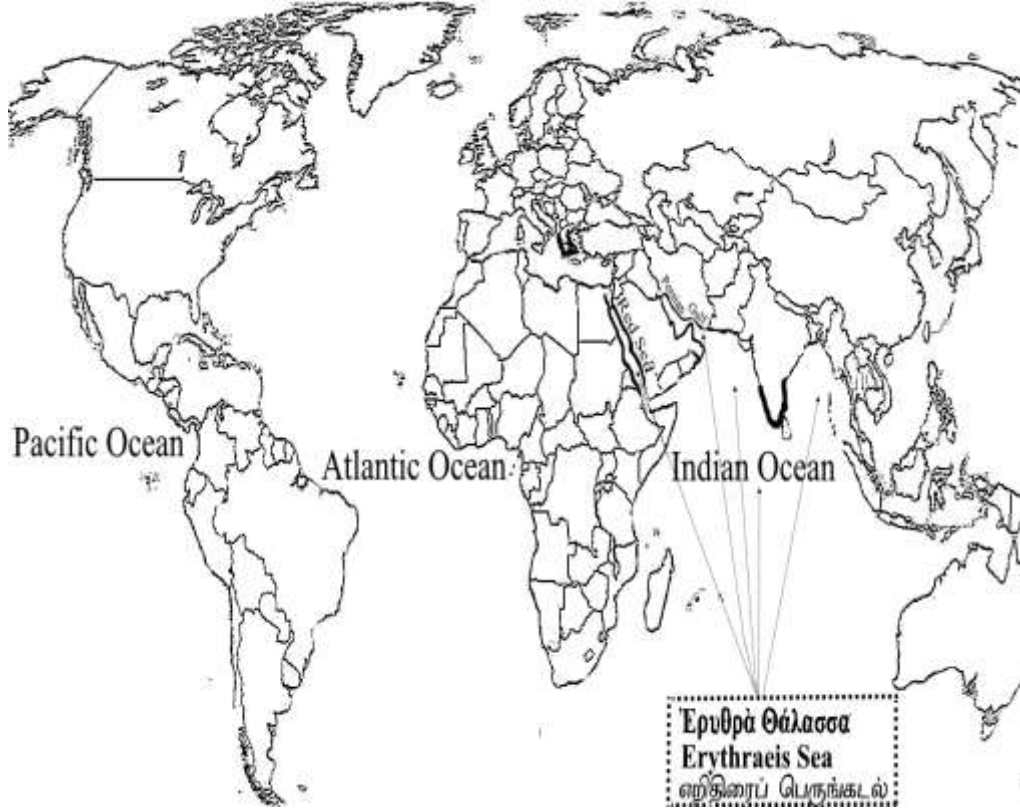
Puella senibus dulcior mihi cygnis,  
 Agna Galaesi mollior Phalantini,  
 Concha Lucrini delicatior stagni,  
 Cui nec lapillos praeferas **Erythraeos**,  
 5. Nec modo politum pecudis Indicae  
 dentem  
 Nivesque primas liliumque non tactum;

Martial, Epigrammata 5. 37.

Child, more sweet to me than the song  
 of aged swans, more tender than a lamb  
 of Phalantine Galaesus, more delicate  
 than a shell of the Lucrine lake; you to  
 whom no one could prefer the pearls of  
 the **Indian Ocean**, or the newly  
 polished tooth of the Indian elephant, or  
 the newly fallen snow, or tho untouched  
 lily;

Thus, the words Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν of Greek and Erythraeos of Latin sometimes denote Red Sea, and at other instances denote Indian Ocean or Arabian Sea or Bay of Bengal as depicted in the Figure 1.

**Figure 1.** Location of the Erythraeos or Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν



### Significance of the Location

There were two trade routes between Europe and Asia. One route was by land and the other by sea. The way through the land was called the Silk Road; along the path of the sea, Erythraeos or Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν has an important place. From the



many articles that were transported through this sea route, the much valued pearls from Pandion Country<sup>21</sup> in the Tamil land finds a special mention here (Pugazhendhi 2021a) (Heraeus 1976).

9. Splendet *Erythraeis* perlucida moecha Your mistress shines resplendent  
lapillis, with *Erythraean pearls*;  
Martial, Epigrammata 9. 2.

The pearls<sup>22</sup> are mentioned as Erythraean pearls in Latin literature. At many times silk was the main material of trade and transport along the silk route and also through sea route (Warmington 1928)<sup>23</sup>. This was due to a problem that was raised in the silk route (Żuchowska 2013)<sup>24</sup> as shown in the Figure 2.

<sup>21</sup>59. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Κομαρεῖ ἐκτείνουσα (πρὸς τὸν νότον) χώρα μέχρι Κόλχων, ἐν ἣ κολύμβησις τοῦ πινικοῦ ἐστίν· ἀπὸ δὲ κατακρίσιμων κατεργάζεται· ὑπὸ τὸν βασιλέα Πανδίωνά ἐστι. Μετὰ δὲ Κόλχους ἐκδέχεται πρότερος \* αἰγιαλὸς ἐν κόλπῳ κείμενος, ἔχων χῶρον μεσόγειον, λεγόμενον Ἀργάλου· ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ \* τερονεῖται τὸ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν Ἠπιοδώρου [νῆσον] συλλεγόμενον πινικόν· φέρονται γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς σινδόνες, \* ἐβαργαρεῖτιδες λεγόμεναι.

Περίπλους της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης

59. From Comari toward the south this region extends to Colchi, where the pearl-fisheries are; and it belongs to the Pandian Kingdom. Beyond Colchi there follows another district called the Coast Country, which lies on a bay, and has a region inland called Argaru. At this place, and nowhere else, are bought the pearls gathered on the coast thereabouts; and from there are exported muslins, those called Argaritic.

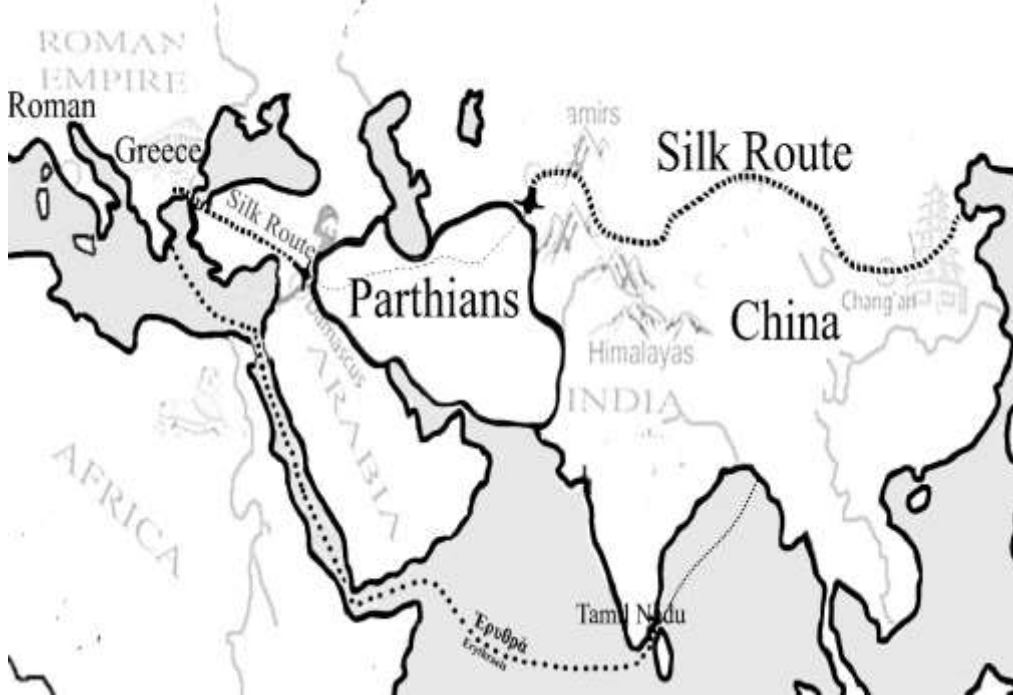
Periplus of the Eritheranian Sea (Wilfred 1912)

<sup>22</sup>καὶ τάδε δὲ μετεξέτεροι Ἰνδῶν περὶ Ἡρακλέος λέγουσιν, ἐπελθόντα αὐτὸν πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν καὶ καθήραντα ὅ τι περ κακόν, καινὸν εἶδος ἐξευρεῖν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσει κόσμου γυναικείου, ὄντινα καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ἔτι οἱ τε ἐξ Ἰνδῶν τῆς χώρας τὰ ἀγώγμια παρ' ἡμέας ἀγινέοντες σπουδῇ ὠνεόμενοι ἐκκομίζουσι, καὶ Ἑλλήνων δὲ πάλαι καὶ Ῥωμαίων νῦν ὅσοι πολυκτέανοι καὶ εὐδαίμονες μέζονι ἔτι σπουδῇ ὠνεύονται τὸν μαργαρίτην δὴ τὰν θαλάσσιον οὕτω τῇ Ἰνδῶν γλώσσει καλεόμενον. τὸν γὰρ Ἡρακλέα, ὥς καλὸν οἱ ἐφάνη τὸ φόρημα, ἐκ πάσης θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν Ἰνδῶν δυναγινέειν τὸν μαργαρίτην δὴ τοῦτον, τῇ θυγατρὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι κόσμον.

Certain of the Indians tell the following story about Heracles, that when he had passed over every land and sea and had rid them of every evil beast, he found in the sea a woman's ornament, such as up to the present day those who bring wares from India to us still buy with zeal and carry away. In former times the Greeks and now the Romans who are fortunate and wealthy with still greater zeal buy what is called in the Indian tongue the marine pearl. The ornament seemed so fine to Heracles that he collected pearls like this from all the sea and brought them to India to be an adornment for his daughter. ”

8–10, Chapter viii, Indica, Arrian (Eberhard 1885)

<sup>23</sup>Woven silk destined to be dyed for wear, and unwoven silk destined to be worked up in Egypt, Syria, and Galilee could be sent conveniently byway of the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea, and this cheaper route avoiding Parthia would be encouraged by the Romans..... silk sellers frequented **Kaviripaddinam in the Chola Kingdom**..... Rome, who encouraged such developments for the purpose of eliminating the Parthians and the expensive land-route, and

**Figure 2.** Cut off the Chain of Silk Route and the Extension of Erythraeos Route

Thus Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν or Erythraeos has an important place in the sea trade, much more than on the Silk Road. There is no clear evidence available as to show how the people of these far away places came to know each other and were able to take up the journey of such a long sea trade. It is said that the frequent occurring floods might have been one of the reasons that have made people of these places to meet. It can be assumed from the words of Berossus, from Apollodorus of the Chaldaean Kings, who belonged to the third century BC (Cory 1832):

He tells that the first king was Alorus of Babylon, a Chaldaean: he reigned ten sari: and afterwards Alaparus, and Amelon who came from Pantibiblon: then Ammenon the Chaldaean, in whose time appeared the *Musarus* Oannes the Annedotus from the Erythraean Sea. Then succeeded Megalarus from the city of *Pantibiblon* and he reigned eighteen sari: and after him Daonus the shepherd from Pantibiblon reigned ten sari; in his time (he says) appeared again from the Erythraean Sea a fourth Annedotus, having the same form with those above, the shape of a fish blended with that of a man. Then reigned Euedorachus from Pantibiblon, for the term of eighteen sari; in

we ultimately bear of Indian silks besides Chinese, Parthian, and Median robes. But the Indians became intermediaries in two ways—for though part of the silk sent by them to the Romans was diverted from the land-route for that purpose, part of it was the result of India's own trade in Chinese silk.

<sup>24</sup>Chinese sources reveal that the Parthians did not encourage foreign traders, striving to retain their monopoly on commerce between East and West. In Hou Han Shu, the Chronicle of the Later Han Dynasty covering the first two centuries AD, we can read: King of this country [Da Qin – Roman Empire] always wanted to send envoys to China, but people from Anxi [Parthia], wishing to control their trade in the multicoloured silk, blocked the road and they could not reach [China] (HHS 88, Account on Western Regions 78, Account on Da Qin [Roman Empire]).

his days there appeared another personage from the Erythraean Sea like the former, having the same complicated form between a fish and a man, whose name was Odacon Chron. 39. Euseb. Chron. 5.

Berosus : From Apollodorus of the Chaldaean Kings.

Thus, the floods might have made the people of Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν – Erythraeos to shift and move to far away places. Here it is noted that the Ionic Greeks also had the name Ἐρυθρῶν who had inhabited that place.

<p>σέβονται δὲ οὐδέν τι ἥσσον καὶ Ἐλλησποντίων Παριανοί, τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἐξ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἐρυθρῶν ἀποικισμένοι, Paus. 9.27.1.</p>	<p>He is worshipped equally by the people of Parium on the Hellespont, who were originally colonists from <b>Erythrae in Ionia</b> (Jones 1918)</p>
--	---

<p><b>Ἐρυθραῖοι δὲ οἱ Ἴωνες</b> Ἐπιθέρσῃν τὸν Μητροδώρου, δύο μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πυγμῆς, Paus. 6.15.6.</p>	<p>[6] <b>The Ionians of Erythrae</b> dedicated a statue of Epitherses, son of Metrodorus, who won two boxing prizes at Olympia, (Jones 1918)</p>
--	---

Those people seem to differ from the people who belong to Greece.

<p>(3) γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτέων πρώτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, μετὰ δὲ Μυοῦς τε καὶ Πριήνη. (4) αὗται μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοίκηγται κατὰ ταῦτα διαλεγόμεναι σφίσι, αἶδε δὲ ἐν τῇ Λυδίῃ, Ἐφεσος Κολοφῶν Λέβεδος Τέως Κλαζομεναὶ Φώκαια: αὗται δὲ αἱ πόλεις τῇσι πρότερον λεχθείησι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδέν, σφίσι δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι. ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι Ἰάδες πόλεις, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέαται, Σάμιον τε καὶ Χίον, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἱδρύται, <b>Ἐρυθραί</b>. Χῖοι μὲν νυν καὶ <b>Ἐρυθραῖοι</b> κατὰ τὸντὸ διαλέγονται, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν μόννοι. οὗτοι χαρακτηρὲς γλώσσης τέσσερες γίνονται. Hdt. 1. 142.</p>	<p>(3) They do not all have the same speech but four different dialects. Miletus lies farthest south among them, and next to it come Myus and Priene; these are settlements in Caria, and they have a common language; Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenae, Phocaea, all of them in Lydia, (4) have a language in common which is wholly different from the speech of the three former cities. There are yet three Ionian cities, two of them situated on the islands of Samos and Chios, and one, <b>Erythrae</b>, on the mainland; the Chians and <b>Erythraeans</b> speak alike, but the Samians have a language which is their own and no one else's. It is thus seen that there are four modes of speech. (Godley 1920)</p>
--	---

The reason for this name Erythrae - Erythraeans is not clear to understand, but there are possibilities for one to assume that it may denote some person.

οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπαριθμοῦσι τοῖς κατειλεγμένοις *Ερύθραν* παῖδα Λεύκωνος τοῦ Ἀθάμαντος—ἀπὸ τούτου *Ερυθραῖ* πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο Βοιωτῶν.  
Paus.6.21.11.

Some add to the aforesaid *Erythras*, the son of Leucon, the son of Athamas, after whom was named *Erythrae* in Boeotia  
(Jones 1918)

There is also some thoughts that they might have originated from Crete.

*Ερυθραῖοι* δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀφικέσθαι σὺν *Ερύθρῳ* τῷ Ῥαδαμάνθου φασιν ἐκ Κρήτης καὶ οἰκιστὴν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸν *Ερυθρον*: ..... τούτων τῶν κατειλεγμένων ἐχόντων *Ερυθράς*, Κλέοπος ὁ Κόδρου συλλέξας ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεων ὅσους δὴ παρὰ ἐκάστων ἐπεισήγαγεν *Ερυθραίοις* συνοίκους.  
Paus.7.3.7.

The *Erythraeans* say that they came originally from Crete with *Erythrus* the son of Rhadamanthus, and that this *Erythrus* was the founder of their city. .... The peoples I have enumerated occupied *Erythrae* when Cleopus the son of Codrus gathered men from all the cities of Ionia, so many from each, and introduced them as settlers among the *Erythraeans*.  
(Jones 1918)

This Erythraeans of Crete were also related with Panchaea of *Ερυθρὰν θάλατταν*.

μυθολογοῦσι δ' οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸ γένος αὐτοῖς ἐκ Κρήτης ὑπάρχειν, ὑπὸ Διὸς ἡγμένοις εἰς τὴν Παγχαίαν, ὅτε κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὦν ἐβασίλευε τῆς οἰκουμένης· καὶ τούτων σημεῖα φέρουσι τῆς διαλέκτου, δεικνύντες τὰ πολλὰ διαμένειν παρ' αὐτοῖς Κρητικῶς ὀνομαζόμενα: τὴν τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἰκειότητα καὶ φιланθρωπίαν ἐκ προγόνων παρεληφέναι, τῆς φήμης ταύτης τοῖς ἐγγόνοις παραδιδομένης ἀεί. ἐδείκνυν δὲ καὶ ἀναγραφὰς τούτων, αἷς ἔφασαν τὸν Δία πεποιῆσθαι καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἔτι κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὦν ἰδρύσατο τὸ ἱερόν.  
Diod.5.46.3.

According to the myth which the priests give, the gods had their origin in Crete, and were led by Zeus to Panchaea at the time when he sojourned among men and was king of the inhabited earth. In proof of this they cite their language, pointing out that most of the things they have about them still retain their Cretan names; and they add that the kinship which they have with the Cretans and the kindly regard they feel toward them are traditions they received from their ancestors, since this report is ever handed down from one generation to another. And it has been their practice, in corroboration of these claims, to point to inscriptions which, they said, were made by Zeus during the time he still sojourned among men and founded the temple.  
(Oldfather 1989)

Further, the people belonging to Ionia, Babylon and Crete are seen to be related with the word *Ερυθρὰν*. The location of these places is pointed out in Figure 3.

**Figure 3.** Locations of Ionia, Babylon and Crete

Thus the word Ἐρυθρὰν - Erythraeans has an important place in both sea trade and inhabitation. Due to this, the root meaning of this word has an important place in the research field.

### Ἐρυθρὰν - Erythraeans – The Meaning

There are some arguments in the search of the meaning of these words (Schoff 1913).<sup>25</sup> The colour red is also related with this name (Schoff 1913).<sup>26</sup>

#### Red Colour

The name of the sea is related with the word “red”. There are many words for “red” in ancient Greek like πυρρὰν, φοινίσσουσα and ἐρεῦσαι.

<sup>25</sup>The origin of geographical names is often beyond explanations: they arise by accident, pass from mouth to mouth and from age to age, taking on new meanings and new locations, until they become mere arbitrary words, and imagination must come in to explain them. So it is with the name of the Erythraean Sea.

<sup>26</sup>Now it is true that from Roman times onward Mare Rubrum, Red Sea, meant the long gulf that separates Egypt from Arabia; and it is equally true that under certain conditions of wind and climate a reddish vegetable scum forms on its almost stagnant waters, from which the name “Red” might have been suggested.

315 ἵππου μελαίνης ἡγεμῶν τρισμυρίας,  
*πυρρὰν* ζαπληθῆ δάσκιον γενειάδα  
 ἔτεγγ', ἀμείβων χροῶτα πορφυρέα βαφῆ.  
 Aesch. Pers. 316

[315] leader of the Black Cavalry,  
 thirty thousand strong, in death dyed  
*red* his thick and shaggy beard,  
 changing its color with a deep crimson  
 stain.

(Smyth 1926a)

185. πολὺθυτον δὲ δι' ἄλσος Ἄρ-  
 τέμιδος ἤλυθον ὁρομένα,  
*φοινίσσουσα* παρῆδ' ἐμάν  
 αἰσχύνει νεοθαλεῖ,  
 Eur. I. A.  
 (Murray 1913)

(185) Through the grove of Artemis,  
 rich with sacrifice, I sped my course, my  
 cheek stained with *red* from maiden  
 modesty,

(Coleridge 1891)

394. παῖδες δ' ὀρφανικοί: ὁ δέ θ' αἵματι  
 γαῖαν *ἐρεῦθων*  
 πύθεται, οἰωνοὶ δὲ περὶ πλέες ἡ  
 γυναικες.  
 Hom. Il. Book 11.

and his children fatherless, while  
 he, *reddening* the earth with his  
 blood,

(Murray 1924)

ἀλλ' οὐ Ζεὺς ἄνδρεςσι νοήματα πάντα  
 τελευτᾷ:  
 329. ἄμφω γὰρ πέπρωται ὁμοίην γαῖαν  
*ἐρεῦσαι*  
 Hom. Il. Book 18.

for both of us twain are fated to  
*redde*n the selfsame earth with our  
 blood

(Murray 1924)

In this ἐρεῦσαι is the word used for red which has phonetic resemblance with the word Ἐρυθρὰν that is related with sea. So the name of the sea is related with the word red.

Ἐρυθρὰν γὰρ λέγειν τινὰς τὴν θάλατταν  
 ἀπὸ τῆς χροῖας τῆς ἐμφαινομένης κατ'  
 ἀνάκλασιν, εἴτε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου κατὰ  
 κορυφὴν ὄντος εἴτε ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρέων  
 ἐρυθραίνοντων ἐκ τῆς ἀποκαύσεως:  
 ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ εἰκάζειν: Κτησίαν δὲ τὸν  
 Κνίδιον πηγὴν ἱστορεῖν ἐκδιδοῦσαν εἰς τὴν  
 θάλατταν ἐρευθεὶς καὶ μυλῶδες ὕδωρ:  
 Strab. 16.4.20

Some of these say, that the sea is red  
 from the colour arising from reflection  
 either from the sun, which is vertical,  
 or from the mountains, which are red  
 by being scorched with intense heat;  
 for the colour, it is supposed, may be  
 produced by both these causes. Ctesias  
 of Cnidus speaks of a spring which  
 discharges into the sea a red and  
 ochrous water.

(Jones 1924)

The word Ἐρυθρὰν – Erythraeans is related to the word ἐρεῦθων, and so the word 'red' is not fully accepted by both Latin and Greek scholars.

14. Nec, cur verterit se natura, causa.  
 Mare certe, quo adluitur, ne colore  
 quidem abhorret a ceteris. Ab *Erythro*  
 rege inditum est nomen: propter quod  
 ignari rubere aquas credunt. Terra lini

14. certainly the sea by which India is  
 washed does not differ even in colour  
 from other seas. Its name was given it  
 from king *Erythrus*; for which reason the  
 ignorant believe that its waters are red.

ferax:  
Roman historian, 1st-century AD  
(Curtius 1908)

(Rolfe 1946)

Thus, the reason for the name of the Erythras which is related with the red colour seems to shift to a Persian person called Erythras (Schoff 1913).<sup>27</sup>

Ἀγαθαρχίδην δὲ τὸν ἐκείνου πολίτην παρά  
τινος Βόξου, Πέρσου τὸ γένος, ἱστορῆσαι  
διότι Πέρσης τις Ἐρύθρας, ἵπποφορβίου  
τινὸς ὑπὸ λεαίνης οἴστρῳ κατασχομένης  
ἐξελαθέντος μέχρι θαλάττης κάκειθεν εἰς  
νῆσόν τινα διάραντος, σχεδίαν πηξάμενος  
πρῶτος περαιωθεὶς πρὸς τὴν νῆσον· ἰδὼν  
δὲ καλῶς οἰκήσιμον τὴν μὲν ἀγέλην εἰς τὴν  
Περσίδα ἀπαγάγοι πάλιν, ἀποίκους δ' ἐκεῖ  
στεῖλαι τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους καὶ τὴν  
παράλιαν, ἐπώνυμον δὲ ποιήσειεν ἑαυτοῦ  
τὸ πέλαγος. τοὺς δὲ Περσέως υἱὸν  
ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν Ἐρύθραν, ἡγήσασθαι τε  
τῶν τόπων. λέγεται δ' ὑπὸ τινων τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν  
στενῶν τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου μέχρι τῆς  
κινναμωμοφόρου τῆς ἐσχάτης  
πεντακισχλίων σταδίων, οὐκ εὐκρινῶς, εἶτ'  
ἐπὶ νότον εἶτ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολάς. λέγεται δὲ  
καὶ διότι ὁ σμάρραδος καὶ ὁ βήρυλλος ἐν  
τοῖς τοῦ χρυσίου μέταλλοις ἐγγίνεται. εἰσὶ  
δὲ καὶ ἄλλες εὐώδεις ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ, ὥς φησι  
Ποσειδώνιος.  
Strab. 16.4.20

Agatharchides, his fellow-citizen, relates, on the authority of a person of the name of Boxus, of Persian descent, that when a troop of horses was driven by a lioness in heat as far as the sea, and had passed over to an island, a Persian of the name of Erythras constructed a raft, and was the first person who crossed the sea to it; perceiving the island to be well adapted for inhabitants, he drove the herd back to Persia, and sent out colonists both to this and the other islands and to the coast. He [thus] gave his own name to the sea. But according to others, it was Erythras the son of Perseus who was the king of this country.  
(Jones 1924)

Thus the word Ἐρυθρὰν – Erythraean is related with a Persian name Erythras. Even today the argument is divisive, because so far as this research is concerned it is only related with the evidence found in Greek and Persian sources (Schoff 1913).<sup>28</sup> However, there are many sources related with the word Ἐρυθρὰν, meaning Erythraean Sea. One other source is Tamil.

<sup>27</sup>The word Erythraean, which came to them from Persia. It is through that connection that its origin and meaning must be sought.

<sup>28</sup>The presence of algae in sufficient quantity to colour the surface over a large area would be an exceptional occurrence, not likely to lend a name to the sea. This suggestion was made by Lobo more than a century ago. In conclusion we may say that looking out of Greece through Persia to the ancient East, we may gather from the name Erythraean several meanings, all of them reasonable. “Sea of the East, the Orient, or the rising sun”; “Sea where the sun was worshipped”; “Sea whence came the people who brought the purple or Erythraean dye”, and finally, “Sea of King Erythras” typifying the ancient pre-Semitic Akkadian- Dravidian trade. Certainly with these vistas of the past opened through that name, we cannot rest satisfied with an interpretation that would limit it to a temporary accumulation of vegetable matter localized at a point to which the name was not originally applied.

## Tamil and Ἐρυθραῖν

Tamil Nadu is situated on the Ἐρυθραῖν – Erythraean Sea route and also took part in the sea trade (Schoff 1917).<sup>29</sup> The pearl (Seland 2016, Warmington 1928)<sup>30</sup>, pepper (Warmington 1928)<sup>31</sup>, (Cappers 2006)<sup>32</sup>, sapphires (Warmington

<sup>29</sup>The **Tamil poem Paddinappalai** gives us a vivid description of a busy port of the **Chola Kingdom, Kaviripaddinam**, which was built on the northern bank of the **Kaviri River**, then a broad and deep stream into which heavily laden ships entered from the sea without slackening sail. At the beach were raised platforms and warehouses where cargoes were stored. The goods were stamped with the royal tiger stamp after payment of customs duty and then released to the merchants. Close by were settlements of the Yavana merchants, which name included not only Ionians or Greeks, but Graeco-Bactrians and Parthians. Here were quartered foreign traders from other lands beyond the seas, and precious cargoes of many kinds were brought from all directions. The author of the Periplus mentions the three kingdoms of southern India: Chera, with its port of **Muziris**, the **Muchiri** of the **Tamil** poets; **Pandya**, the capital of which, **Madura**, Pliny reports as Modiera; and the “coast country”, that is, **Chola**, with its capital called Argaru, that is Urugapura, Uraiyitr, the modern Trichinopoly on the Kaviri, while the port of **Kaviripaddinam** he mentions as Camara, and says that there were in that port not only the large single-masted vessels peculiar to the Malabar coast, but others very much larger which made the voyage to Chryse and the Ganges. He mentions Chryse as an island opposite the Ganges and under the rising sun and tells us that beyond Chryse the sea comes to an end, and that to the north was “a land called This with an inland city called Thinae from which silk was brought overland through Bactria to the Gulf of Cambay and by way of the Ganges to the ports of Damirica”, that is, **Tamil Land, the Tamilakam** of their poets (Peripl. Mar. Erythr. 63, 64).

<sup>30</sup>In the early Empire, when Barygaza was the port most frequently visited, the ultimate source of the pearls was probably the Persian Gulf, for it was from here that the merchants of Barygaza procured them; but some of better quality may have been brought from South India and Ceylon, which are still among the chief producers. Literature tells us that traders in coral and pearls frequented **Kaviripaddinam of the Chola Kingdom**, and this town contained **resident Greek merchants**; similarly, a poet who visited Uraiyur, the ancient Chola capital, speaks of coral and pearls together, with rare gems also, and as is shewn by the passage in the “Toy cart”, jewellers’ shops ....regularly sold coral.

<sup>31</sup>Black Pepper which, when the Periplus was written was exported in vast quantities from **Muziris** and Nelcunda, being brought down from Nelcunda to Bacare in large boats, while doubtless the port of Tyndis, receiving supplies down the river Ponnani, sent them on to swell the quantities gathered into **Muziris** and carried away by Greeks in especially large ships brought for the purpose....Pepper became part of the everyday life of every respectable household in Rome, since its chief use was as an ordinary spice, only a few old people, it was said were unable to taste pepper and other eastern fruits in their food. In consequence the spice appears in almost every recipe given by Apicius in his ten books and seems to have been more important than salt or sugar is in the cookery books of today. But besides this both species of peppers were used in all kinds of medicines and drugs, as Pliny, Galen, Celsus, Scribonius, and other writers who deal with medicines, constantly shew, and pepper is generally the only Indian spice which appears in medical recipes preserved on papyri. Its use as a medicine dates from the time of Hippocrates to whom it was the “Indian remedy”, and the constant mention of it in Graeco-Roman medicine, particularly in connection with agues and fevers, has led Dr Jones to the conclusion that it was used as an antidote against the ever present malaria in the Roman Empire. We need not wonder that attempts were made to introduce the cultivation of pepper to the West, and in Petronius the wealthy Trimalchio grows his own pepper, but Pliny says that when planted in Italy it lost its flavour.

<sup>32</sup>Black pepper (*Piper nigrum*) is native to southern India and is attested by archaeological evidences.



1928)<sup>33</sup>, iron (Warmington 1928)<sup>34</sup> and timber (Pugazhendhi 2021b)<sup>35</sup> were the important articles of trade. This trade leads to literary transactions also. This category is of three types, viz. 1. Literary Themes, 2. Literary Forms, 3. Literary Policy.

### *Literary Themes*

The theme of the Latin subjective love elegy related with Erythraean pearls is parallel with the Tamil subjective love elegy (Wilhelm, 1976).

May you live long, my heart!  
Even if this city were gifted to  
me, I will not leave my girl with  
long, black hair and blazing jewels.

218- 220, Pattinappālai,  
Sanga Ilakkiam,  
(Tamil Virtual University 1995)

I prophesy you'll wish for your wife's  
true love:  
I think the Gods themselves have learnt  
that by now.  
You'd not prefer to have all the land in  
the world  
that sturdy farmers plough with strong  
oxen,  
nor all the **pearls produced by happy  
India,**  
where the waves of Eastern Seas redden.

II Cornutus's Birthday, Book II,  
Tibullus, (Smith 1913)

### *Literary Forms*

Latin subjective love elegy has the form consisting of a hexameter verse followed by a pentameter verse. This form and theme are parallel with the Tamil subjective love elegy.

<sup>33</sup>For the author of the Periplus found sapphires at **Muziris** and Nelcunda only..... The hard sapphire first came into use as a gem-stone in the Graeco-Roman period, and extant examples shew us its use (generally unengraved, as was natural) in jewellery and rings and shew too the quantities obtained under the Byzantine Empire. Engraved sapphires one-half and even one inch wide, the so-called signet of Constantius II (a sapphire of 53 carats) and a perforated stone of Hadrian's time are all extant examples of ancient trade in splendid oriental sapphires

<sup>34</sup>Fine swords made of Indian steel had been famous, since the time of Ctesias, and the Roman trade in Indian Iron and Steel was an important one. Since Pliny says that the finest of all iron was sent by the Seres with their tissues and skins the natural conclusion is that this metal was from the province of Shan-Si in China or atleast from Ferghana. But, as Schoff has pointed out, the Periplus does not indicate the exportation of silk and steel together at the same marts, and we must take Seres as being Cheras of the Malabar coast (981).

<sup>35</sup>The three woods σανταλίνων, δοκῶν and κεράτων have been transported through sea trade from the Tamil land to the Greek and Hebrew lands.

இருநோக்கு இலவன்கண் உள்ளது ஒருநோக்கு  
நோய்நோக்கொன் றந்நோய் மருந்து.

1091, kuripparithal  
Thirukkural.  
(Tamil Virtual University 1995)

omnes humanos sanat medicina dolores:  
solus amor morbi non amat artificem.

57&58, Book II,  
The Elegies Of Propertius,  
(Butler 1912)

Her gorging eyes have two gazes, one gaze  
inflicts the malady, the other gaze is remedy  
for that malady.

Medicine cures all the anguish of  
mankind; love alone loves no  
physician

### Literary Policy

Tamil subjective love elegy has some literary policy in its subjective love elegy. It won't be mentioned the name of the subjective and its partner in the text. This policy is also seen in Latin love elegy (Beyers 1962).<sup>36</sup> This was due to the travel of commercial ships between these two lands and this is confirmed by the ancient Greek work called Περίπλους της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης.

Βασιλείας δ' ἐστὶν ἡ μὲν Τύνδις  
Κηπροβότρου, κόμη παραθαλάσσιος  
ἔνσημος· ἡ δὲ Μουζιρίς βασιλείας μὲν  
τῆς αὐτῆς, ἀκμάζουσα δὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς  
Ἀριακῆς εἰς αὐτὴν ἐρχομένοις πλοίοις  
καὶ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς· κεῖται δὲ παρὰ  
ποταμὸν, ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ μὲν Τύνδεως διὰ  
τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης σταδίου  
πεντακοσίου, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν  
εἴκοσι. Ἡ δὲ Νέλκυνδα σταδίου μὲν ἀπὸ

Tyndis is of the Kingdom of Cerobothra;  
it is a village in plain sight by the sea.  
Muziris, of the same Kingdom, abounds  
in ships sent there with **cargoes from  
Arabia, and by the Greeks**<sup>37</sup>; it is  
located on a river, distant from Tyndis by  
river and sea five hundred stadia, and up  
the river from the shore twenty stadia.  
Nelcynda is distant from Muziris by river  
and sea about five hundred stadia, and is

<sup>36</sup>The form of E. 7 is interesting because it is not really dramatic. All critics note that the singers do not themselves appear. Meliboeus introduces the words of the singers as he introduces Daphnis' words, and the text should dispense with the words Corydon Thyrsis alternately. Since in E.1, 3, 5 and 9 the odd number and the dramatic arrangement really are the sign of interplay between characters actually present, would we not be justified in thinking that this departure from the norm is intentional, specially emphasizing the absence of any data on which to judge character? Even if there is not any special emphasis, it is true that we learn nothing of the characters of the two poets from their own actions either before or during the contest.

<sup>37</sup>In Greek language the word 'βάρβαρον' is used to denote the foreigners.

τὸ μὲν Ἑλληνικὸν ὥς ἐν ἀπὸ πάντων  
ἀφαιροῦντες χωρίς, σύμπασι δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
γένεσιν, ἀπείροις οὖσι καὶ ἀμείκτοις καὶ  
ἀσυμφώνοις πρὸς ἄλληλα, **βάρβαρον** μιᾶ  
κλήσει προσειπόντες αὐτὸ διὰ ταύτην τὴν μίαν  
κλήσιν καὶ γένος ἐν αὐτὸ εἶναι προσδοκῶσιν:  
Plat. Stat. 262d  
(Burnet 1903)

they separate the Hellenic race from all the  
rest as one, and to all the other races, which  
are countless in number and have no relation  
in blood or language to one another, they give  
the single name "**barbarian**";  
(Fowler 1921)

In Tamil language the words "Barbar" and "Parpanar" (Tamil Virtual University 1995) are used to denote the foreigners including Greeks. (B and P sounds are same in Tamil language)

Μουζιρέως ἀπέχει σχεδὸν πεντακοσίους, ὁμοίως διὰ τε ποταμοῦ (καὶ πεζῇ) καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης, βασιλείας δὲ ἐστὶν ἑτέρας, τῆς **Πανδίωνος**: κεῖται δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ παρὰ ποταμὸν, ὥσει ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι τῆς θαλάσσης.

— παράγραφοι 53-54,  
Περίπλους της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης

of another **Kingdom, the Pandion**. This place also is situated on a river, about one hundred and twenty stadia from the sea.

Periplus of the Eritheranian Sea (Wilfred 1912)

This is shown in Figure 4.

**Figure 4. Greek and Tamil Nadu**



In this way, the ancient Greek works guarantee the sea trade that took place between the Greeks and the Tamilians. This Pandion (Πανδίων) is the Panchaea (Παγγαίαν) associated with Crete and Pantibiblon of Babylon. Here it is to be noted that the king Pandion (Πανδίωνος) of Tamil Nadu was one among the members on the side of the Trojan army that is indicated in the epic Iliad.

᾽370 ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας ἀπέβη Τελαμώνιος  
Αἴας,  
καὶ οἱ Τεῦκρος ἄμ' ἧε κασίγνητος καὶ  
ὄπατρος:  
τοῖς δ' ἅμα **Πανδίων** Τεύκρου φέρε καμπύλα  
τόξα.

Hom. Il. Book 12.

So saying Telamonian Aias  
departed, and with him went  
Teucer, his own brother, begotten  
of one father, and with them  
**Pandion** bare the curved bow of  
Teucer.

(Murray 1924)

This Tamil Pandion was also related with the myth of Karna who has resemblance with Ion of Ionia. The Greek Sapphic stanzas of Lesbos that is situated near the Ionic of Erythrae has resemblance with Tamil Seppal songs (Pugazhendhi 2020). The Greek epics Argonautica and Medea have resemblance with Tamil epic, Silappathikaram (Pugazhendhi 2021a). This evidence ensures that the people of Tamil Nadu took part in the sea trade of Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης and so had relationships with the Greeks. Thus, apart from Greek and Persian there is also a need to search in Tamil language the meaning of the word Ερυθράς. Hence to get to know more about it, it is not apt to search for its meaning in Tamil

sources in isolation, but when it is related along with Greek sources it will be more meaningful and relevant.

### Ερυθράς in Tamil

Ancient Tamil literary sources mentions Ερυθράς - Erythraeans as Erytherai. The original text that shows its occurrence is as follows:

வெள்ளியும் இரு விகம்பு ஏர்தரும்; புள்ளும்  
உயர் சினைக் குடம்பைக் குரல் தோற்றினவே;  
பொய்கையும் போது கண் விழித்தன; பைபயச்  
கடரும் சுருங்கின்று ஒளியே; பாடெழுந்து  
இரங்கு குரல் முரசுமொடு வலம்புரி ஆர்ப்ப 5  
இரவுப் புறங்கண்ட காலைத் தோன்றி,  
எஃகு இருள் அகற்றும் ஏமப் பாசறை,  
வைகறை அரவம் கேளியர்! பல கோள்  
செய் தார் மார்ப! எழுமதி துயில்!" எனத்  
தெண்கண் மாக்கிணை தெளிர்ப்ப ஒற்றி 10  
நெடுங்கடைத் தோன்றியேனே அது நயந்து  
"உள்ளி வந்த பரிசிலன் இவன்" என,  
நெய்யுறப் பொரித்த குய்யுடை நெடுஞ்சூடு,  
மணிக்கலன் நிறைந்த மணநாறு தேறல்,  
பாம்பு உரித்தன்ன வான் பூங்கலங்கமொடு, 15  
மாரியன்ன வண்மையின் சொரிந்து,  
வேனில் அன்ன என் வெப்பு நீங்க,  
அருங்கலம் நல்கியோனே; என்றும்  
செறுவில் பூத்த சேயிதழ்த் தாமரை  
அறு தொழில் அந்தணர் அறம் புரிந்து எடுத்த 20  
தொயொடு விளங்கும் நாடன், வாய்வான்  
வலம்படு தீவின் பொலம் பூண் வளவன்;  
எறி திரைப் பெருங்கடல்(Ερυθράν θάλατταν)  
(Erythraeos)  
இறுதிக்கண் செலினும்,  
தெறு கதிர்க் கனலி தென் திசைத் தோன்றினும்,  
என்னென்று அஞ்சலம் யாமே வென்வேல் 25  
அருஞ்சமம் கடக்கும் ஆற்றல் அவன்  
திருந்து கழல் நோன்தாள் தண் நிழலேமே.

The phonetic form and their meanings are given below (Tamil Virtual University 1995).

valam paTu tIvin polam pUN vaLavan;  
**eRytheraep perug kadal** iRutikkaN  
celinum,  
teRu katirk kanali ten ticait tOnRinum,  
25  
'en?' enRu ajcalam, yAmE; ven vEl  
aruj camam kaTakkum ARRAl avan  
tirun'tu kazal n'On tAL taN n'izalEmE.  
tiNai atu; tuRai paricilviTai; kaTain'ilai  
viTaiyum Am.

Puranānūru 397, Erukkattūr  
Thāyankannanār sang for Chōlan

Valavan wears gold ornaments that  
he took from an island with his unfailing  
sword.  
Even if the 'Ερυθράν θάλατταν should  
end or the sun with  
its hot rays appears in the south, we will  
not fear and worry  
about what we would do.  
We rest in the cool shade of his strong  
feet with perfect  
anklets, the man who has the power to  
win with his victorious  
spear in difficult battles!

Kulamutrathu Thunjiya Killivalavan,  
Sanga Ilakkiam,

Thus, Ερυθράς – Erythraeans mentioned as Erytherae in Tamil. Here it is expressed as a combination of two words.

### Ἐρυθρὰν – Two Parts

The words found in Greek such as Ἐρυθρὰν, Ερυθράς, Ἐρυθραῖοι, and that in Latin Erythraeis shall be looked at as a combination of two words in the same way as seen in Tamil language. That is 'Eṟu + θράς or θραῖοι in Greek, and Ery + thraeis in Latin. There is a resemblance in the words such as “Eṟu or Ery or Eri” as that seen in Tamil (Tamil Virtual University 1995).

1. il ezu vayalai IRRu A tinRena,  
pan'tu n'ilattu **eRin'tu**, pAvai n'Ikki,  
Natrinal 179, Sanga Ilakkiam

my capable young daughter beat  
on her belly, **threw** her ball down on  
the ground, and abandoned her doll,

Uz aTi otugkinum uyagkum aim pAR  
ciRu pal kUn'taR pOtu piTittu aruLAtu,  
20  
**eRi kOl** citaiya n'URavum ciRupuRam,  
'enakku urittu' ennAL, n'inRa en  
amark kaN ajjaiyai alaitta kaiyE!  
makaTpOkkiya cevillittAy colliyatatu.

even if she walked  
with her usual delicate steps, she  
suffered.  
When I held her short, thick five-part  
braid  
with flowers and beat her without  
grace,  
and the **Throwing stick** that I used  
cracked and broke,  
she stood there without uttering,

pakal ARRuppaTutta pazagkaN mAlai,  
10. kAtalarp pirin'ta pulampin n'Otaka,  
Ar ajar uRun'ar aru n'iRam cuTTik  
kUr eHku **eRijarin alaittal** AnAtu,

painful evening that brought distress  
to lovers, has caused the sun to set,  
and helpless sorrow that surprisingly  
removes intelligence has come.  
It has come to hurt us like a sharp  
spear **thrown** at our precious chests.

Akanānūru 71, Anthi Ilankeeranār,  
Sanga Ilakkiam

Thus, the Tamil word “ery or eri” has the meaning “throw”, the meaning for which can be searched in Greek and it also has these type of words.

κρόσσας μὲν πύργων ἔρπον, καὶ ἔρειπον  
ἐπάλξεις,  
Hom. Il. 12. 258

The pinnets of the fortifications  
they dragged down and  
**overthrew** the battlements,  
(Murray 1924)

δόμων πίτνοντα, πᾶν δ' ἐρείψιμον I saw the cornice of the house fall, and  
στεῖγος the whole roof **hurled in ruins** on the  
Eur. I. T. 48. ground, from the highest pillars.  
(Potter 1938a)

κύματος ἐξαναδύς, τά τ' ἐρεύγεται Making his way forth from the surge  
ἥπειρόνδε, νῆχε παρέξ, where it **belched** upon the shore, he  
Hom. Od. 5. 438 swam outside,  
(Murray 1919)

τοιγάρ σ' ὁ δαίμων εἰσορᾷ μὲν οὐ τί πω Therefore the divinity looks upon  
ὥς αὐτίκ', εἴπερ οἶδε κινεῖνται λόχοι you—not yet as he soon will look, if  
πρὸς ἄστῳ Θήβης. οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως indeed those armies of yours are  
πόλιν moving against Thebes. There is no  
1373. κείνην ἐρείψεις, ἀλλὰ πρόσθεν way in which you can ever **overthrow**  
αἵματι that city. Before that you will fall,  
πεσεῖ μιανθεὶς χῶ σύναιμος ἐξ ἴσου. polluted by bloodshed, and so too your  
Soph. OC. brother.  
(Storr 1912) (Jebb 1889)

Thus the Greek root word “ἐρεῖ” conveys the same meaning “throw” as that of the Tamil word “ery”. Here it is used in the verb form. Some of the words that are used in the noun form are related with water bodies. For example, one such root word “ἐρεῖ” which is used in noun form has relation with sea.

μηδ' ἐν νάπαισι Πηλίου πεσεῖν ποτε Would that the pine trees had never  
τμηθεῖσα πεύκη, μηδ' ἐρετμῶσαι χέρας been felled in the glens of Mount Pelion  
5. ἀνδρῶν ἀριστεῶν οἱ τὸ πάγχρυσον and furnished **oars** for the hands (5) of  
δέρος the heroes who at Pelias' command set  
Πελία μετῆλθον. οὐ γὰρ ἄν δέσποιν' ἐμὴ forth in quest of the Golden Fleece!  
Eur. Med. (Kovacs 1994a)

ἀλλὰ μυρίοι μὲν ἄνδρες ἀσπίσιν What! shall countless warriors,  
πεφραγμένοι, armed with shields, those  
μυρίοι δ' ἐρέτμ' ἔχοντες, πατρίδος myriads sitting at the **oar**, find  
ἡδίκημένης, courage to attack the foe and die  
δρᾷν τι τολμήσουσιν ἐχθροὺς χυτὲρ Ἑλλάδος for Hellas,  
θανεῖν, (Coleridge 1891)  
Eur. I A.  
(Murray 1913)

ταῦτά τέ μοι τελέσαι πῆξαί τ' ἐπὶ Fulfil this my prayer, and fix upon the  
τύμβῳ ἐρετμόν, mound my **oar** wherewith I rowed in  
τῷ καὶ ζωὸς ἔρεσσον ἐὼν μετ' ἐμοῖς life when I was among my comrades.'  
ἐτάροισιν. (Murray 1919)  
Hom. Od. Book 1.

280. νῆ' ἄρσας ἐρέτησιν ἐείκοσιν, ἥ τις (280) Man with twenty **rowers** the best  
 ἀρίστη, ship thou hast, and go to seek tidings of  
 ἔρχεο πεισόμενος πατρός δὴν thy father,  
 οἰχομένοιο, (Murray 1919)  
 Hom. Od. Book 1.

In Latin “eruerē” means “to belch or vomit forth, to throw up”.

Nam simul expletus dapibus vinoque sepultus  
 cervicem inflexam posuit, iacuitque per antrum  
 632. immensus, sanie **eructans** et frustra cruento  
 per somnum commixta mero, nos magna precati  
 numina sortitique vices, una undique circum  
 Verg. Aeneid. Book 3

For soon as, gorged with feasting and o'ercome  
 with drunken slumber, the foul giant lay sprawled through the cave, his head  
 dropped helpless down,  
**disgorging** as he slept thick drool of gore  
 and gobbets drenched with bloody wine; then we,  
 calling on Heaven and taking place by lot  
 (Williams 1910)

14. Cedet Erythraeis **eruta** gemma vadis  
 Martial, Epigrammata, Book 8.

and even the pearl **fished** from the Indian seas.  
 (Pearse 2008)

Thus the Tamil word “Ery or ery or eri” and Greek word “ἐρεῖ” and Latin “eruta” have the same meaning “throw” in all these languages. Further it is also related with oar and it has resemblance with “Ἐρυ” of Ἐρυθρὰν (Ἐρυ + θρὰν) of the Greeks.

### Θρὰν - Θραῖοι – Thraeis

The second part of Ἐρυθραῖοι or Ἐρυθρὰν in Greek and Erythraeis of Latin are θρὰν - θραῖοι – thraeis. Resemblance with this second part of the word is also seen in subjective love elegy poems of Tamil literature (Tamil Virtual University 1995).

avan tAnum, n'ilam **thiraikkum** kaTal He himself, with an army like the **wave**  
 tAnaip **surfed**  
 15. polan' tumpaik kazal pANTil ocean that contains the land, wears a gold  
 kaNai poruta tuLait tOlannE. thumpai flower  
 garland and carries a shield pierced by  
 Puranānūru 97, Poet Avvaiyār sang for arrows  
 Athiyamān Nedumān Anji, Sanga  
 Ilakkiam

puL uRa ocin'ta pU mayagku aLLal Will our friendship

kazic curam n'ivakkum iruj ciRai ivuLi 10 <b>thirae</b> taru puNariyin kazUum mali <b>thiraic</b> cErppanoTu amain'ta n'am toTarpE?	with the lord of the ocean with abundant <b>waves</b> , who washes his horses tied to large yokes in the water brought by <b>waves</b> , after riding through brackish waters near mud where birds have sat and dropped flowers, ruin her?
Natrinai 63, Ulōchanār, Sanga Ilakkiam	
ini n'inain'tu irakkam AkinRu: tiNi maNal ceyvuru pAvaikkuk koy pUt taii, taN kayam ATum makaLiroTu kai piNain'tu, tazuvuvazit tazli, tUgkuvazit tUgki, 5. maRai enal aRiyA mAyam il AyamoTu uyar cinai marutat tuRai uRat tAzn'tu, n'Ir n'aNip paTi kOTu ERi, cIr mika, karaiyavar maruLa, <b>thiraiakam</b> pitira, n'eTu n'Irk kuTTattut tuTumenap pAyn'tu, 10. kuLittu maNal koNTa kalla iLamai aLitOtAnE! yANTu uNTu kollo toTit talai vizut taNTu UnRi, n'aTukkuRRu, irum iTai miTain'ta cila col peru mUtALarEm Akiya emakke?	Sadness is what it will be if I think about it now. When I was young, I used to play with girls near the cool pond as they made sand dolls and decorated them with the flowers they plucked. We held hands, hugged each other, I swayed when they swayed, and we played with innocence with nothing to hide. I would climb on a low branch of a marutham tree with tall branches, close to the water, and dive <b>into the huge pond</b> with a splash as those on the shore would look in amazement as I brought out a handful of sand from the bottom. That was being an ignorant youth. Where did that go? It's pitiable now that I have a thick, metal-capped walking stick and a trembling gait. I have become too old and can just utter a few close words between coughs. This is pathetic.
Puranānūru 243, Poet Thodithalai Viluthandinār sang for Ollaiyūr Kilān Makan Perunchāthan, Sanga Ilakkiam	

Here the waves are denoted with the word “therae” and the water bodies are called as “tiraikam”. The word “therae” derived from its verb form which is equivalent to the verb form that represents “swarm” - a large number of particles that are together. Here the water particles related to the meaning of “swarm” join and make the waves. How this word is used in the Sanskrit language may also be studied.



*Therae in Sanskrit*

In the Sanskrit language the word “therae” is not meant as wave, but “Samutherae” (Samu + therae) means flood or ocean (Griffith 1896).

5. āṛṣṭiṣeṇo hotraṃ ṛṣirniṣṭādan devāpīrdevasumatīmcikivān   sa uttarasmādadharaṃ <b>samudramapo</b> divyā asṛjadvarṣyā abhi	5 Knowing the God's good-will, Devapi, Ṛṣi, the son of Rstisena, sate as Hotar. He hath brought down from heaven's most lofty summit the <b>ocean</b> of the rain, celestial waters.
6. asmin <b>samudre</b> adhyuttarasminnāpo devebhīrnivṛtā atiṣṭhan   tā adravannārṣṭiṣeṇena sṛṣṭā devāpinā preṣitāmṛkṣiṇīṣu	6 Gathered together in that highest <b>ocean</b> , the waters stood by deities obstructed. They hurried down set free by Arstisena, in gaping clefts, urged onward by Devapi.

Rig Veda Book 10 Hymn 98

Here “Sam” means meeting,

8. tveṣaṃ rūpaṃ kṛṇuta uttaraṃ yat sampr̥cānaḥ sadane ghobhiradbhiḥ   kavirbudhnaṃ pari marmṛjyate dhīḥ sā devatātā <b>samitir</b> babhūva	8 He makes him a most noble form of splendour, decking him in his home with milk and waters. The Sage adorns the depths of air with wisdom: this is the <b>meeting</b> where the Gods are worshipped.
---	--

Rig Veda Book 1 Hymn 95

6. pari sadmeva paśumānti hotā rājā na satyaḥ <b>samitir</b> iyānaḥ	6 As the priest seeks the station rich in cattle, like a true King who goes to great <b>assemblies</b> .
--	--

Rig Veda Book 9 Hymn 92

3. samāno mantraḥ <b>samitiḥ</b> samānī samānaṃ manāḥ saha cittameṣām	3 The place is common, common the <b>assembly</b> , common the mind, so be their thought united.
--	--

Rig Veda Book 10 Hymn 191

Thus sam + udre or sam + therae, literally means “gathering of water bodies”, to represent a flood or ocean. Thus the word “therai” means “wave” that is seen in both Tamil and Sanskrit. This is a word that has the meaning of “swarm” which means a “group” in general for any gathering of a small number of objects, whether of persons, animals, or inanimate things that are represented by the words στίφος, εσμός, σμήνος, όχλος in Greek. Thus many water particles join together to form the wave which is called as “therae” in Tamil. There is a word in Greek, which has resemblance with this word, but with a different meaning.

## “Τρίχας”

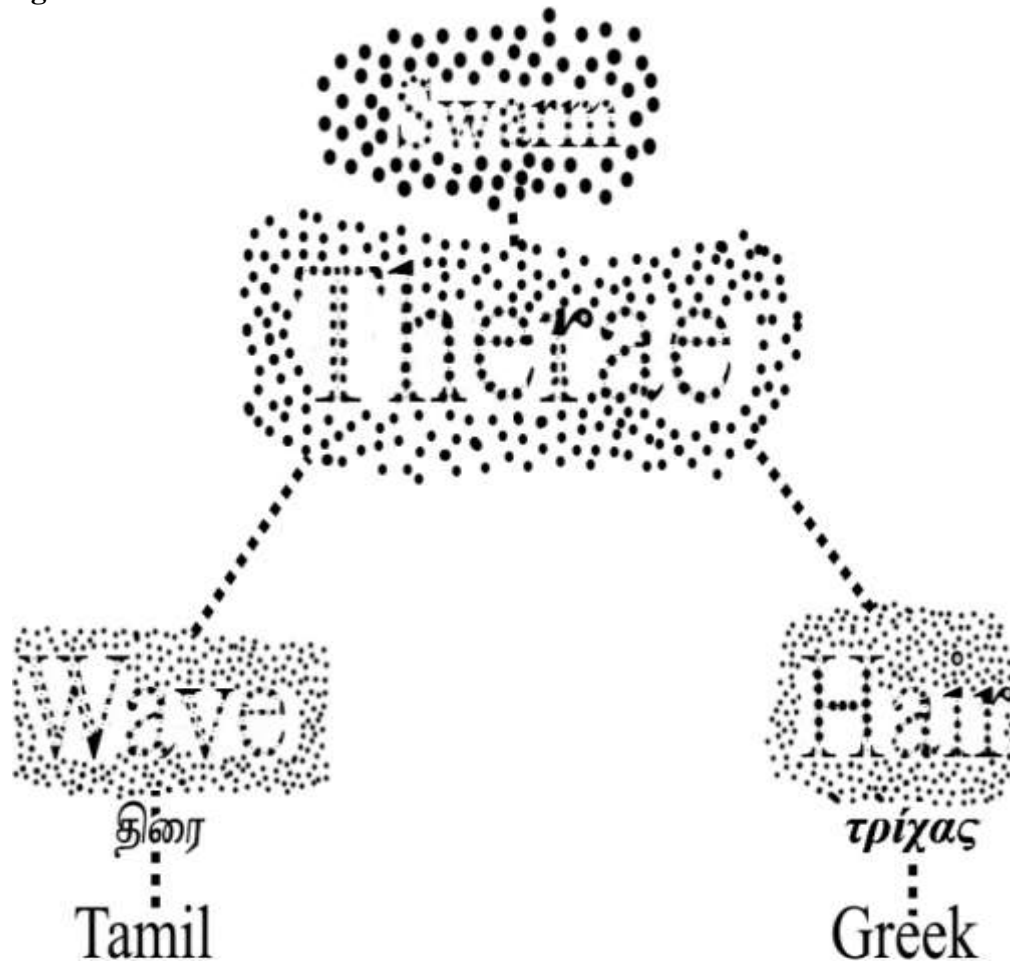
“Τρίχας” is the word that occurs in Greek language.

77. ἦ ῥ' ὃ γέρων, πολιάς δ' ἄρ' ἀνὰ  
**τρίχας** ἔλκετο χερσὶ Thus spake the old man, and with his  
 τῖλλων ἐκ κεφαλῆς: οὐδ' Ἔκτορι hands he plucked and tore the hoary **hairs**  
 θυμὸν ἔπειθε. from his head;  
 (Murray 1924)  
 Hom. II. Book 22.

Ἀτρεΐδης δὲ ἐρυσσάμενος χεῖρεσσι And the son of Atreus drew forth with his  
 μάχαιραν, hand the knife that ever hung beside the  
 ἦ οἱ πᾶρ ξίφεος μέγα κουλεὸν αἰὲν great sheath of his sword, and cut the  
 ἄωρτο, firstling **hairs** from the boar, and lifting  
 254. κάπρου ἀπὸ **τρίχας** ἀρξάμενος Διὶ up his hands made prayer to Zeus;  
 χεῖρας ἀνασχὼν (Murray 1924)  
 εὐχέτο:  
 Hom. II. Book 19.

Ἀτρεΐδης δὲ ἐρυσσάμενος χεῖρεσσι And the son of Atreus drew forth with  
 μάχαιραν, his hand the knife that ever hung beside  
 ἦ οἱ πᾶρ ξίφεος μέγα κουλεόν αἰὲν the great sheath of his sword, and cut  
 ἄωρτο, **hair** from off the heads of the lambs; and  
 273. ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τάμνε **τρίχας**: the heralds portioned it out to the  
 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα chieftans of the Trojans and Achaeans.  
 κήρυκες Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν νεῖμαν (Murray 1924)  
 ἀρίστοις.  
 Hom. II. Book 3.

Here the word “τρίχας” has the meaning hair. Hair present in the head, the hair covering the animal body are denoted by the word τρίχας. Thus, Tamil “Therae” and Greek “τρίχας” have phonetical resemblance, but with different meanings. At the basic level, both the words are related with “swarm” which are similar to the group of water particles that join to form the wave, the hairs also are seen to occur in groups as that found in the head and body as shown in the Figure 5.

**Figure 5.** *Swarm and Therae*

In this way, at the basic level these two words have resemblance. More than this, the word Θρινακίη<sup>38</sup> which represents the old name of Sicily, derived from trident (as sacred to Poseidon), has the resemblance with the word θρᾶν - θραῖοι read thraeis and the second part of the word Ἐρυθραῖοι or Ἐρυθρὰν in Greek and Erythraeis of Latin.

ὅππότε κε πρῶτον πελάσης ἐνεργέα νῆα as soon as thou shalt bring thy well-  
**107. Θρινακίη** νήσω, προφυγὼν built ship to the island **Thrinacia**,  
 ἰοειδέα πόντον,..... escaping from the violet sea,.....  
 (Murray 1919)

Hom. Od. Book 11.

Here it is noted that this Θρινακίη is also related with water and sea. Thus the combination of “ery + theræ” denoting the sea metaphorically with the meaning

<sup>38</sup>Whet’er there was anything more than an accidental connection with the name of the Greek city Erythrae in Boeotia.

of throwing of the waves in subjective elegy poems of Tamil literature (Tamil Virtual University 1995).

aRitalum aRitiyO-pAka!-perugkaTal  
**eRi tirai kozliya** ekkar veRi koLa,  
 ATu vari alavan OTuvayin ARRAtu,  
 acaii, uL ozin'ta vacai tIr kuRumakaTku  
 5. uyavinen cenRu, yAn, uL n'Oy  
 uraippa,  
 maRumozi peyarttal ARRAL, n'aRu  
 malar  
 jAzal am cinait tAz iNar kozuti,  
 muRi timir'tu utirtta kaiyaL,  
 aRivu ajar uRuvi Ay maTa n'ilaiE?

Natrinai 106, Thondaimān Ilanthiraiyan,  
 Sanga Ilakkiam

Do you know, or do you not know,  
 oh charioteer,  
 about the confused mental state  
 of my beautiful woman in anguish?

When I went and told her about my  
 inner pain, she was unable to reply.  
 She plucked clusters of fragrant  
 flowers from a beautiful, low gnālal  
 tree branch along with tender sprouts,  
 and crushed and threw them down,  
 the peerless young woman who got  
 tired chasing striped crabs that play  
 in the fragrant heaps of sand brought  
 by the **Eritherai Kadal** [throwing waves  
 ocean].'

muzagku tirai kozliya mUri ekkar,  
 taTan' tAT tAzai muLLuTai n'eTun'  
 tOTTu  
 aka maTal potuLiya mukai mutir vAn  
 pUg  
 kOTu vArn'tanna, veN pUt tAzai  
 5. **eRi tirai** utaittalin, pogkit tAtu cOrpu,

Natrinai 203, Ulōchanār, Sanga Ilakkiam

If separated from him even for  
 a day after our intimate friendship,  
 in the fragrant grove on the sand dunes  
 brought by the **roaring waves**,...

5. muTagku puRa iRavin mOvAy  
 ERRai,  
**eRi tirai** tokutta ekkar n'eTug kOTTut  
 tuRu kaTaR talaiya tOTu poti tAzai  
 Natrinai 211, Kōttiyūr Nallanthaiyār,  
 Sanga Ilakkiam

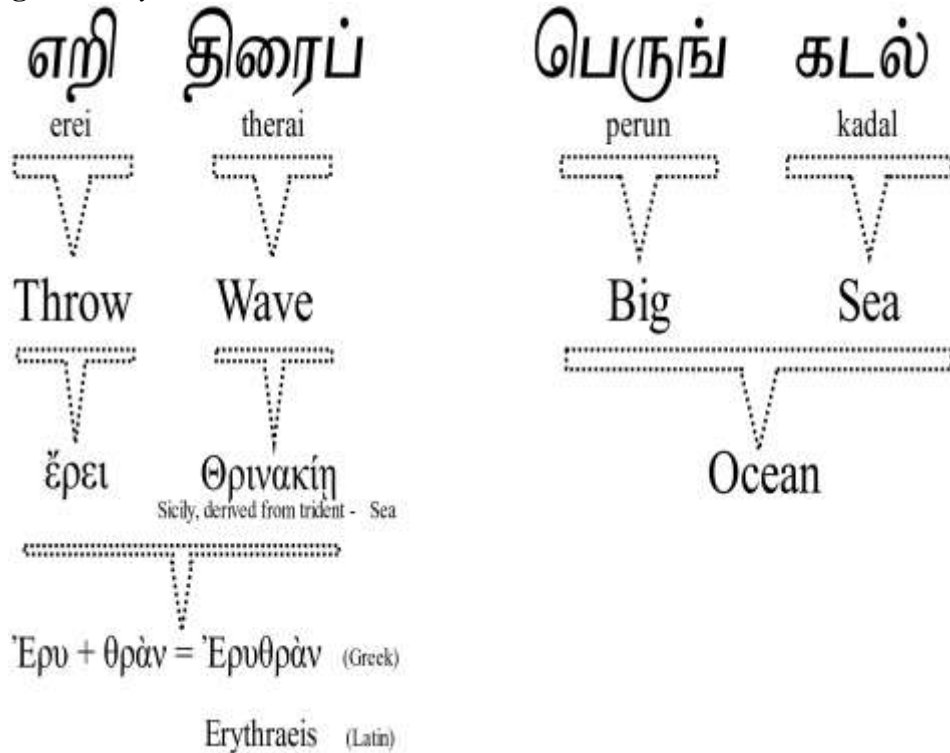
.....food in the salt pans fed by the  
 .....**moving ocean waves**, near the  
 .....curved backwaters,

ciRu veN kAkkaic cev vAyp perun'tOTu  
**eRi tirait** tivalai Irm puRam n'anaippa,

If he leaves, the lord of the  
 vast **ocean shores**,...

Kurunthokai 334, Ilampoothanār, Sanga  
 Ilakkiam

Thus the word used to denote ocean in Greek “Ερυθρὰν” and “Erythraeis” in Latin are denoted as “Erytherae” in Tamil with the meaning of “Ocean of throwing waves” as described in Figure 6.

**Figure 6.** *Erythrae*

Another word Periplous represented by Περίπλους which is related with “Ἐρυθράν” also needs to be researched. Here the word Periplous is thought by the author of the Greek work as “Περίπλους” and the same is denoted by Περίπλους της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης. There are some thoughts raised by this author (Seland 2016),<sup>39</sup> but the same word in Tamil gives rise to different thoughts.

### Περίπλους

This word can be sub-divided as Περί + πλους. In Greek the word “Περί” has a meaning which is described below.

#### Περι

ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς θέλξει σε δυνήσεται: οὐ γὰρ  
ἐάσει  
φάρμακον ἐσθλόν, ὃ τοι δώσω, ἐρέω δὲ  
ἕκαστα.  
293. ὁππότε κεν Κίρκη σ' ἐλάσῃ **περιμήκει**  
ῥάβδῳ,  
δὴ τότε σὺ ξίφος ὅζῃ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ

but even so she shall not be able to  
bewitch thee, for the potent herb that I  
shall give thee will not suffer it. And I  
will tell thee all. When Circe shall  
smite thee with her **long** wand, then do  
thou draw thy sharp sword from beside  
thy thigh and rush upon Circe, as

<sup>39</sup>Recent studies have questioned this, raising questions about whether the work, although written in the form of a single author, might be of a cumulative nature and later date, thus placing it in the tradition of ancient geographical scholarship rather than as a practical guide.

μηροῦ  
Κίρκη ἐπαῖξαι, ὥς τε κτάμεναι μενεαίνων.  
Hom. Od. Book 10.

though thou wouldst slay her.

(Murray 1919)

Here the word “Περὶ” has the meaning of “long” in Greek language which is also the same in subjective elegy poems of Tamil literature (Tamil Virtual University 1995).

eri akain'tanna tAmarai iTai iTai  
arin'tu kAl kuvitta cen' n'el vinaijar  
kaL koNTu maRukum cAkATu aLaRRu  
uRin,  
Ay karumpu aTukkum pAypunai Ura!  
5 *periya* n'AN ilaimanRa; 'pori enap

Akanānūru 116, Parānar,  
Sanga Ilakkiam

Oh man from the town where water  
flows,  
carts that bring liquor to paddy reapers  
who  
reap and heap red paddy which has  
flame-like,  
lotus blossoms growing in between, gets  
stuck in the  
mud and sugarcane are lined to get  
them moving!  
You certainly have no *big* shame!

Iyal puRRattu Irm puRattu iRutta  
kurumpi valcip perug kai ERRai  
tUgku tOl tutiya vaL ukir katuvalin,  
pAmpu matan aziyum pAnAT  
kagkulum,  
5 ariya allaman ikuLai! '*periya*  
kEzal aTTa pEzvAy ERRai

Akanānūru 8, Perunkundrūr Kilār  
Sanga Ilakkiam

My friend! It would not be difficult  
for us, to go in the middle of the night,  
on a path where a *big* male bear uses his  
pointed, sharp claws covered by loose  
skin to grab the fungus combs that  
are on the wet side of a termite mound,

atu varal anmaiyo aritE; avan mArpu  
uRuka enRa n'ALE kuRuki,  
Igku AkinRE-tOzi!-kAnal  
ATu arai putaiyak kOTai iTTa  
aTumpu ivar maNaR kOTu Ura, n'eTum  
panai  
kuRiya Akum tuRaivanaip  
*periya* kURi yAy aRin'tanaLE.

Kurunthokai 248, Ulōchanār  
Sanga Ilakkiam

Mother knows about him  
from great words, my friend,  
the lord of the seashore

Thus, in both of the languages Greek and Tamil, the first part of the word Περὶπλους (Περὶ + πλους), that is “περι” is denoted as “peri” which has the meaning of big and long. The second part of the word “πλους” needs to be searched in Greek.

## “Πλους”

In Greek language the word “πόλεις” is used to denote the land.

75. ἐλῶσι γάρ σε καὶ δι’ ἡπείρου μακρᾶς  
βιβῶντ’ ἀν’ αἰεὶ τὴν πλανοστιβῆ χθόνα  
ὑπὲρ τε πόντον καὶ περιρρύτας πόλεις.

Aesch. Eum.

For as you go always over the earth that  
wanderers tread, they will drive you on,  
even across the wide mainland, beyond  
the sea and the island *cities*.

(Smyth 1926b)

294. Εὐβοίη Ἀθήναις ἔστι τις γείτων  
πόλις ...  
Eur. Ion

There is a *city*, Euboea, which is a  
neighbor to Athens.

(Potter 1938b)

144. φράζεο νῦν ὅπως κε πόλιν καὶ  
ἄστὺ σώσῃς  
οἷος σὺν λαοῖς τοῖ Ἰλίῳ ἐγγεγάασιν:  
II. Book 17.

Bethink thee now how by thyself  
thou mayest save thy *city* and home  
aided only by the folk that were born  
in Ilios;

(Murray 1924)

Thus in Greek the word “πόλεις” which denotes the city is seen as a metathesis<sup>40</sup> of the word “πλους” (Περίπλους - Περί + πλους). There is a resemblance with this word and it is represented by the word “Pulam” in subjective elegy poems of Tamil literature.

## Pulam

maNi miTain'tanna kunRam kavaiiya  
5. am kATTu Ar iTai, maTap piNai  
tazLi,  
tiri maruppu iralai pul arun'tu ukaLa,  
mullai viyan *pulam* parappi, kOvalar  
kuRum poRai marugkin n'aRum pU  
ayara,  
patavu mEyal arun'tu matavu n'aTai n'al  
An

the mountains appear like coral  
set with sapphire, a stag embraces its  
doe, grazes on grass and romps around  
on a beautiful forest path, mullai vines  
have spread on the *vast land*, and near  
the hills cattle herders adorn themselves  
with fragrant flowers,

Akanānūru 14, Okkūr Masāthanār,  
Sanga Ilakkiam  
(Tamil Virtual University 1995)

yAyum jAyum yAr AkiyarO?  
en'taiyum n'un'taiyum em muRaik  
kELir?

My mother and your mother,  
what are they to each other?  
My father and your father,

<sup>40</sup>Metathesis – is the transposition of sounds or syllables in a word or of words in a sentence like foliage > foilage, anemone > anenome, cavalry > calvary.

yAnum n'Iyum ev vazi aRitum?  
cem **pulam** peyal n'Ir pOla  
anpuTai n'e'jcam tAm kalan'tanavE.

Kurunthokai 40, Sempulapēyaneerār,  
Sanga Ilakkiam (Tamil Virtual  
University 1995)

how are they related?  
You and I,  
how did we know each other?  
Like rainwater that falls and  
merges with the red **land**, our  
loving hearts have become one.

In Greek φύλαξ, φυλασσε means “guarded” and “watch”.

Θεράπεινα

86. κίνδυνος: Ἑρμιόνη γὰρ οὐ συμκρὸν

**φύλαξ**.

Eur. Andr.

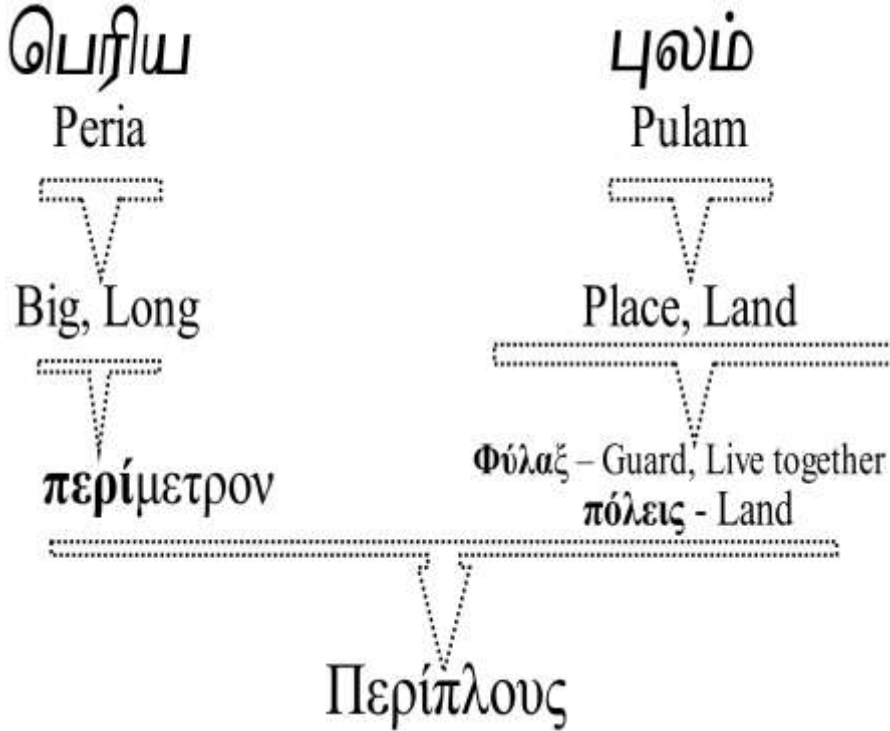
Servant

86. There is risk. Hermione is no  
slouch as guard.

(Kovacs 1994b)

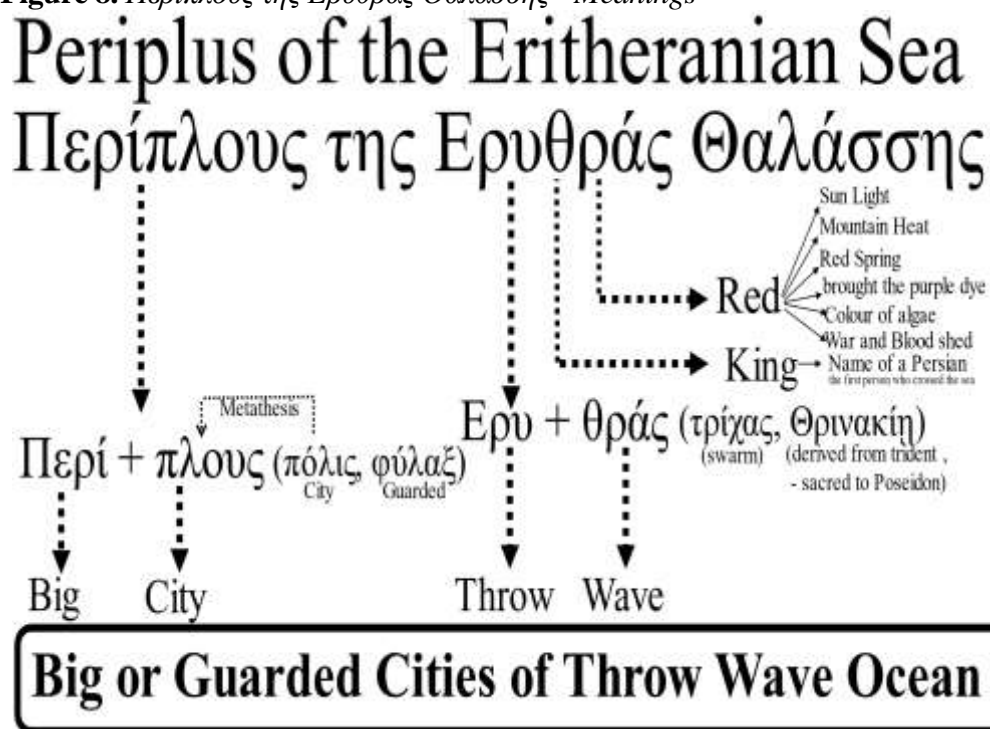
Thus the Greek words πόλις which means city and φύλαξ that denotes guard have resemblance with the Tamil word “pulam” which means land or guarded city. So the word “Περίπλους (Περί + πλους)” of “Περίπλους της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης” has the meaning “big or long land or guarded cities” as indicated in Figure 7.

**Figure 7.** *Περί + πλους*



So the Greek word “Περίπλους” doesn’t denote the author, but places in Greek language, hence the words “Περίπλους της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης” represent big cities of the ocean of throwing waves, in both the languages, Greek and Tamil as indicated in Figure 8.



**Figure 8.** Περίπλους της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης - Meanings

### Conclusion

The Greek word Ἐρυθρὰν which means Erythraean Sea is mentioned in ancient literature. It is famous for the sea trade route. The Greek word ἐρεῦθω made one to misunderstand that the Red Sea is reddish in colour. In those times, this Greek word not only represented the present Red Sea, but also the places such as the Indian Ocean, Bay of Bengal, Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf. After that it was only attributed to denote Red Sea. There were also other thoughts which aroused against the colour red being the reason and so called Ἐρύθρας, which meant Erythras, a name of a Persian, who first crossed that sea. This sea route connects Greece to Far East Asia. One among them was Tamil Nadu. There are many references that prove the occurrence of sea trade of Greeks with Tamil Nadu. The word “Ερυ” pronounced as “Ery” means “throw” in both Greek and Tamil, and the word “thrae” means wave in Tamil and hair in Greek. Both languages relate it with “swarm”, which means joining of small particles into one big mass. Thus the word Ἐρυθρὰν called Erythraean means the ocean of throwing waves. Periplus is also related with this sea and might be the author of the work called “Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης”. Peri means “big or long” both in Greek and Tamil and “pulam” means land, city in Tamil and polis means city and pulas means guard in Greek. Thus the words Περίπλους της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης means the “Big guarded cities of the Ocean of Throwing Waves or Throw Wave Ocean”.

## References

- Beyers EE (1962) *Vergil: eclogue 7-A theory of poetry*. *Acta Classica* 5: 38–47.
- Burnet J (1903) *Platos statesman*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Butler HE (1912) *The elegies of Propertius*. London: William Heinemann, New York: GP Putnam's Sons.
- Cappers RT (2006) Roman foodprints at Berenike. In *Archaeobotanical Evidence of Subsistence and Trade in the Eastern Desert of Egypt*. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology.
- Coleridge EP (1891) *Euripides Iphigenia in Aulis*. London: George Bell and Sons.
- Cory IP (1832) *Ancient fragments of the Phonician, Chaldaean, Egyptian, Tyrian, Carthaginian, Indian, Persian, and other writers*. London: William Pickering.
- Curtius (1908) *Rufus Quintus Historiarum Alexandri Magni Macedonis libri qui supersunt (Histories of Alexander the Great)*. Edmund Hedicke, Teubneri: Lipsiae.
- Eberhard ABG (1885) *Indica Arrian*. Leipzig.
- Fowler HN (1921) *Platos statesman*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, London: William Heinemann Ltd.
- Godley AD (1920) *Herodotus history*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Griffith RTH (1896) *The Rig Veda*. Sacred-text.com.
- Heraeus W (1976) *Martial epigrammata*. Leipzig: Tufts University.
- Jebb SR (1889) *The Oedipus at Colonus of Sophocles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jones HL (1924) *The geography of Strabo*. Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press.
- Jones WHS (1918) *Pausanias description of Greece*. London: William Heinemann Ltd.
- Kovacs D (1994a) *Euripides Medea*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Kovacs D (1994b) *Euripides Andromache*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Murray AT (1919) *Homer The Odyssey*. Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press.
- Murray AT (1924) *Homer The Iliad*. Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press.
- Murray G (1913) *Euripides Iphigenia in Aulis*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Oldfather CH (1989) *Diodorus Siculu library of history*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Pearse R (2008) *Martial epigrams*. Book 8. London: Bohn's Classical Library.
- Potter R (1938a) *Euripides Iphigenia in Tauris*. New York: Random House.
- Potter R (1938b) *Euripides Ion*. New York: Random House.
- Pugazhendhi D (2020) Comparison between the Grammar of Greek Sapphic and Tamil Seppal Songs. *Athens Journal of Philology* 7(3): 147–170.
- Pugazhendhi D (2021a) Tamil Silappathikaram and the Greek Argonautica and Medea – Comparative literary mythological studies on characterising and the philosophy of fate and chastity. *Global Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 21(10): 9–33.
- Pugazhendhi D (2021b) Tamil, Greek, Hebrew and Sanskrit: sandalwood (σανταλόξυλο) and its semantics in classical literatures. *Athens Journal of Philology* 8(3): 207–230.
- Rolfe JC (1946) *Historiarum Alexandri Magni Macedonis Libri Qui Supersunt (Histories of Alexander the Great)*. By Quintus Curtius, Roman historian, 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, London: William Heinemann Ltd.
- Schoff WH (1913) The name of the Erythraean Sea. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 33: 349–362.
- Schoff WH (1917) Navigation to the Far East under the Roman Empire. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 37: 240–249.
- Seland EH (2016) The periplus of the Erythraean Sea - A network approach. *The Asian Review of World Histories* 4(2): 191–205.

- Smith KF (1913) *The elegies of Albius Tibullus*. Britain: American Book Company.
- Smyth HW (1926a) *Aeschylus Persians*. Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press.
- Smyth HW (1926b) *Aeschylus Eumenides*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Storr F (1912) *Sophocles Oedipus at Colonus*. New York, London: The Macmillan Company.
- Tamil Virtual University (1995) *Sanga Ilakkiam* (Group of 18 literatures). Tamil Nadu, India: Government of Tamil Nadu.
- Warmington EH (1928) *The commerce between the Roman Empire and India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilfred H (1912) *The periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. New York: Longmans.
- Williams TC (1910) *Vergil Aeneid*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.
- Żuchowska M (2013) Palmyra and the Far Eastern trade. *Journal Studia Palmyreńskie* 12, *Fifty Years of Polish Excavations in Palmyra 1959–2009, International Conference*, Warsaw, 6–8/12/2010. Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw (PCMA UW), Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (WUW), 381–387.



## Lost in the Scotch Mist – New Attributions to Tobias Smollett

By Donald C Shelton \*

*The year 2021 is the tercentenary of the birth of the Scottish author, Tobias Smollett, and a suitable occasion to reassess his career; wherein conventional wisdom credits him with no literary works prior to 1746. For his early career it is necessary to look into anonymous works, with those published in London in 1730-1770 largely unresearched; and their anonymity a blurry window into history. An estimate of those separately published, or as contributions within periodicals, derives a corpus of 20,000 anonymous works: essays, poems, letters, plays, satires, novels, politics, and histories. In seeking to pierce the fog of anonymity, some 5,000 of those have been reviewed, as part of a decade of research into the early career of Smollett; with the extensive, open access, research notes freely available to scholars. That research reveals him as a prolific, but anonymous, author who contributed to London periodicals from c.1731, and published individual works from c.1733. Analysis across a range of genuine or spurious imprints, revealed a distinctive style which allows tracing of his literary DNA. From the decade of research, this essay selects a score of works describing travels or events, mainly in Scotland, around the time of the Jacobite Rebellion, and presents pro forma cases for their attribution to Smollett.*

**Keywords:** *anonymous works, spurious imprints, satire, author attribution, Scottish literature, Jacobite Rebellion, Tobias Smollett*

### Introduction

Tobias George Smollett (1721-1771) is largely unresearched in Scotland, with a key biography published over seventy years ago (Knapp 1949). The disinterest is despite a 1968 paper proposing a major portion of a series of thirty-one scurrilous and anonymous pamphlets about George Sackville were written by Smollett (Klukoff 1968). Now, extensive, open access, research notes reveal major gaps in Knapp's biography; including Smollett's poetry from c.1731, his 1737 arrival in London, and his prolific authorship (Shelton 2015). Although the detail is outside the scope of this paper, the notes cover works published over many genuine and spurious imprints. They illustrate Smollett's preference to hide behind pseudonyms and spurious imprints. Attributions are aided by: chronology, imprint, theme, content, style, language, satire, and polemics; e.g., a reliance on polemic terms such as; nay; in short; to be short; in a word.

Aids to Smollett attributions are remarks in *Monthly Review* and *Critical Review*. Ralph Griffiths was the nonconformist publisher of *Monthly Review*, who, as discussed later, published *Ascanius* for Smollett in 1747. However, when

---

\*Independent Researcher, New Zealand.

Smollett preferred to patronise M. Cooper and W. Owen, and also use spurious imprints, Griffiths sought to target Presbyterian Smollett. He saw Smollett as a competitor in an overcrowded market, one who hid behind pseudonyms and spurious imprints. Griffiths had a combative reputation and, as the 1750's progressed he published scathing remarks in *Monthly Review*, seeking to suppress Smollett's sales.

Such remarks reinforce attributions to Smollett, as with sarcastic comments by Griffiths on *A Letter from a Physician*; "This does not appear to have been wrote by a physician; the style and expression being too mean and inaccurate to render it digestible by readers who have any tolerable acquaintance with medicine" (*Monthly Review* 1752, p. 400). That barb was designed to hurt surgeon Smollett. Griffiths was aware Smollett, unqualified as a physician, but seeking an honorific title, had resorted, in 1750, to purchasing an M.D. for £28 from Marischal College, Aberdeen. As increasing negativity from Griffiths impacted on Smollett's sales, in 1756 he launched the *Critical Review*; Smollett's works thence forth received favourable remarks in *Critical Review*, whilst continuing to be demeaned in *Monthly Review*.

### ***A Letter from a Physician – 1752***

Items in Knapp's biography do provide pegs in the ground. For example he writes; "About 1753, Smollett set out for Scotland to see his relatives and friends, after having been separated from them some fifteen years. He appears to have left his family in Chelsea during the five months or so of his absence" (Knapp 1949, p. 160). Little is recorded about this visit; but the 1753 visit was not a holiday, as indicated by the absence of his family. The prime reason was seeking relief from consumption, as revealed by a new attribution; *A Letter from a Physician* (Smollett 1752C, Figure 1). As editor, Smollett states his case;

I had reduced myself into a very deplorable State of Health. I had a violent Cough, Difficulty of Breathing, a continual Tremor on my Nerves; I had coliquative Sweats, was feverish and hectick, with a continual Looseness; was totally amaciated, and every Symptom of a confirmed Consumption. ... I had a strong Inclination to be gathered to my Forefathers, and have my Remains in my own Country, not without some faint Hopes, that my native Air, so favourable to my long-liv'd Neighbours, might perhaps postpone my Journey to the other World for some few Years longer. With this View I wrote my Case to the Author of the following Letter ... (Smollett 1752C, p. v).

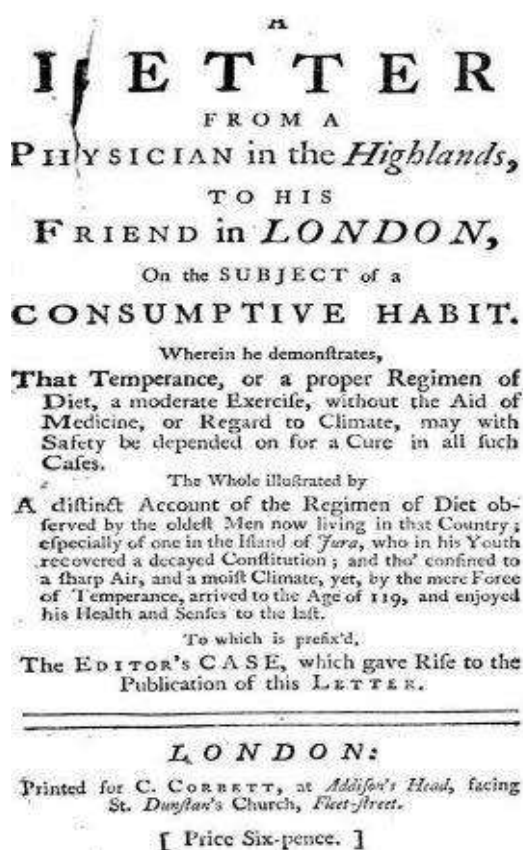
Smollett had a penchant for pseudo-letters, and *A Letter from a Physician* includes a pseudo-reply from Scotland, in the persona of a Scottish physician. The reply says of Smollett, "But you are not to conclude, that because you are a Native of this Country, that therefore you are able to endure it ... I remember before you left this Country you enjoyed as good a State of Health as most Men ... But the Case is altered with you; you are no more the hardy Highlander, you are merely English" (Smollett 1752C, p. 3). The reply discusses health improvements hoped

from the visit. Inverness is not mentioned, but as Highlands capital was Smollett's logical destination. As aids to attribution, *A Letter from a Physician* includes, "In a Word, they seem intent upon reducing it into the smallest Dimensions," and, "in a Word, till his Death was as hardy as the youngest Man in the Country" (Smollett 1752C, p. vi, 16).

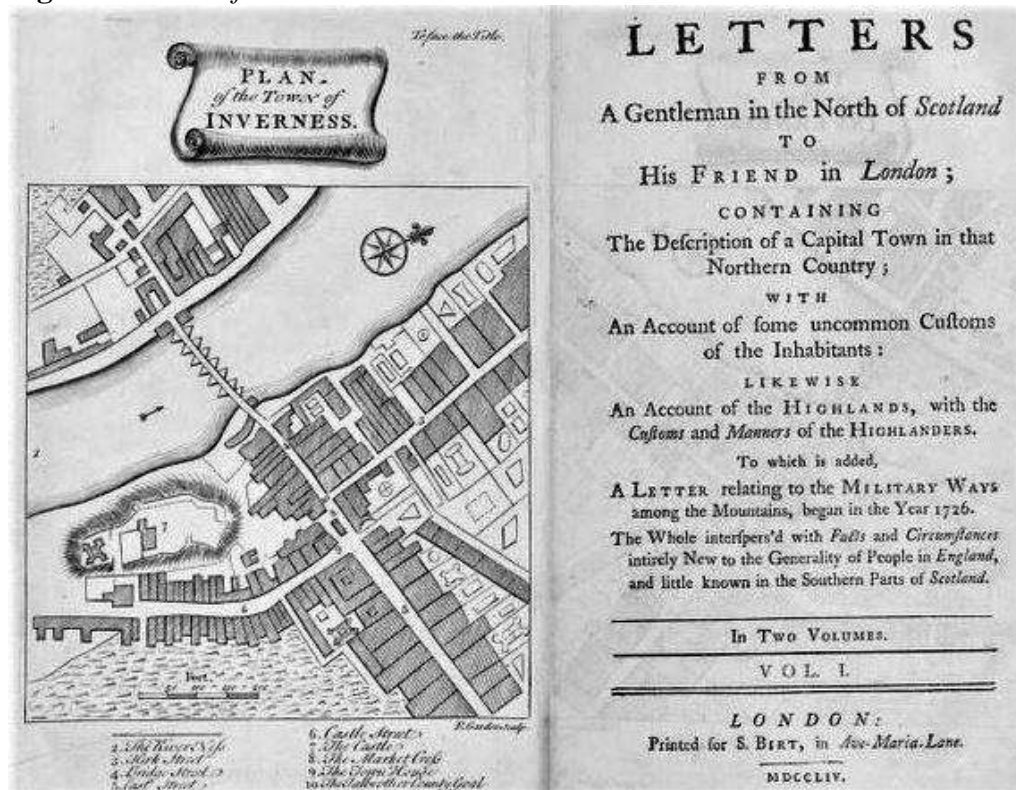
Smollett's consumption aids in attributing, *The Ladies Magazine .. By Jasper Goodwill, of Oxford, esq*; London, G. Griffith; imprint likely spurious (Smollett 1753A). Smollett is credited as major contributor, writing as Jasper Goodwill, and hiding his Glasgow origin by purporting an Oxford education. The magazine had a final issue of 10 November, 1753, which reported the consumptive and literary demise of Jasper Goodwill. The date is significant: Smollett went to Inverness in mid-1753, seeking relief from consumption. *The Ladies Magazine* limped on until November 1753, when it failed; as noted by Alison Adburgham;

The Publishers desire to acquaint the Public that Jasper Goodwill, Esq; Author of this Work, having for some time been afflicted with a lingering Consumption, he gave up the Ghost last Monday; so that this Number concludes Volume Four and all his Lucubrations under the name of the *Ladies Magazine* (Adburgham 2012).

Figure 1. *Letter – Physician*



**Figure 2.** *Letters from a Gentleman*



### *Letters from a Gentleman – 1754*

With Knapp and *A Letter from a Physician* demonstrating Smollett was in Inverness for his health for five months in 1753, it is logical to consider what he wrote whilst there. Clues are works published in 1754; an obvious target is, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland* .... London, S Birt, 1754 (Figure 2) (Smollett 1754). The work comprises Letters I-XXVI, purportedly written c.1720-1730, with Inverness as “the Capital Town in that Northern Country”. Similarity of title to *A Letter from a Physician* hints at his pen, and Letter XXVI, describes his state, confirming ex-navy Smollett was there for his health; note also the polemic “to be short”;

A certain officer of the army [navy], when in London, was advised by his physicians to go into the country for better air ... he resolved by gentle journeys to endeavour to reach [Fort Augustus] ... I was then in the barrack, and the next morning early I saw upon the parade, a stranger which is there an unusual sight. He was in a deep consumption, sadly emaciated, and with despair in his countenance ... I happened at that instant to be, as it were, inspired with a confidence not ordinary with me, and told him peremptorily and positively the country would cure him ... To be short he mended daily in his health, grew perfectly well in a little time, obtained leave to return to England (Smollett 1818, pp. 227–229).

*Letters from a Gentleman* is often attributed to an Edmund Burt. In *Stepping*



*Westward* (Leask 2020) Nigel Leask overlooks Smollett's soundex puns, and accepts S. Birt as publisher, whilst proposing Edmund Burt as author. That is despite Leask noting; "Ironically, in Gaelic his patronymic, 'bùrt' means, 'mockery, ridicule, quizzing, joking'". Much academic effort has been expended to establish Edmund Burt as a real person (cf. Dougal Graham, William Chaigneau, and William Horsley as discussed below). But what does that prove? It is the identity of the author that is important, not coincidental existence of a minor historical figure. In his introduction to the Georgia University edition of Smollett's, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, Thomas Preston quotes Avrom Fleishman; with an applicable test;

The presence of the external world instead, as Fleishman continues, raises the question, "how do we respond to works which themselves insist on their reality function, which tie themselves closely to historical time and geographical space, which mix invented names with the names of actual persons, and which refer to objects that are observable in the inhabited world?" (Smollett 1990, p. xlv).

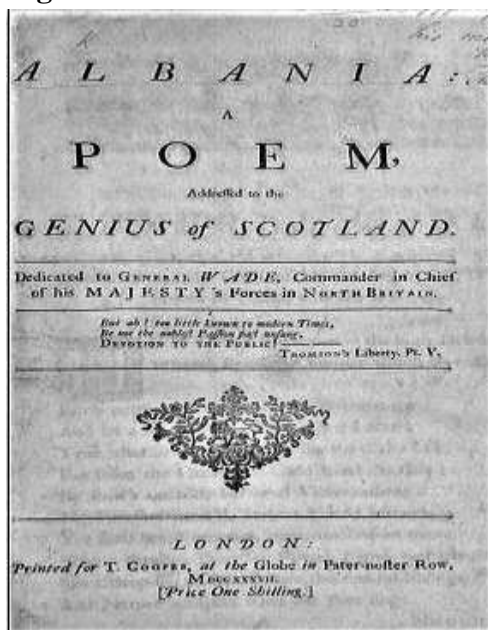
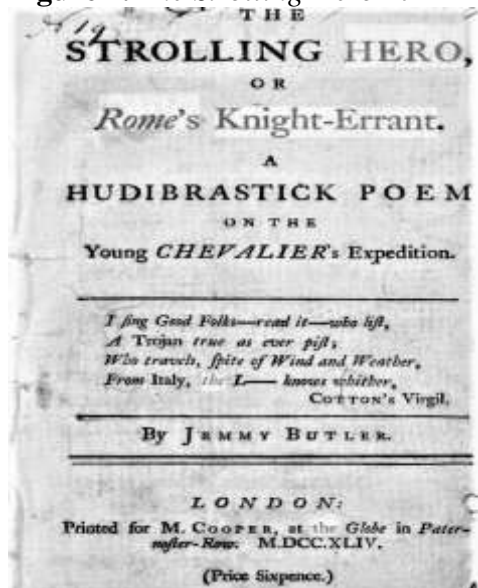
Some sources opine Edmund Burt resided in Inverness between the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, but War Office records fail to show he held military rank. *Notes and Queries*, 1859, p. 174, refers to Burt as author of a July 1725 letter from Edinburgh, in connection with Glasgow riots of 1725. The letter has no reference to Burt as an engineer, but he does admit to gout; an obstacle to surveying in rough country! Others claim he was Chief Surveyor for the road building, but prudent scrutiny of *Letters* does not support this. The roads built by General Wade were across the eastern highlands, essentially from Crieff to Loch Ness and Inverness (Figure 5), whereas 90% of the discussion within Letters I-XXV is a travelogue on the people and history of the western highlands. Only Letter XXVI describes the eastern roads and their construction, and appears an afterthought; describing completed roads and explaining how features were constructed.

A critical test compares *Letters* with Samuel Johnson's, *A Journey to the Western Islands* (Johnson 1775), and James Boswell's, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (Boswell 1785). The benchmark is the logic used by Sherlock Holmes; "Why did the dog not bark?" *Letters* does not extend to the Western Islands, but there are major areas of geographic overlap around Inverness. Both Johnson and Boswell itemise countless actual names of people they met and places they visited. But in *Letters* there are no names of actual people or locations; whereas one should expect genuine letters of c.1720-30 to contain divers names of people and locations. The reason, "the dog did not bark", i.e., *Letters* omits names and places, is because it satirises events during Smollett's 1753 visit. Both Leask and Sir Walter Scott accept *Letters* as written by Burt but, more importantly, neither Johnson nor Boswell quote from *Letters* in their *Journals* of 1775 and 1785; both being keenly aware it was a Smollett satire.

The c.1720-1730 dates of the pseudo-letters are a clue Smollett's inspiration for *Letters* was Defoe's three-volume travel book, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (Defoe 1724); tempered by satiric mocking of Highland inhabitants, and reminiscent of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (Swift 1726). In bracketing those dates, Smollett intended readers of *Letters* should conclude his literary skills were

on a par with Defoe and Swift. Smollett never met Defoe, but adopted him, along with Swift and Pope, as literary models. Defoe and Smollett were each taught rhetoric, logic and Latin grammar, and the sciences. Defoe had a parallel reluctance to reveal details about himself, and both wrote anonymously. As for Defoe, Smollett's family was a confidant of royalty; Sir James Smollett was knighted in 1698 by King William. Defoe was anti-Catholic and feared Popish plots, as did Smollett, an avid anti-Jacobite; who attacked Alexander Pope and the French for Catholicism. Defoe wrote *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, a model for adventures in Smollett's *Ferdinand, Count Fathom* (Smollett 1753C). In his *Review*, Defoe pioneered many features of modern newspapers; echoed by Smollett in writing for London periodicals. Smollett drew on Defoe's *Review* title for his *Critical Review*, and followed Defoe's lead in presenting opinions he did not hold. Defoe often wrote on a single theme, but adopting dissimilar polemic arguments. Smollett did the same, with opposing pamphlets, via a battling and baffling mix of spurious and genuine publishers, intended to convey the impression of vigorous public debate.

Critical analysis of *Letters* demonstrates the work as a travelogue. Although purporting to be a series of conversational letters, when analysed carefully, that is not the underlying structure. Instead of day to day accounts of road-building, each letter is a cultural and geographical description of an aspect of north-western highland Scotland; Smollett's accumulation of information over a period of five months, extracted from local histories, travel, and interaction with the inhabitants. A typical Smollett subterfuge is reference to people and events in Edinburgh as cover for Glasgow. Instances in *Letters* do give a genuine impression of Smollett residing in Inverness for several months; for example, multiple references to meeting English army officers, but as officers posted to Inverness after the Rebellion, not on road-building duty. If the author was Chief Surveyor for Wade, one would expect the letters to contain endless discussions on difficulties in plotting the route, surveying and building roads in rough country, and bad weather, together with problems in supply of labour and materials. Also progressive milestones achieved, reports of accidents, management of the workforce, and, especially, the attitudes of eastern-highland inhabitants to the soldiers, and to the road.

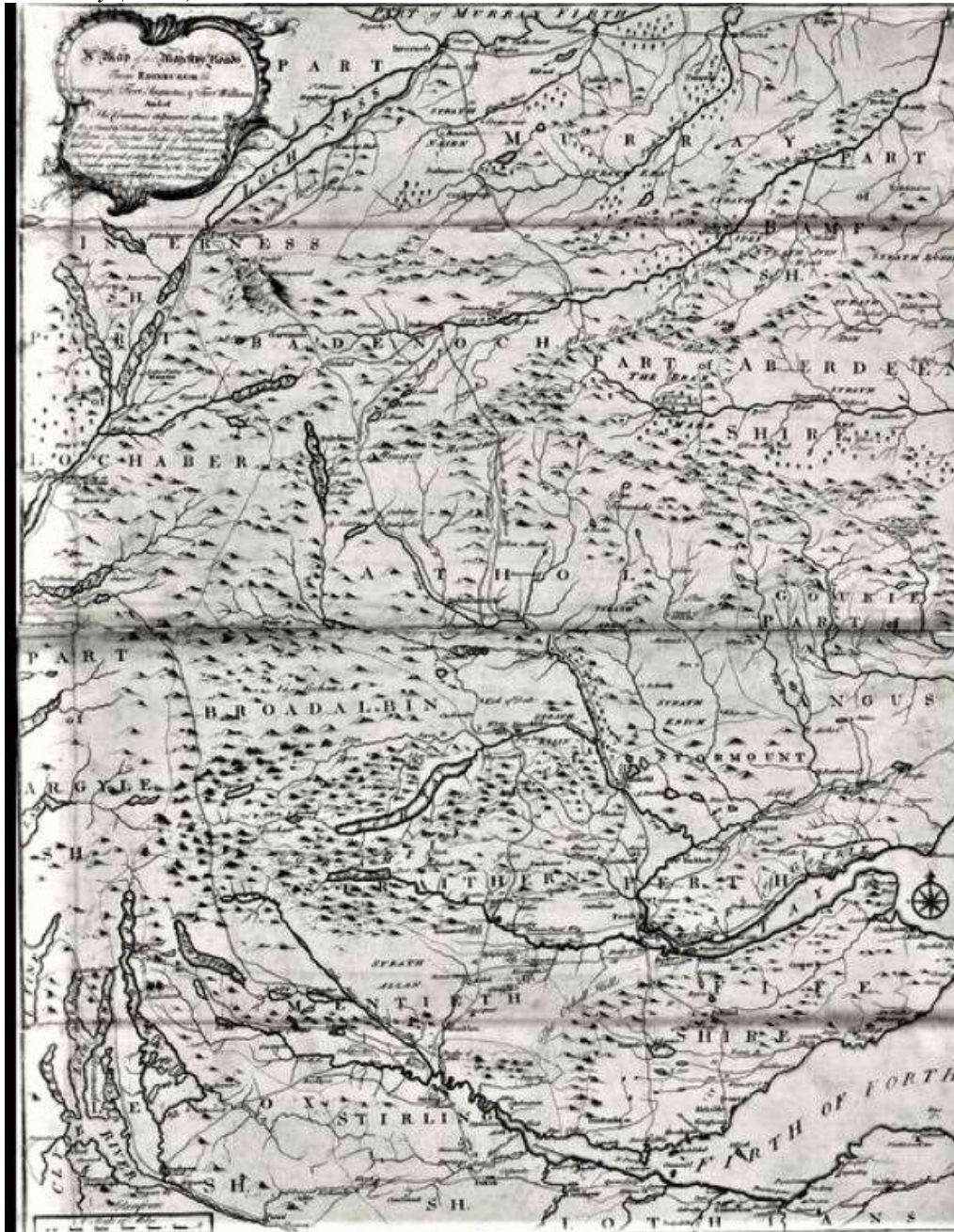
**Figure 3.** *Albania 1737***Figure 4.** *The Strolling Hero 1744*

Smollett had admired Wade's efforts in Scotland even before 1753, as indicated by a poem now attributed to him, *Albania, a Poem, Addressed to the Genius of Scotland*, London, T. Cooper, 1737 (Figure 3). It is dedicated to General Wade but, as typical opinionated Smollett, is misleadingly, "Addressed to the Genius of Scotland"; intended to self-describe Smollett! The pamphlet includes Smollett dissimulation; on many occasions he introduced an apocryphal piece by pretending to have found a cache of letters or similar:

The above poem was wrote by a Scots clergyman some years ago, who is since dead.

The fine spirit of poetry which it breathes, its classic air, but, above all, the noble enthusiasm he discovers for his country, cannot fail to make it agreeable to such as have a taste for that simplicity of nature and that beautiful diversification of epithets which constitute the principal excellence of antiquity (Smollett 1737).

**Figure 5.** A Map of Roads from Edinburgh to Inverness, Fort Augustus and Fort William, as Advertised in Scots Magazine, March, 1746, and Available to Smollett in 1746 and 1753. General Wade and his Planning of the Roads are discussed by Chantrey (2009)



Smollett contributed to *The Gentleman's Magazine* and, for details of 1745,

drew on the *London Gazette*, with its 1745 minutiae. Smollett alludes to the *London Gazette* in an anti-Jacobite poem attributed to him; *The strolling hero, or, Rome's knight-errant .... By Jemmy Butler*, London, M. Cooper, 1744 (Figure 4).

The Story's odd, and then, I pray,  
 What to my Numbers can you say;  
 Tho' rough and rumbling as a Coach,  
 They're smoother than the Prose of \_\_\_\_  
 And I have sure a Right to blaze it,  
 Who but transverse the *L\_\_\_\_n G\_\_\_\_te* (Smollett 1744C, p. 24).

Evidence for the early career of Smollett is outside this paper, but cross-linked and detailed research shows him with surprising editorial influence at *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *Scots Magazine*, and an ability to puff his works therein, often a clue to his pen (Shelton 2015). In claiming discovery of old letters, he often left a clue any claim of age was a fiction; e.g., an ironic hint opening his puffing of *Letters* in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1754, p.342; "These letters, which are said to have been written between 20 and 30 years ago, the attentive reader may perhaps suspect to be of later date".

References within *Letters* seek to imply it was written prior to the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion, but as a modern author might write about events prior to 1939. In setting the letters prior to 1745, Smollett was able to write a travelogue without being sidetracked by the overwhelming impact of matters, prior to, during, and after the 1745 rebellion. However, as extra camouflage, some excesses relayed to him about the 1745 rebellion, he extracted from events during the 1715 rebellion. As seen below, Smollett mimics Defoe's possession of a bundle of papers upon which his 1720, *Memoirs of a Cavalier* was based;

I found this manuscript among my father's writings, and I understand that he got them as plunder at, or after, the fight at Worcester, where he served as major of \_\_\_\_'s regiment of horse on the side of the Parliament. L.K. (Defoe 2006, pp. 13–14).

I am apt to imagine you may be curious to know by what Means the following Letters came to my Hands after the space of between twenty and thirty Years. ... The Person who writ them, has not set his Name to any one of them, and, it is very probable, he made Use of that Caution for Reasons given in his introductory Letter; ... if I had known the Name, in all Likelihood I might have thought myself under an obligation to conceal it (Smollett 1815).

In Letter I of *Letters*, Smollett also outlines his preference for anonymity;

I have several Reasons for this Precaution, which I make no doubt you will approve. First, The contrary might create Inconveniencies to me in my present Situation. It might furnish Matter for disobliging Comparisons ... And lastly, It would do me no great Honour to be known to have made a Collection of Incidents, mostly low, and sometimes disagreeable (Smollett 1815, p. 2).

Smollett used mockery within *Letters* to avenge his family honour against the

Highland Jacobites. His 1753 visit was exactly 150 years after the events of 1603, when 400 men of Clan MacGregor came to Lennox to “reave and spoyle”. The leaders were indicted, after they, “slaughteris, schamefullie, crewallie and barbaruslie murtheris and slew Peter Naper of Kilmahew; Johnne Buchannane of Buchlyvie; Tobias Smallet, bailzie of Dumbarten ...” After the guilty verdicts, the sentence provided, “the saidis persones to be tane to the mercat-croce of Edinburgh, and thair to be hangit upone ane gibbet quhill thay be deid; and thairefter thair heidis, legis, airmes and remanent partis of thair bodeis to be quarterit and put upone publict places”, and all their estates to be forfeited (Pitcairn 1833, pp. 430–432). Smollett’s earlier poem, *The Tears of Scotland* (Smollett 1746F), better describes those murderous events of 1603, affecting the Smollett family, than it does Culloden in 1746.

Whilst not a native Gaelic speaker, Smollett knew ‘bùrt’ meant, mockery, ridicule, quizzing, joking. As a joke he published *Letters* anonymously with S. Birt, a real publisher, but not otherwise used by Smollett; to veil the ridicule of Highlanders in his, “collection of incidents, mostly low, and sometimes disagreeable”. But, by January 1755, Smollett feared his identity was near discovery, and a risk to sales of other works. He elected to “kill off” the author of *Letters*, selecting another pun, Edmund Burt, as straw-man, and arranged fake obits for Burt in *Scots Magazine* and *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (Figures 6 and 7).

**Figure 6.** *Obit in Scots Magazine – 1755, p. 52*

4. At London, Edmund Burt, Esq; late agent to Gen. Wade. Chief surveyor during the making of roads through the highlands, and author of the letters concerning Scotland. [xvi. 359. 528.]  
5. At London, Sir Humphry Howarth, member for Radnorshire, Wales.

**Figure 7.** *Obit in Gentleman’s Magazine – 1755, p. 92*

Benj. Scott, Esq; of an apoplectic fit, at Poole in Dorsetshire.  
4. Edmund Burt, Esq; author of a late description of Scotland (See Vol. xxiv. p. 416)  
8. Major Matt. Draper, in St. Judley-street.  
10. Henry Ld Holyroodhouse, at Edinburgh.  
11. Sir Tho. Tyrrel. of Buckinghamshire.

The “backstory” obits introduce Burt as, “Chief surveyor during the making of roads through the highlands, and author of the letters concerning Scotland”, but fall into the category of “too good to be true” (On his p. 26, n.13, Leask (2020) mistakenly, and misleadingly, claims the obit reads in lower case, “Gen. Wade, chief surveyor”, to purport General Wade was chief surveyor.) Both obits refer to previous essays, a typical Smollett ploy to draw attention to earlier works. Smollett left satiric clues to his subterfuge; Burt puns Birt the publisher, with Edmund shared by the notorious book-seller Edmund Curll, and by Henry Fielding’s father. With Smollett shown as author of *Letters*, the life of the real Burt has no relevance.



### ***John English's Travels through Scotland – 1763***

In 1763, “Burt” was confirmed as a Smollett pseudonym, via the *Monthly Review* and *Critical Review*. The work they discussed was a scurrilous work about the Scots; *John English's travels through Scotland, Containing, a curious and entertaining account of the manners and strange customs of the inhabitants. With many humorous anecdotes...*, London, W. Morgan (Smollett 1763). Morgan being a spurious imprint in 1762-1763. Although he had “killed off” Burt for mockery of the Scots, Smollett accepted biased ridicule was saleable in England. To distance himself, he created a new persona, *John English*, to mock both Scots, and English, via enhanced bigotry. *Monthly Review* and *Critical Review* refer to Burt/Birt; and evidence Smollett's hand in both *Letters from a Gentleman* and *John English*. *Monthly Review* opines; “this shameless scribbler a native of some other soil,” in hoping “no Englishman can be charged”; thus implying Scottish Smollett as author of *John English*; and confirming *Letters* as “his satire”;

Of all the dull and stupid trash which, to our unavoidable mortification, hath passed in review before us, this surely is the dullest and most stupid; as it is also the filthiest and meanest. ... We hope, however, that no Englishman can be charged with offering so bare-faced an affront to the Public: and, indeed, from some expressions in his trumpery, we are led to conclude this shameless scribbler a native of some other soil ... As to the present dirty offender, we think it would be very proper to have him well washed in a horse-pond. Mr Birt's [sic] travels into Scotland were severely satirical upon that country, and he may possibly have made some things worse than he found them; yet ... we have known even some North-Britons who could readily forgive him his satire.... (*Monthly Review* 1763, p. 77)

In *Critical Review*, Smollett distances himself from *John English's* bigotry but acknowledges Burt/Birt, via a satiric red-herring claim Burt hanged himself: an allusion to the fate of those in Clan MacGregor who in 1603 had “crewallie and barbaruslie murtherist” Tobias Smallet;

The execrability of all execrabilities. We should not have taken notice of this performance, had it not been for a principle of humanity, which obliges us to inform the public, that it is an extract from a series of letters, in two volumes, concerning the Scotch nation, published some years ago by one B. and printed for a bookseller and namesake of his own; but it succeeded so well, that the author fairly hanged himself at his lodgings or house in Channel-Row, Westminster; a laudable example to his epitomizer! (*Critical Review* 1763, pp. 77–78).

### ***An Impartial History – 1746***

Scottish histories of the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion pay scant attention to Smollett, but as a Scot and a published author it had natural appeal for him; with multiple works now attributable to him. Recent research has focused on the author, Dougal Graham; like Edmund Burt, linked to Glasgow. Graham's work is claimed an eye-witness account of events during the Rebellion, as in the *Dictionary of*

*National Biography;*

Dougal Graham was ... much deformed, and ... when the highland army of Prince Charles Edward was on its way south in September 1745, he ... followed the prince. It is probable he was merely a camp-follower, as he can scarcely have been a soldier, but he accompanied the forces to Derby, and back to Scotland, and was present at Culloden (16 April 1746). Five months later he published *A full, particular, and true Account of the Rebellion in the year 1745-1746*. This work is written throughout in a rough doggerel, but is historically useful as the undoubted testimony of an eye-witness. ... Graham settled in Glasgow, and is said to have become a printer, but this is doubtful; at all events he became 'skellat', bellman or town-crier, of Glasgow about 1770. He is described as "a bit wee gash bodie under five feet", as being lame in one leg, "with a large hunch on his back, and another protuberance on his breast" (DNB 1900).

It is also claimed Graham wrote chapbooks, as are published in, *The Collected Writings of Dougal Graham, 'Skellat' Bellman of Glasgow*, by George MacGregor, Glasgow, Thomas D Morison, 1883 (MacGregor 1883). This contains an advertisement from the *Glasgow Courant* of 29 September, 1746;

That there is to be sold by James Duncan, Printer in Glasgow ... a Book intituled *A full, particular, and true Account of the late Rebellion in the Year 1745 and 1746, beginning with the Pretender's Embarking for Scotland, and then an Account of every Battle, Siege, and Skirmish that has happened in either Scotland or England ...* Booksellers or Packmen may have them easier from the said James Duncan, or the Author, D. Grahame (MacGregor 1883, p. 13).

Figure 8. *Epitaph on a Scotsman*

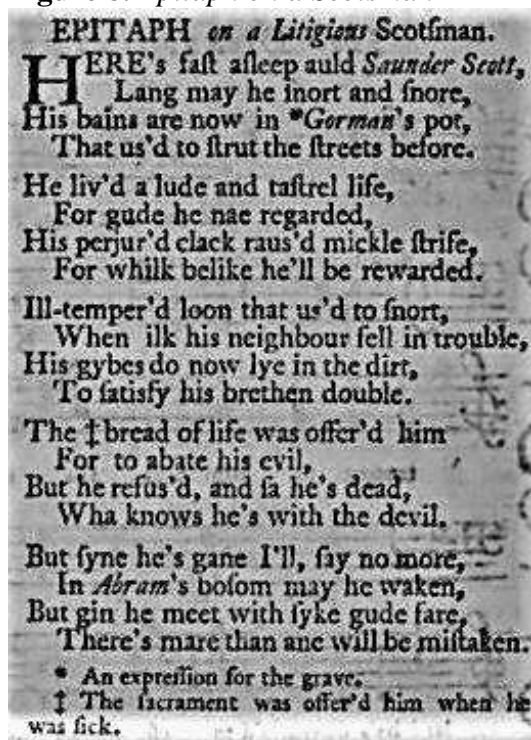




Figure 9. Rebel Musket Exercise

*The Rebel Officers way of exercising their Men.*

**T**AKE head Sawney.  
 Join your spoon hand to your muckle  
 gun, Sir.  
 Haud her out before your face, Sir.  
 Your cogue hand to your muckle gun, Sir.  
 Bring her down to your kee, Sir.  
 Pow back the lug o' her, Sir.  
 Present at the gelly welfoots, Sir.  
 Fire, Sir.  
 Haud her out before your face again, Sir,  
 Pow up the lug o' her, Sir.  
 Handle your kail-feed, Sir.  
 Cast it into the lug o' her, Sir.  
 Steak the lug o' her, Sir.  
 Haud her out before your face again, Sir.  
 Cast about your muckle gun, Sir.  
 Pow her into your wame, Sir.  
 Handle your kail-feed, Sir.  
 Bite off the head o' it, Sir.  
 Cast it into the wame o' her, Sir.  
 Lug out your wolly wand, Sir.  
 Shorten it against your wame, Sir.  
 Put it into the wame o' her, Sir.  
 Ram down your kail-feed, Sir.  
 Lug it out again, Sir.  
 Shorten it against your wame, Sir.  
 Put it into the place o' it again, Sir.  
 Cast off your muckle gun, Sir.  
 Your spoon-hand under the lug o' her, Sir.  
 Haud her out before your face again, Sir.  
 Whack her o'er your rigin, Sir.  
 Your arse to me, and your face to *Inturns*, Sir.  
 Blaw up the muckle p'pet, *McCarter*.  
 Now gie your parts, Sir.

Copies of that 1746 edition seem lost, but evidence supporting Smollett as author of the doggerel in *A full, particular, and true Account*, is that, in 1743-1746 he did publish other pieces in Scots dialect. One in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1743, p. 154, titled, *The Scotsman's Yearning*, described his 1740 visit to Dublin, seeking to meet Jonathan Swift. In *Scots Magazine*, November. 1743, p. 524, he published, *A specimen of the dialect spoke in some country places of Scotland*. Two others written in Scottish dialect bracket the timing of the 1746 advertisement for *A full, particular, and true Account*. In *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1746, on p. 379, is an *Epitaph on a Litigious Scotsman*, and on p. 643, *The Rebel Officers way of exercising their Men* (Figures 8 and 9).

A thesis by Mary Gordon Rorke discusses a second, 1752, edition of *A Full, Particular and True Account of the Rebellion ...*, printed for, and sold by Dougal Graham, Glasgow; and Alexander Young, Stirling, 1752 (Rorke 2017, Smollett 1752B). The thesis promotes the proposition Graham was a real person, and wrote the verses in doggerel. However, the thesis omits discussion of a parallel, but different, London edition of the same 1752 date, also by D. Graham; *An impartial history of the rise, progress and extinction of the late rebellion in Britain in the years 1745 & 1746 ... by D. Graham*, Falkirk, T. Johnston, 1752 (ESTC): original unsighted, and queried in some sources, but analysis here supports its existence

(Smollett 1752A). The former is in Scots dialect, whereas the latter is in English, and key to unmasking the real identity of ‘Dougal Graham’.

Despite the DNB claim “as the undoubted testimony of an eye-witness”, there are reasons to believe Dougal Graham was a Smollett pseudonym. Perhaps a local identity known to Smollett, but offered as an ironic straw-man, in publishing *An Impartial History*. T. Johnston being a spurious London imprint, and Falkirk a red-herring location. The work was published in London in 1752, shortly ahead of Smollett’s 1753 visit to Scotland. This paper analyses the origin and authorship of the London edition of *An Impartial History*, and therein scrutinises the claim for Graham as author of *A Full, Particular and True Account*. In *Collected Writings*, MacGregor seems unaware there were two 1752 works. He quotes the 1774 edition of *An Impartial History*, and accepts it differs from *A Full, Particular and True Account*. MacGregor’s remarks in *Collected Writings* merit caution, and a need to carefully assess their credibility;

As for the second edition of the *History of the Rebellion*, published in 1752 ... Its tone is indicated by the remark made by M’Vean:—*The History of the Rebellion*, published by Dougal in 1752, differs very much from the third edition, published in 1774 ... In 1752 Dougal talks of the rebels with a great deal of virulence, in 1774 he softens his tone, and occasionally introduces apologies for their conduct (MacGregor 1883, p. 33).

Graham has provided only one or two details about himself ... All beyond what is to be gained from these sources is tradition or inference, and not a little of what has thus been put on record has been questioned. ... Graham is not known to have made any effort in the direction of literature. ... The capacity in which he became attached to the Prince’s forces has been matter for conjecture. His physical deformities are assumed to have unfitted him for active service, and everything points to the conclusion that he was not a soldier, but rather a sutler, or camp-follower. ... An event of the first importance in Graham’s life was his appointment to the post of skellat bellman of the city of Glasgow ... it is surprising that no notice is taken in the Town Council Records of Graham’s incumbency (MacGregor 1883, pp. 11–19).

The DNB and MacGregor statements act as red flags. If the verses in dialect are claimed as, “the undoubted testimony of an eye-witness”, who was “not a soldier, but rather a sutler, or camp-follower”, and “a bit wee gash bodie under five feet”, as lame in one leg, “with a large hunch on his back, and another protuberance on his breast”; they wave a large red flag of ironic satire. It is not credible that, within five months of Culloden, sutler Graham had the knowledge and resources, to research in sufficient detail, and write “an Account of every Battle, Siege, and Skirmish that has happened in either Scotland or England”.

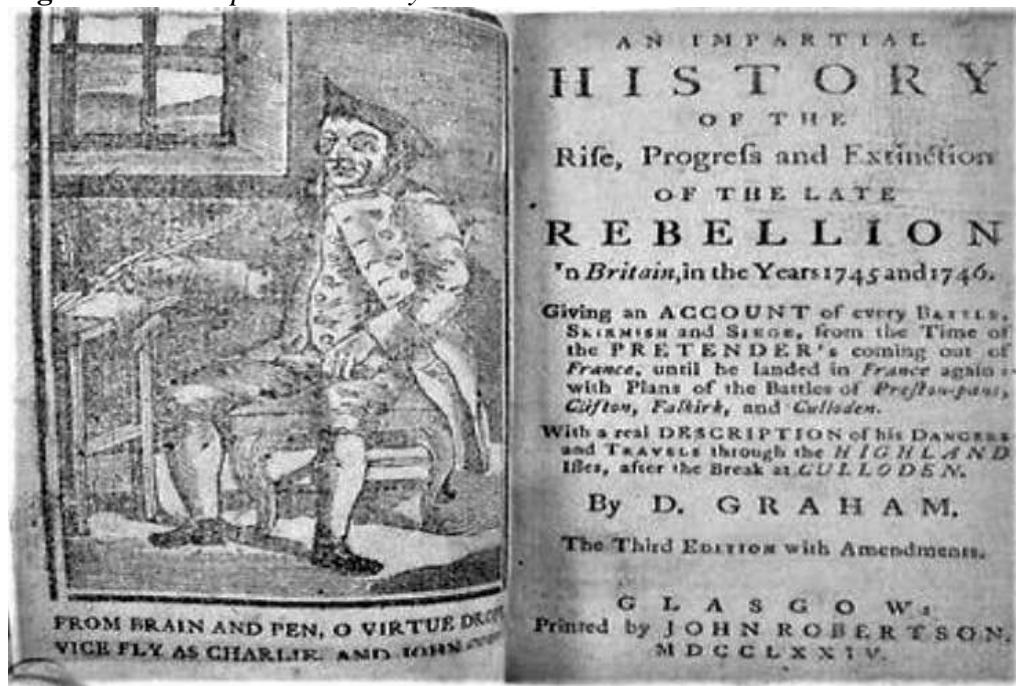
So why Smollett? Although omitted from Knapp’s biography, there are indications Smollett traveled after Culloden, to Carlisle and Glasgow, returning by sea. The visit is reconstructed, in part, from his contributions in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1748: pages 562–563, has a letter of 9 June 1746, dated Carlisle describing a journey from Derby to Carlisle, both key to the rebellion. *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1748, pages 1–5, and 289–292, has a letter of August 1746, attributed to Smollett, describing a coastal voyage south from Carlisle. Smollett

did accept a work in Scots dialect would not sell in England, so passed his 1746 manuscript to James Duncan of Glasgow for publishing. Smollett later published a separate account in English as, *An Impartial History* in 1752 with T. Johnston as publisher and Falkirk as the purported location (Smollett 1752A).

Smollett was from Glasgow; he was conversant with the local accent and history, also the Jacobite Rebellion, British and European politics, and with military service as a navy surgeon at Cartagena. Smollett was classically educated by the polemicist author, John Love; “The headmaster of Dumbarton’s school was John Love (1695-1750) the celebrated controversialist and grammarian, and also clerk of the presbytery of Dumbarton” (Knapp 1949, p. 8). Examples in this paper confirm Smollett as poet, polemicist, and satirist.

Much academic attention is directed at the verses of *An Impartial History* but, for Smollett, analysis of the full preface reveals his authorship. It is similar in style to other prefaces he wrote, with reference to Duke William [of Orange] alluding to the knighting of Sir James Smollett, Commissioner for Scotland at the Act of Settlement. Reference to “an Eye-Witness” alludes to eye-witness accounts Smollett drew from the *London Gazette*. The language is that of a classically educated scholar, claiming to be wit and grammarian; via references to Voltaire, noted as a wit, and Zoilus, the Greek grammarian. With an implied wink, he hints he is “the Author of *Ascanius*,” and acknowledges a debt to Defoe’s *Memoirs of a Cavalier* via, “let Cavillers rather write a better one”. He declares “an Itch for Scribbling” and proclaims, “I have wrote it in Vulgar Rhyme ... those of common Education like myself”. With “like myself” as a truthful, but misleading, red-herring; although he studied theology, Smollett never attained a degree;

It is grown customary to introduce New Publications ... with some kind of Oration in their Favour ... I too have my Reasons .... First then, I have an Itch for Scribbling, and having wrote the following for my Pleasure. ... Duke William, once the Idol of the loyal British, is gone to the house of Silence ... I have impartially related all that to me seemed worth while, of the Actions of either Party in that confused Fray, from the Writings of the Celebrated Voltaire, from the Author of *Ascanius*, or from my own Observation, having been an Eye-witness to most of the Movements of the Armies... I have wrote it in Vulgar Rhyme, being what not only pleased my own Fancy, but what I have found acceptable to the most part of my Countrymen, especially to those of common Education like myself. ... Therefore, let Cavillers rather write a better one, than pester themselves and the Public with their Criticisms of my Faults.—To the candid Public, I beg leave to present it, such as it is, and if they applaud, let Zoilus carp his fill—I have gained my End (MacGregor 1883, pp. 83–84).

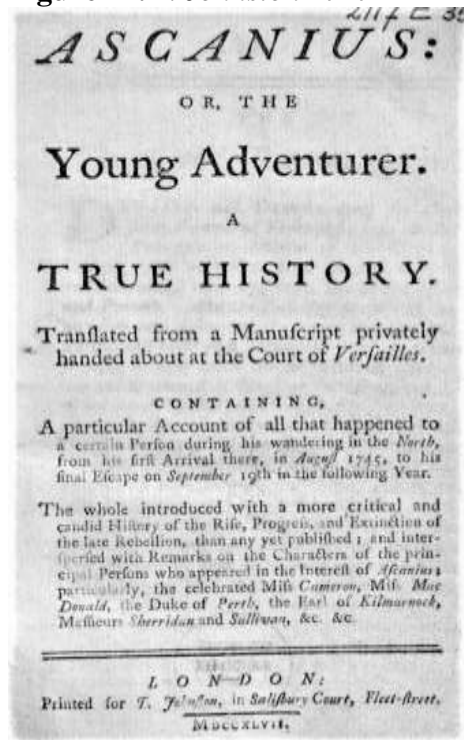
**Figure 10.** *An Impartial History - The Third Edition – 1774*

Reprints of *An Impartial History* by D. Graham, include a third edition of 1774, published by John Robertson in Glasgow for a wider Scottish public; a generation after the Rebellion when emotions had calmed (Figure 10). Aside from the preface, the verses within *An Impartial History* and in *A Full, Particular and True Account* betray both works, attributed to Graham, as instead the pen of an educated poet, with knowledge of Latin, British and European politics, of Scotland, the Rebellion, and of recent events in London, and with military experience, also familiar with the local dialect.

Some later chapbook pieces attributed to Graham are likely by Smollett, e.g. *The copy of a letter from a gentleman in Scotland to Lewis XV. present King of France*, Glasgow, 1755 (Smollett 1755). If Graham was, as claimed, a sutler or chapman, why describe himself there as gentleman? After logical analysis, the attributions to Graham are rejected, as beyond his capability or education. Thus to seek out the identity of Graham, one needs to follow the clue left by Smollett in the Preface to *An Impartial History*, “the Author of *Ascanius*”. *Ascanius* pairs with *An Impartial History*, via their sharing of a T. Johnston spurious imprint.

### ***Ascanius; or the Young Adventurer – 1746***

*Ascanius* deals with the escape of the Young Chevalier after Culloden, April to September 1746. Apart from *An Impartial History* in 1752, the only works in 1730-1770 bearing the spurious imprint of T. Johnston are two versions of, *Ascanius, or; the young adventurer; a true history ...* London, T. Johnston: one in 1746 of 288pp. and a reprint in 1747 of 185pp. (Smollett 1746A) (Figures 11 and 12).

**Figure 11.** *Ascanius* - T. Johnston 1746**Figure 12.** *T. Johnston 1747*

Two shorter, 64pp. versions of *Ascanius*, with a 1746 Amsterdam imprint, did precede T. Johnston, one was; *Ascanius; or The young adventurer, a true history, Translated from a manuscript privately handed about at the Court of Versailles*, London, Grimky and Voguel Booksellers in Amsterdam ..., [1746], 64pp. (Figure 13) (Smollett 1746B). The second had the same title, but was printed for G. Smith, Grimky and Voguel [1746] (Figure 14) (Smollett 1746C). The various imprints

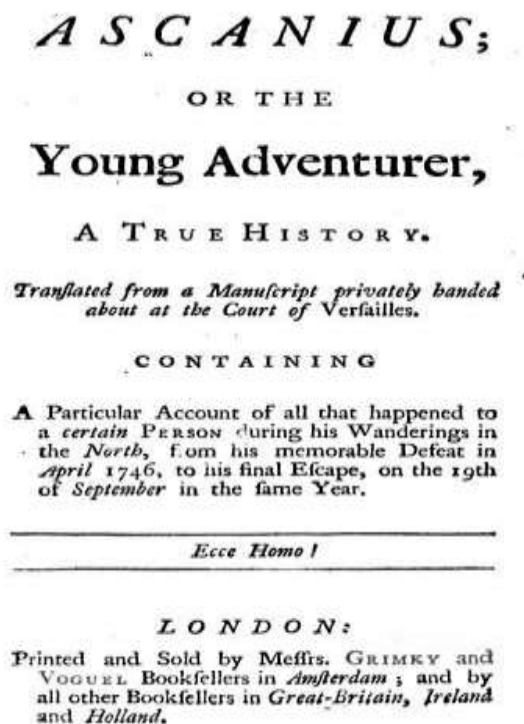
imply a single author published with both G. Smith and T. Johnston; an initial short version, but then expanded as more evidence of events emerged.

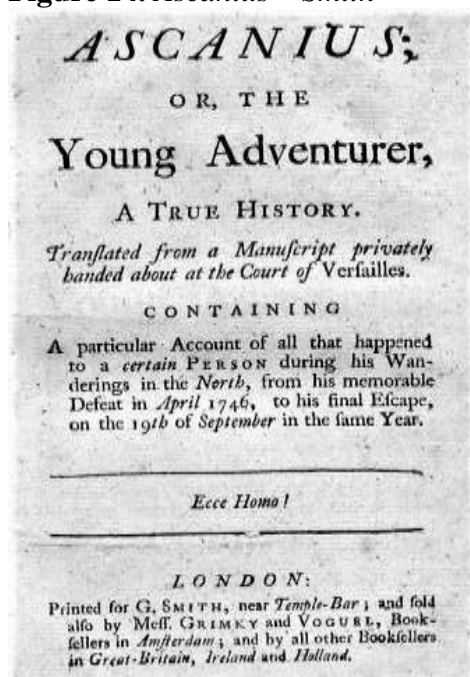
G. Smith was spurious in c.1746-1762; as a pseudonym often used by Smollett. The Grimky and Voguel imprint is also false, the actual printer and publisher being William Faden and William Owen. Logical as, in 1747, W. Owen published for Smollett; *Reproof: a Satire. The Sequel to Advice*, London, W. Owen, (Smollett 1747D). Prior to that, Mary Cooper had published *Advice: a Satire* for Smollett (Smollett 1746G).

The expanded, 288pp. edition of *Ascanius* was popular and re-appeared in 1747 as; London, printed for the Proprietor, and sold by R. Griffiths, at the Dunciad, 1747, 288pp. (Smollett 1746D) The imprint clearly notes the proprietor (Smollett), as distinct from the seller. That edition of *Ascanius* was published soon after Griffiths set up in business; he having earlier worked for Jacob Robinson, who published many titles for Smollett.

When the administration expressed concern, the 1747 imprint led them to Griffiths. As a result, Griffiths, Faden, and Owen were examined for seditious libel at Whitehall Cockpit on 9 January 1746/7 (O.S.). When examined, Griffiths protected the identity of Smollett by declaring he had, composed the said Pamphlett from the accounts of the Rebellion published in the *London Gazette*, and from other newspapers; as indeed Smollett had done. Griffiths sent a letter of apology (likely composed by Smollett) to the Duke of Newcastle on 13 January, stating, I did not intend to give the Government one moment's uneasiness; and thus enabled Smollett to remain incognito. This court case led to the erroneous attribution to Griffiths.

Figure 13. *Ascanius* – Amsterdam



**Figure 14.** *Ascanius – Smith*

Logically, the puffing of *Ascanius* in the preface to *An Impartial History*, ruled out Welshman Griffiths as author of *Ascanius*: trained as a watchmaker, he was neither classically educated, nor equipped to versify *An Impartial History* in a Glasgow dialect; as in *A Full, Particular and True Account*. Lack of a Glasgow dialect, also rules out John Burton (1710-1771) of York, who is sometimes attributed with *Ascanius*.

The evidential factors combine to describe the author of *Ascanius*, as an experienced and influential Scottish poet, author, and satirist, classically educated, located in London, knowledgeable on Scotland and the Rebellion, and fluent in a Glasgow dialect. Having military experience, familiar with the subterfuge of Amsterdam and other spurious imprints, also the ploy of, “a manuscript privately handed about at the Court of Versailles,” but one who preferred anonymity. Those factors allow an *Ascanius* attribution to Smollett.

### ***The Wanderer: or, Surprising Escape – 1747***

In following Defoe’s example, a characteristic of Smollett was writing multiple pieces on a subject. Hence, one should expect at least one more prose narrative puffing *Ascanius*. In 1746, such a work appeared, with a 60pp. version “printed, and sold by the booksellers of town and country,” preceding a 1747 Jacob Robinson edition of 104pp.; *The Wanderer: or, surprising escape ... with some Remarks on a Romance called Ascanius*, London, Jacob Robinson, 1747 (Figure 15). Clues to Smollett are the title puffing of *Ascanius*, and Jacob Robinson as publisher. It was typical of Smollett to pretend criticism of another of his works, to draw attention to it, and so encourage sales. *The Wanderer* dedicates a dozen pages

of puff to *Ascanius*, with reference to “such a prodigious run” and the government displeasure with Griffiths, including:

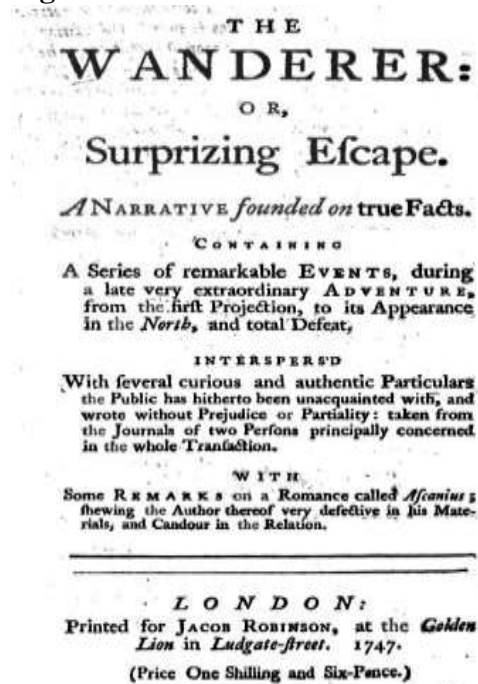
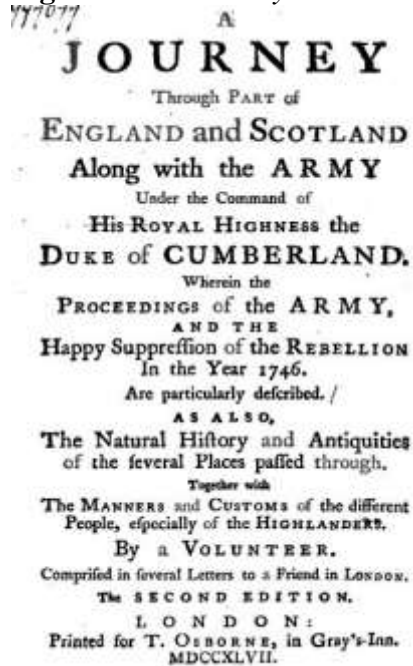
I ran over the pamphlet carelessly enough, looking upon it as calculated to get a penny, without any other view; and thought it, by the turgid stile, the performance of a certain female author [Eliza Haywood], till I had gone through the whole; but then as I found it contained no smutt, I altered my opinion, and throwing it aside, troubled my head about neither the work, nor the author, till I read in the news, that the bookseller of it was taken up. ... I am really apt to think, the bookseller informed against himself, that he might be taken up, as all the public papers would, by that method, advertise his work for nothing... The author sets out with a florid common place soliloque; after which he prudently precautions his readers not to be over-curious in their enquiries; and tells them, in heroics, from whence he derives his commission, by whose authority he takes upon him the mournful task, and how he learnt the sad particulars, are secrets .... Though I must admire the quaint diction of this author, yet I cannot entirely depend on his veracity ... (Smollett 1747A, pp. 1–12).

A word search of *The Wanderer* for Smollett polemic fingerprints, reveals six instances of “nay” and two of “in a word.” *The Wanderer* uses material drawn from *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, and *London Gazette*, also military investigations, and from talking to participants. Taken with twelve pages of puff, the knowledge of Scotland and its nobility, it is logical to accept that *Ascanius* and *The Wanderer* were by a single author: the obvious candidate being Smollett; already credited with *Ascanius*, and aided by Jacob Robinson, who published multiple works for Smollett.

### ***A Journey Through Part of England and Scotland – 1747***

*Ascanius* and *The Wanderer* are about the Young Pretender, but neither is a close parallel for the pseudo-camp-following Dougal Graham of *An Impartial History*. Thus worth looking for a Smollett pseudo-camp-follower or soldier, but writing in prose, rather than in verse. He emerges, as “A Volunteer,” on the title-page of a second edition of; *A Journey through part of England and Scotland ... By a volunteer. Comprised in several letters to a friend in London*, London, T. Osborne, 1747 (Figure 16) (Smollett 1747B). As with *An Impartial History* it is not credible a volunteer soldier would, or could, have accumulated the detailed history recounted in *A Journey*. *A Journey* links to Smollett via his customary, “letters to a friend in London,” as used for *A Letter from a Physician* and *Letters from a Gentleman*. It is also relevant that the first edition of *A Journey* was “printed by J. Stanton”, with J. Stanton a spurious imprint in 1745-1747, and almost an anagram for the spurious T. Johnston (Smollett 1746H).



Figure 15. *The Wanderer Jacob Robinson*Figure 16. *A Journey T. Osborne*

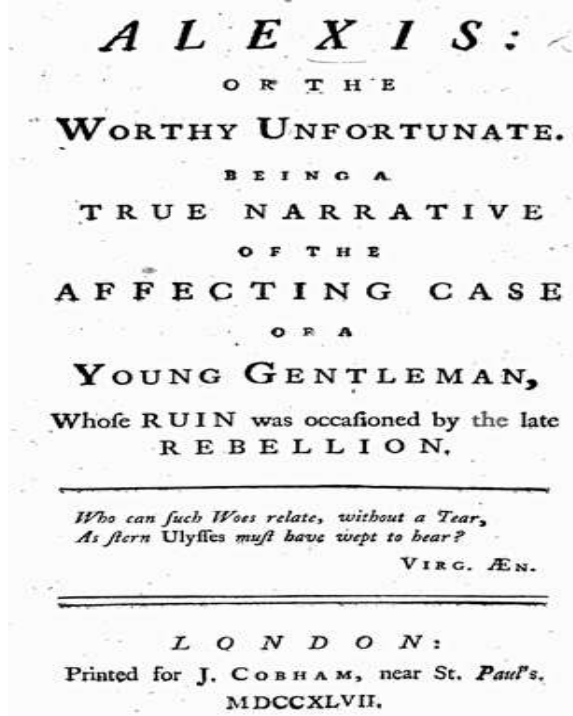
*A Journey* also connects to Smollett's above-mentioned letter in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 9 June 1746, describing a journey from Derby to Carlisle by horse; two cities key in the rebellion, as places for Smollett to seek witness accounts. A polemic hint frequently met in Smollett is "nay", and *A Journey* uses the term on five occasions. It is not until the volunteer is close to Scotland, that Smollett draws on detail from the *London Gazette*, to interweave

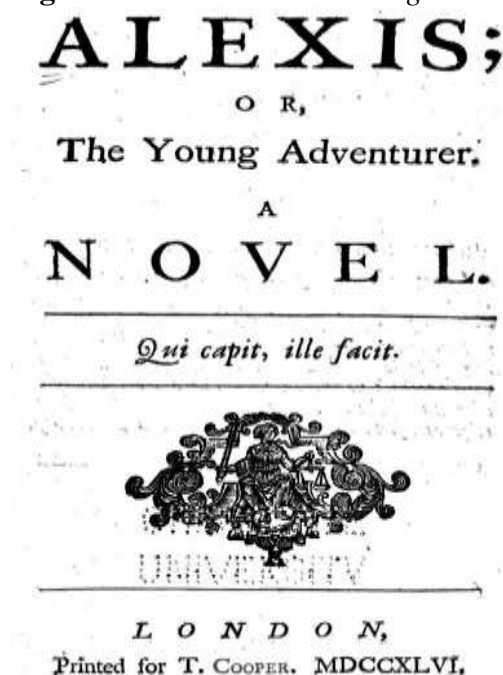
witness and combatant accounts. A *Journey* purports to be the narrative of a serving soldier, but instead follows Smollett's *Letters from a Gentleman*, as a travelogue gleaned from local guide-books;

Sir, After a most fatiguing Campaign in Flanders, we arrived at Gravesend the fifth of November, 1745, and so after a short stay about London, we were ordered to march for Coventry and Litchfield: In our Rout thither we passed through Hammersmith, Acton, Brentford, & c. which being so commonly known to the Inhabitants of London, I think needless to describe; and next to Uxbridge, a very long Town seated on the River Coln, having plenty of extravagant Inns. After passing which River, we enter the County of Bucks, and pass through Chafforn, a small Village, and so to Amersham, a Borough Town, twenty-nine measured Miles from London, situated in the Chiltern, (that is, a Part of the County abounding in chalky Hills, covered with Woods and Groves of Beeches); for, in ancient times it was so thick with Trees, that they rendered it impassable, so it served as a common Harbour for Thieves. From thence to Missenden, a good Thoroughfare, having formerly a Monastery, founded by the D'oily's, and augmented by the noble Family, surnamed De Missenden. Four Miles further, we come to Wendover, a small Borough Town, and then to Alesbury, forty-four Miles from London ... (Smollett 1747B, pp. 3–5).

Leask (2020, p. 69) remarks, “A *Journey* ... has on the face of it more in common with the prejudiced tone of Burt's *Letters*”; a perceptive remark, but ignoring the probability the two similar Scottish travelogues, both ironically mocking Highlanders, were authored by satirist Smollett.

**Figure 17.** *Alexis: Or the Worthy Unfortunate, 1747*



**Figure 18.** *Alexis: Or the Young Adventurer*, 1746

Detailed research notes (Shelton 2015) attribute many more works on Scotland to Smollett, including two polemic examples espousing opposing views; *Alexis; or the Worthy Unfortunate ...*, London, J. Cobham, 1747 (Figure 17), with J. Cobham spurious in 1747-51 (Smollett 1747C). And, *Alexis; or, The Young Adventurer*, London, T. Cooper, 1746 (Figure 18) (Smollett 1746E). The latter is dated three years after Cooper's death, but by using a T. Cooper imprint, Smollett sought to add credence to a purported pre-1745 origin. The work includes an opening note; "The following Piece seems to have been the Product of some leisure Hours. It has been written some Years ago, for it was with Difficulty that it could be transcribed" (Smollett 1746B).

### ***The History of Jack Connor – 1752***

The attributions to Dougal Graham of *An Impartial History* and *A Full, Particular and True Account*, and of Edmund Burt to *Letters from a Gentleman*, have been rejected, as names of minor historical figures. In a like position is William Chaigneau, a minor figure in Ireland; claimed by Ian Ross (Ross 2013), as author of *The History of Jack Connor*, London, W. Johnston (Figure 19) (Smollett 1752D). Ross shows a William Chaigneau existed, but presents no evidence of content, language, style, nor comparable works, to support Chaigneau as author of *Jack Connor*. Instead relying on a much later, 1790, rumour noted by Tate Wilkinson, "Chaigneau ... He wrote, for his amusement, the novel in two volumes called *Jack Connor*". Ross lists many *Jack Connor* Smollett similarities, but fails to recognise they signal *Jack Connor* as a Smollett political satire; one involving

Scotland, Ireland, Fielding, and the Fool. The references in *Jack Connor* to surgeons, physicians, and medicine, are a reminder Smollett was a surgeon, whereas Chaigneau was not.

Figure 19. *Connor Johnston 1752*

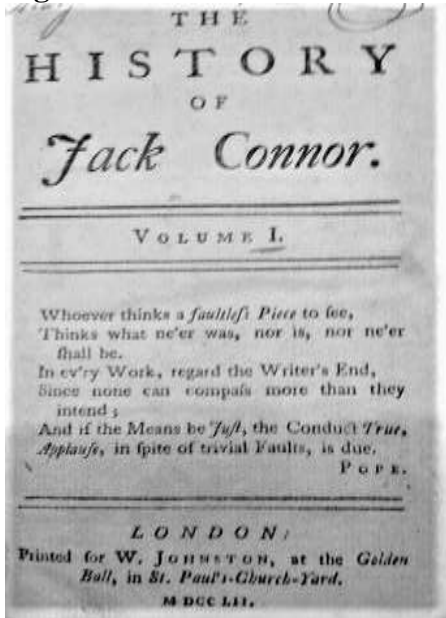
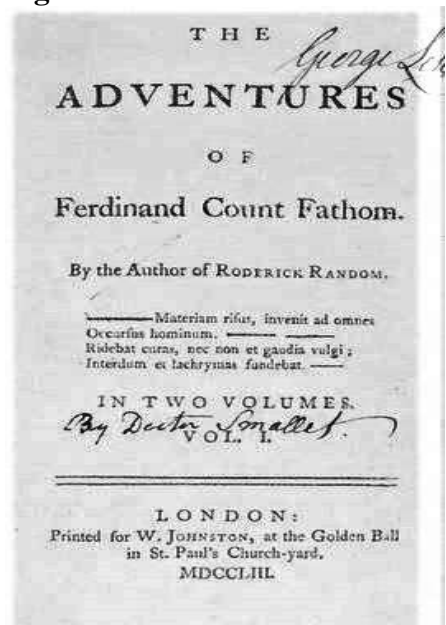


Figure 20. *Fathom Johnston 1753*



Any publishing connection between T. Johnston, publisher of *Ascanius* and *An Impartial History*, and W. Johnston, publisher of *Jack Connor*, is unclear, but as W. Johnston began publishing in 1748, the T. Johnston *Ascanius* imprints of 1746-1747 may have been by W. Johnston for Smollett. W. Johnston does appear on many imprints in 1748-1779, including in 1753 when he published for

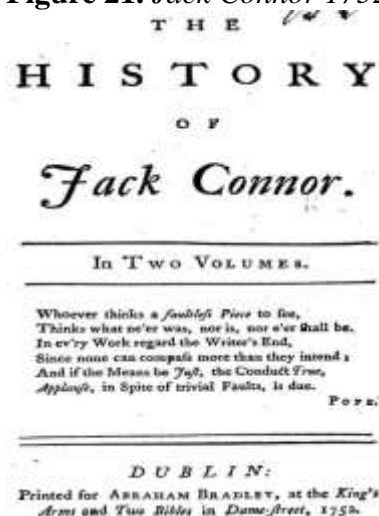
Smollett; *The adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom*, London, W. Johnston, 1753 (Figure 20) (Smollett 1753C). This appeared on 15 February, 1753, shortly before Smollett left for Inverness. W. Johnston also published, *The expedition of Humphry Clinker*, London, W. Johnston, (Smollett 1771): this and *Count Fathom* being unusual in making title-page hints at Smollett.

Compared here are two editions of *Jack Connor*; the Dublin edition of 1752, and the 1753 Dublin third edition corrected (Figures 21 and 22). The 1753 edition of *Jack Connor* includes, as an appendix, a third edition of *Stultus*, previously published as, *Stultus versus Sapientem, in three letters to the fool*, London, J. Bromage, with that imprint spurious (Smollett 1749C).

A question resolved by methodical analysis is: Does *Jack Connor* reveals signs of Smollett's pen? *Jack Connor* does contain a dozen of his polemic fingerprints: "nay," "in short", and "in a word", with, as an extra oddity, a change of name from Connor to Conyers during the novel. Smollett was sensitive at his own Glasgow accent, with characters in the satire based on Scots he knew. He especially satirised those who softened their Scots accent, as a means to social success in England. He also sought to needle Fielding by a word-play on Conyers Middleton, a close friend of Fielding. One of many clues laid by Smollett, is a cameo appearance of Tom Smart, as a character in *Jack Connor*, Vol. II. Smollett's T.S. initials also appear as Thomas à Stupidius, author of *Stultus versus Sapientem*. Smollett never admitted to writing *Jack Connor*, as he believed his satiric targeting of Scottish society was too provocative. In *Jack Connor* Smollett makes an another apocryphal claim to receipt of a cache of old papers and, as a warning, stresses his use of irony;

The Historian ... had a Bundle of Papers left him by a deceas'd Friend ... That the Trifle he now presents to the Publick, has a fair Chance of being impartially dealt with; for, as he is unknown, and will remain so ... Irony, well managed, has ever been a successful Way to fix the attention ... The Purpose of the following History may correspond with an old physical Aphorism, which I apprehend may be found in the Schola Salerni [medical remedies], wrote in the Days of William the Conqueror. (Smollett 1753B).

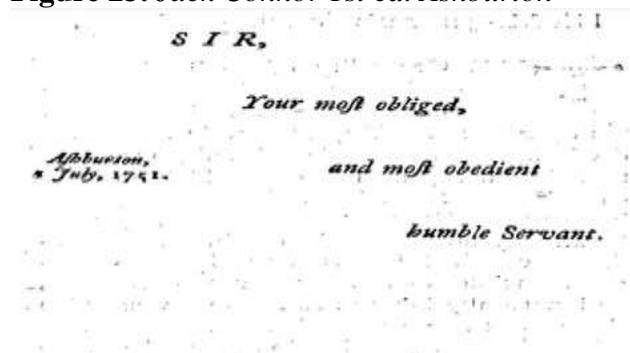
Figure 21. *Jack Connor* 1752

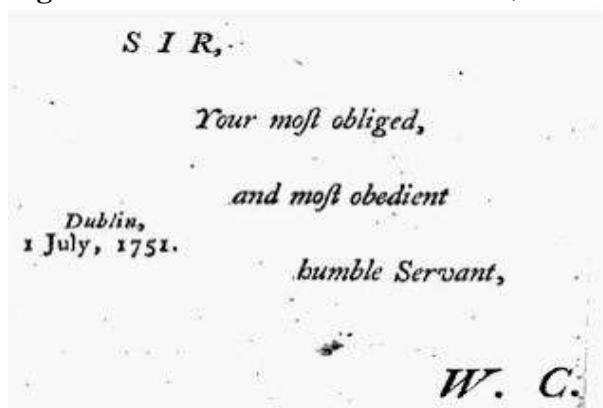


**Figure 22.** *Jack Connor* 1753

Smollett adds a quote on medical remedies from his contemporary Dr Richard Mead (1673-1754). Smollett had earlier worked for both an apothecary and a surgeon in Glasgow; and selected the Mead quote to reinforce the irony in his *Jack Connor* satire. In *Jack Connor* there is satirical mocking of Papists, paralleling Smollett's regular attacks on Jacobites and the French, for their Catholicism. Smollett was of the view Scottish society needed reform to recover from the innate ills contributing to the 1745 Rebellion, but to openly criticise his Scottish kin was clearly unacceptable. To disguise the remedy proposed, he subtly coats it with Irish sugar; "the unpalatable Drug must be convey'd in the most innocent Vehicle his Judgment can furnish". Thus hinting Smollett's references in *Jack Connor* to Ireland, are really directed at Scotland.

A skilful Physician will consult the Constitution of his Patient, and not madly pour down even the most salutary Medicines. Some Herbs are fill'd with sour, and some with bitter Juices, too disagreeable to be given singly. Physick, like good Counsel, must be administer'd with Caution ... The Patient must must be decoy'd into a Cure, and the unpalatable Drug must be convey'd in the most innocent Vehicle his Judgment can furnish. (Smollett 1753B, pp. vii-viii).

**Figure 23.** *Jack Connor* 1st ed. Ashburton

**Figure 24.** *Jack Connor* 3rd ed. Dublin, W.C.

Changes of note in the ironic dedication of *Jack Connor*, between the first and third editions, are a location change from Ashburton to Dublin; and addition of the initials W.C. (Figures 23 and 24). The dedication in *Jack Connor* is to Henry Fox, but Chaigneau had no reason to write ironically of Fox, whereas Smollett regularly satirised politicians. Chaigneau is thus eliminated, as a minor historical figure, in the ilk of Dougal Graham and Edmund Burt; elevated by rumour to authorship. Lilliput in *Gulliver's Travels* is a satire on English politics, with Smollett following Swift; both *Jack Connor* and *Stultus* are prima facie picaresque works about Ireland: but the references to Ireland apply equally to Scotland and the Stuart Catholics.

Smollett further hints at his Irish v. Scottish satire, via a carefully chosen title-page quote from Pope; "In ev'ry Work regard the Writer's End". Smollett's note to the reader, refers to "Irony, well managed"; also to Schola Salerni, and William the Conqueror. A cryptic, and very mischievous, Smollett clue emerges as an ironic double pun on W.C. "curing" religion: not as William in 1066, but as William of Orange, conqueror of Irish Catholics in 1691, and William, Duke of Cumberland, conqueror of Jacobite Catholics in 1746.

A major 1753 change in *Jack Connor* is the inclusion of, *Stultus versus Sapientem: in Three Letters to the Fool*, Third Ed. Dublin, 1753, 19pp (Figure 26) (Jumbled page numbers for *Stultus* in *Jack Connor* imply a late addition). Analysis of *Stultus* requires adjudicating on a long-lived literary mystery, a puzzle unaddressed by Ross (2013). Why was *Stultus* added to *Jack Connor*? In 1749 E. Bate published *Stultus* in Dublin showing Henry Fielding as author, but the letters in *Stultus* are signed Thomas à Stupidius, a clear clue to Tobias Smollett (Figure 25) (Smollett 1749B). A clue to Smollett is on the title-page, as he wrote a regular column for the *Daily Gazetteer* as The Fool (Shelton 2015). Publisher Bate was thus misled by Smollett about the authorship of *Stultus*, who intended it as a practical joke directed at Fielding. For, if Fielding was to publicly deny he had written *Stultus*, he would only focus more attention on it, and so increase its sales.

The 1752 second edition of *Jack Connor* appeared around the time of Smollett's *Habbukkuk Hilding* attack on Fielding. After this, Smollett removed Fielding's name from *Stultus*, and added it into a third 1753 edition, of *Jack Connor*. Together with an allusion to *Jack Connor* and *Stultus* as "Books of Amusement",

and to “Irony” as a caution to readers the events depicted therein were intended as ironic satire;

The *History of Jack Connor* having met with so favourable a Reception in Great Britain and Ireland, that my Interest obliged me to give this Third Edition, tho’ Books of Amusement, do not generally meet the same Fate. ... I find these Letters were printed in London, in the Paper call’d *the Fool* ... If Irony, merits your Attention or Regard, these Letters cannot fail of giving you some Pleasure (Smollett 1753B, p. 163).

Figure 25. *Stultus Bate Dublin 1749*

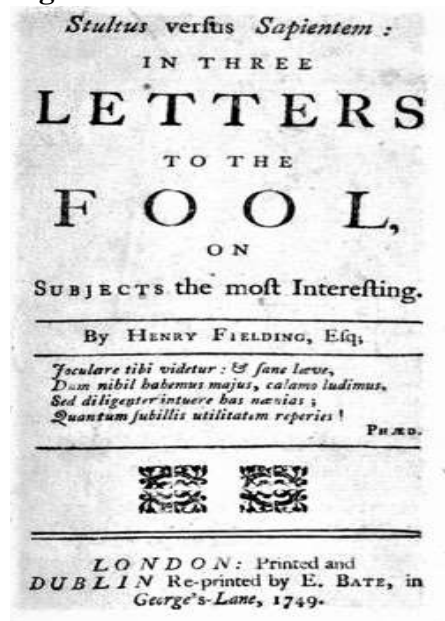
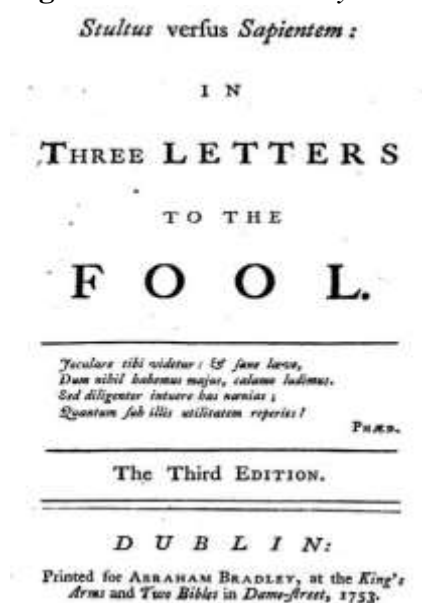


Figure 26. *Stultus Bradley 1753*





There was a linen industry in Scotland and, in carefully chosen words in *Stultus*, the kingdom dimensions, 265 miles by 150 miles, apply to Ireland and Scotland; as does a satiric reference to Henry the Second and 1173, when Henry's heir apparent, Young Henry, rebelled, and Scotland, France, Flanders, and Boulogne allied themselves with the Irish rebels. Smollett also alludes to Protestantism, the Scottish Reformation, and the survival of Papism, in both Scotland and Ireland;

I am very well informed that this Kingdom from N. to S. is about 265 Miles, and from E. to W. about 150, and contains about eighteen Millions of statute Acres, with commodious Harbours, Bays, and Rivers. Henry the second stole it from your Ancestors. Many Struggles were made by our good Friends to shake off this Yoke, but in vain. At that Period, vulgarly called The Reformation, your Friends held fast to Mother-Church, but still Protestantism impudently raised her Head, and shamefully flourished (Smollett 1753B II, p. 167).

In 1766 Smollett revised and published a fourth, Dublin edition of *Jack Connor* (Smollett 1766). Smollett's hand is seen in the revisions, updating political and social events, and in his additions to it: *Stultus* again, with minor revisions, and adding in two further satires; firstly, *The Importance of Ireland to England*, and secondly, *Motives for a Peace with England, by an Old Sea Officer, in French and English*. Naval surgeon Smollett, being obvious as the Old Sea Officer, and *Motives for a Peace* being previously printed in 1757 for W. Reeve (Smollett 1757), with an extract in *London Chronicle*, Vol. 2, December, 1757, page 605.

Extended, and uncharacteristically favourable, comments on *Jack Connor* appeared in the *Monthly Review* for 1752, pages 447–449. It is believed Smollett wrote those effusive remarks for Ralph Griffiths, prior to their falling out; indicated by Smollett's inclusion, as a puff, in the fourth, 1766, edition of *Jack Connor*;

This *History* was first published in 1751. ... This book likewise bore three numerous impressions in London, and met with general applause from all who had any relish for the sentiments of nature. ... the *Monthly Review* for July 1752 spoke of it in this manner; "Of the several books of entertainment published in the course of the late winter, none gave us more satisfaction in the perusal, than this work ... The author hath taken uncommon and effectual care to conceal his name from the public; ... Guesses, indeed, have been plentifully aim'd at him; but all that these have discovered or agreed in, is, that he appears to be a gentleman, and of a neighbouring kingdom ... Every unprejudiced reader must own, that the stile, and sentiments of this writer speak him to be above the common run of authors" (Smollett 1766, pp. ix–xi).

The case for Smollett as author of *Jack Connor* is established. As with Dougal Graham, and Edmund Burt, it is irrelevant whether there was a real William Chaigneau, or if Smollett knew him. Based upon the satiric intent, context, content, and style, together with the many literary cross-links, it is contended *Jack Connor* could not be written by Chaigneau. The details in *Jack Connor* and *Stultus* are so connected to Smollett and Fielding, and too interwoven with other events and literary works of 1744–1766, to be penned by an otherwise unremarkable Irish military agent.

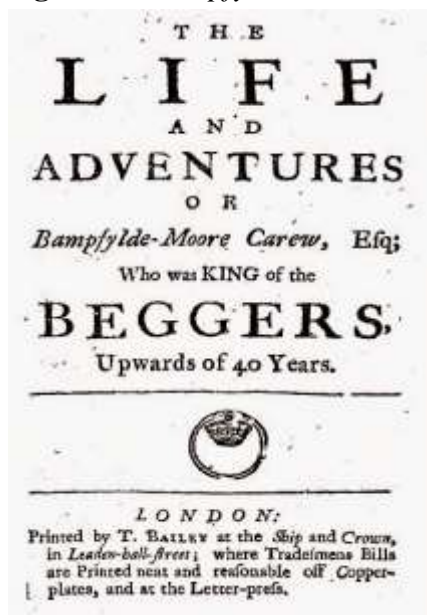
***Bampfylde-Moore Carew***

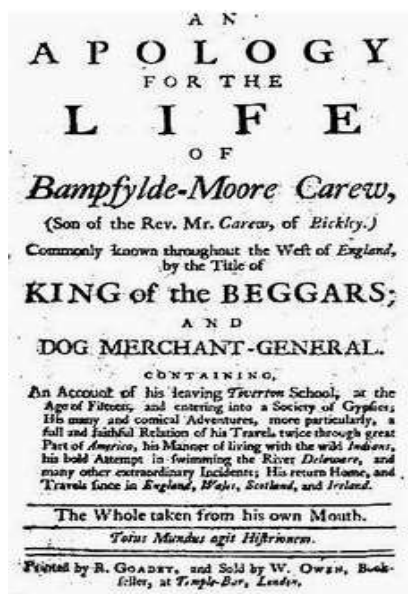
The 1753 change in the dedication of *Jack Connor*, from Ashburton to Dublin, suggests a Smollett preference to anchor *Jack Connor* in Ireland. But, why change from Ashburton? Places in Ireland named Ashburton are tiny, whereas Ashburton in Devon is a town on the edge of Dartmoor.

Although a full analysis is outside this paper, Ashburton is near Bickleigh, and shows *Jack Connor* was conceived in Ashburton at the time Smollett gathered material to revise, *An Apology for the Life of Bampfylde-Moore Carew, Son of the Rev. Mr Carew of Bickley...* printed by R. Goadby, and sold by W. Owen [1749] (Figure 28) (Smollett 1749A).

This is usually attributed to R. Goadby, but the imprint is categoric, he was the printer, The Ashburton v. Bickleigh locations fit Smollett, as does W. Owen, who published *Reproof* for Smollett. He is also attributed (Shelton 2015) with an earlier version, *The Life and Adventures of Bampfylde-Moore Carew, Esq: Who was King of the Beggars Upwards of 40 Years*, London: T Bailey, [1745] (Figure 27). Smollett wrote on *Carew*, to compete with Fielding's *Jonathan Wild*, wherein Smollett was ridiculed as Tom Smirk; "The name of this gallant was Tom Smirk. He was clerk to an attorney, and was indeed the greatest beau, and the greatest favourite of the ladies [whores] at the end of the town where he lived" (Fielding 1743, p. 58).

**Figure 27.** *Bampfylde-Moore Carew* - Bailey 1745



**Figure 28.** *Bampfylde-Moore Carew - Goadby 1749*

A Second Edition with Additions of *An Apology for the Life of Bampfylde-Moore Carew*, London, printed for R Goadby and W. Owen, 1749, includes a long and fulsome dedication, “To the Worshipful Henry Fielding, Esq;” (Smollett 1749D). This was a Smollett attempt to needle Fielding. He and Smollett exchanged literary barbs for many years, and the dedication in *Carew*, is a 21 page, puffing and mocking oration at Fielding’s expense. That prolix, pedantic, and provocative preface, aids in stamping Smollett as author of *Bampfylde-Moore Carew*:

Sir, Notwithstanding your constant Refusal, when I have ask’d Leave to prefix your Name to this Dedication, I must still insist upon the Propriety of desiring your Protection of this Work. ... Sir, at the same Time I am praising you, I may find Occasion of saying a few Things of my own great Merit, and that of my Work, by acquainting the World with the high Encomiums you have bestow’d upon it; “for indeed, what are your Objections to the Allowance of the Honour which I have solicited? Why, you have commended the Book so warmly, that you should be ashamed of reading your Name before the Dedication”. Now, Sir, though I don’t imagine any of my Readers will understand this Sentence, it being the true *Burtonic Sublime*, most admirable when least understood, yet, Sir as this *Dedication* is only intended for you and myself, it is no Matter whether it is understood or not by any one else (Smollett 1749D, pp. iii–xxiv).

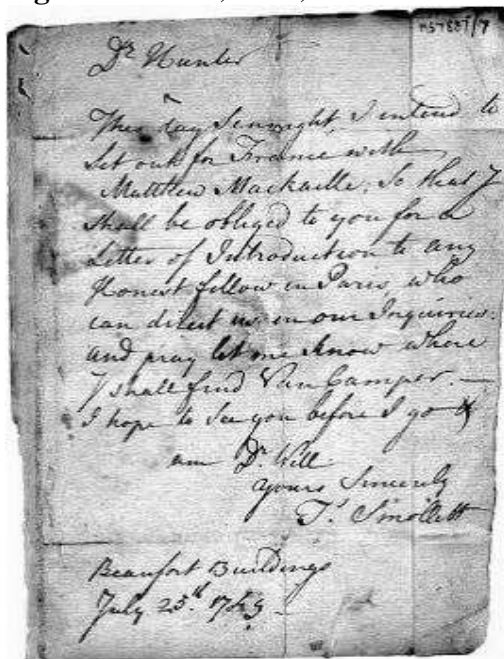
### ***The Daily Gazetteer and The Fool***

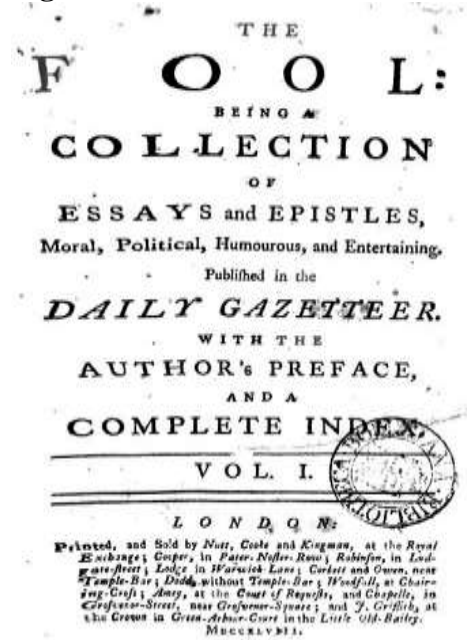
Little in *Jack Connor* takes place in Ireland, with the descriptions of Jack’s origins and his later return, equally applicable to those of Scottish accent and origin. Many events occur in London or Paris, rather than Dublin. The Wellcome Library holds a letter from Smollett to man-midwife, William Hunter, dated 25 July 1749 (Figure 29). In writing of contemporary Paris events in *Jack Connor*, the

Hunter letter evidences Smollett's visit to France where he obtained background. By including *Stultus* in *Jack Connor*, Smollett sought to reinforce it as a political satire, with that choice implying *Jack Connor* and *The Fool* share a single author. A 360 page collection of *The Fool* essays was published in 1748; the imprint including; Cooper, Robinson, Corbett, Owen, and Griffiths; all of whom published for Smollett (Figure 30) (Smollett 1748).

*Stultus* as included in *Jack Connor*, comprises *Three Letters to the Fool* (Figure 26). *The Fool* is often claimed to be William Horsley, but *Jack Connor* and *Stultus* rule him out. Fielding was aware of Smollett hiding behind the Horsley name, and chose to make a pun of it. The reason Horsley is assumed to be connected to *The Fool*, is that, shortly after *The Fool* essay collection was published, Fielding wrote in *The Jacobite's Journal*, under the heading, *Proceedings at the Court of Criticism*. Smollett had a reputation for overuse of scatological references; and, in part 7 of his *Proceedings*, Fielding resorts to base invective in determining his judgement: "One Horse-piss, alias Horse-dung, alias Horse-lie, alias *The Fool*, was convicted of Scurrility, and received Sentence of Contempt" (Coley 1974, p. 154). Fielding's soundex pun of "horse-lie" for "Horsley", shows Fielding saw Horsley, *The Fool*, and Smollett as connected.

**Figure 29.** Paris, 1749, Wellcome: 7887/7



**Figure 30.** *The Fool* 1748**Figure 31.** *The Mountebank* - Lord Bute and Tobias Smollett, as *The Fool*, Wearing Scottish Plaid, 1762

*The Fool* has been shown as Smollett's pseudonym in the *Daily Gazetteer* (Shelton 2015), and he was portrayed as *The Fool*, in a 1762 print, *The Mountebank*, as recalled by *The Gentleman's Magazine*;

The historian and pamphleteer, Smollett, who was regarded as the hireling advocate of the Scotch, is introduced in a very amusing way. Lord Bute is the Quack-doctor, boasting of the efficacy of his gold pills; Smollett acts the part of the Mountebank to

call attention to them. A roll inscribed *The Briton* is under his arm, while *The North Briton* lies at his feet (*Gentleman's Magazine* 1849, p. 234, Figure 31).

Smollett often imprinted spurious works with Mr and a generic surname, so he could deny any specific person was targeted. For example, but outside this paper's ambit, detailed analysis reveals Smollett wrote the salacious, *A Letter from Mr Cibber to Mr Pope*, London, W. Lewis, 1742 (Shelton 2015) (Smollett 1742). Two pamphlets, *Serious Considerations on the High Duties* and *A Treatise on Maritime Affairs*, do record a Mr Horsley as author in 1744; but the R. Wellington imprint was spurious, as Wellington sold off his entire stock in 1741 (Figures 32 and 33). Smollett spurious imprints also bear names of deceased or retired publishers, so both are attributed to Smollett; using a minor historical figure as cover. As an ex-navy surgeon, Smollett was ever keen to pontificate on the navy, and his ex-navy polemic hand (the first opening with "in a word"), is seen in nautically focused extracts from the two Horsley pamphlets;

In a word, Sir, you have left us in the Condition of an East-India Mariner, who, after a long and tedious Voyage, meets with hazy Weather, attempting to fall in fair with the British Coast, and has nothing to depend upon but a vague and uncertain Reckoning: At length the joyful Noon approaches, the gloomy Clouds separate, and leave a Space, thro' which he discerns the wish'd for God of Day, in full Meridian (Smollett 1744A, p. 2).

You have answer'd the Wish of every Honest Briton, and convinc'd the most haughty of our Neighbours, that Spithead Expeditions are at an end, and that a British Fleet under proper Regulations, and determined Counsels, is design'd for something more important than to blaze in Flags and Streamers, and its Ammunition for something more than Salutes: That Sea-Officers should be better employed than in making Entertainments, and that the Mouths of our Cannon shall at last convince the World our Men of War are not turned into Venetian Gondolas, viz. Vessels for Pleasure and Diversion (Smollett 1744B, pp. 1–2).

**Figure 32.** *Horsley High Duties 1744*

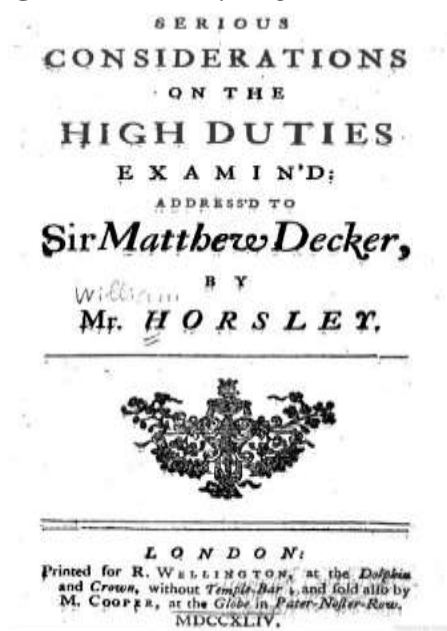


Figure 33. *Horsley A Treatise 1744*

The antagonism between Smollett and Fielding continued over many years and, with *Habbukkuk Hilding* during the 1752 Paper War, reached one of its several peaks. In seeking to counter Smollett's attacks, Fielding responded via cryptic satire in *Amelia*, and in *Covent-Garden Journal*; as discussed in *A Satire not a Sermon, Four Stages of Cruelty and Murder* (Shelton 2020). Significant also is a Samuel Richardson letter of 21 February, 1752, wherein Richardson conveys how much Fielding despised Smollett:

Mr Fielding has met with the disapprobation you foresaw he would meet with, of his *Amelia*. He is, in every paper he publishes under the title of the Common [sic] Garden, contributing to his own overthrow. He has been overmatched in his own way by people whom he had despised, and whom he thought he had vogue enough, from the success his spurious brat *Tom Jones* so unaccountably met, with to write down; but who have turned his own artillery against him and beat him out of the field, and made him even poorly in his Court of Criticism give up his *Amelia*, and promise to write no more on the like subjects (Edinburgh Review 1805, p. 38).

## Conclusion

The year 2021 is the tercentenary of the birth of Tobias Smollett 1721-1771. Previous academic study of Smollett's early career has been limited, with attention focused on *Roderick Random*, and his post 1748 career. Reasons for the omissions are unclear, but a contributory factor seems to be that no past study has elected to undertake the raw research needed to uncover the story of Smollett's early literary career. Instead, past studies follow one another, in perpetuating the claim that Smollett left Glasgow in late 1739.

As a result of academic reluctance to scrutinise Smollett, many works, even

those post 1748, have lain unrecognised among the many anonymous and pseudonymous works published in 1730-1770. That was a neglected opportunity, as the middle eighteenth century, 1730-1770, has a vast amount of easily accessible published material, many works being freely available, in full, on the Internet. In 1730-1770 it is estimated there are over 20,000 anonymous and pseudonymous works; thousands as contributions to periodicals, but hundreds more as separately published works, and spread across scores of genuine and spurious imprints.

Those spurious imprints are usually ignored in book trade research, being regarded as a complication is attributing works to printers and publishers. Hence their authorship totally ignored. In contrast, in this Smollett research the spurious imprints have been invaluable, allowing testing of a theory that there is a high probability that works sharing a spurious imprint, such as W. Webb, are likely associated with a single author. Similarity of style, theme, language, gutted names, and content within each spurious imprint and its variants has proved the validity of the theory; in turn allowing an extension of the notional Smollett template to identify many of his works within genuine imprints.

From a decade of research, this essay has selected a score of Smollett's mid-period works, describing travels or events, mainly in Scotland, around the time of the Jacobite Rebellion, and has summarised the pro forma case for their attribution to Smollett. Those discussed here are only a small sample of Smollett's corpus, and the freely available open access research notes, demonstrate he sent hundreds of contributions to London periodicals from c.1731, and also authored many, many, separately published works (Shelton 2015).

This attribution of a score of anonymous and/or wrongly attributed, works to Smollett, adds depth and richness to English Literature and the historical record, and it invites scholarly reassessment of much literary, social, and political history in the period 1730-1770.

The research notes shine new light on literary relationships, and allow new interpretations of material previously ascribed to Pope, Cibber, Fielding, Hogarth, and others. The works discussed here, introduce Smollett as an active and prolific writer on Scotland and the Jacobite Rebellion. They bring to the fore, contemporary comments and prevailing perspectives, on and around events of 1745, by a well-educated, literate, and outspoken Scot: as an author who merits far greater interest from his Scottish homeland, and, with respect to Scottish literature, is believed not inferior to Robert Burns, nor Walter Scott.

## References

- Adburgham A (2012) *Women in print: writing women and women's magazines from the restoration to the accession of Victoria*. London: Faber.
- Boswell J (1785) *The journal of a tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson*. London: Baldwin.
- Chantrey D (2009) *George Wade – 1673-1748*. Ilfracombe: Stockwell.
- Coley W (1974) *The Jacobite's Journal and Related Writings*, Oxford: Clarendon.
- Defoe D (1724) *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies, giving a particular and diverting account of whatever is curious and worth observation*. London, Strahan.



- Defoe D (2006) *Memoirs of a Cavalier*. Stroud: Nonsuch.
- DNB (1900) *The dictionary of national biography: from the earliest times to 1900*. London: OUP.
- Fielding H (1743) *The life of Mr Jonathan Wild the Great; miscellanies*, volume III. London: Millar.
- Johnson S (1775) *A journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*. Dublin: Walker.
- Klukoff P (1968) Smollett and the Sackville controversy. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 69(4): 617-628.
- Knapp L (1949) *Tobias Smollett, Doctor of men and manners*. Princeton: PUP.
- Leask N (2020) *Stepping Westward: writing the Highland tour, c.1720-1830*. Oxford: OUP.
- MacGregor G (1883) *The collected writings of Dougal Graham, "Skellat" Bellman of Glasgow: edited with notes*. Glasgow: Morison.
1. Pitcairn R (1833) *Ancient criminal trials in Scotland*, volume II. Edinburgh: Bannatyne.
- Rorke M (2017) *A full, particular and true account of the rebellion in the years 1745-1746 by Dougal Graham. The man, the myth and the modus operandi*. Glasgow, UK: University of Glasgow.
- Ross I (Ed.) (2013) *The history of Jack Connor*. Portland: Four Courts.
- Shelton D (2015) *The lost works of Tobias Smollett and the war of the Satirists*: [www.tobiassmollett.blogspot.com](http://www.tobiassmollett.blogspot.com).
- Shelton D (2020) A satire not a Sermon: four stages of cruelty and murder. *Athens Journal of History* 6(3): 223-286.
- Smollett T (1737) [Anon] *Albania: a poem, addressed to the Genius of Scotland. Dedicated to General Wade*. London: T. Cooper.
- Smollett T (1742) [Cibber] *A letter from Mr. Cibber, to Mr. Pope, inquiring into the motives that might induce him in his satirical works to be so frequently fond of Mr. Cibber's name*. London: Lewis.
- Smollett T (1744A) [Horsley] *Serious considerations on the high duties examin'd, address'd to Sir Matthew Decker, by Mr. Horsley*. London: Wellington.
- Smollett T (1744B) [Horsley] *A treatise on maritime affairs: or a comparison between the commerce and naval power of England and France. with a view to some paradoxes advanced by M. Deslandes*. London: Wellington.
- Smollett T (1744C) [Anon] *The strolling hero, or, Rome's knight-errant*. London: M. Cooper.
- Smollett T (1745) [Anon] *The life and adventures of Bampfylde-Moore Carew, Esq: who was King of the beggars upwards of 40 years*. London: Bailey.
- Smollett T (1746A) [Anon] *Ascanius; or the young adventurer, a true history*. London: Johnston.
- Smollett T (1746B) [Anon] *Ascanius; or the young adventurer, a true history*. London: Grimky and Voguel.
- Smollett T (1746C) [Anon] *Ascanius; or the young adventurer, a true history*. London: Smith, Grimky and Voguel.
- Smollett T (1746D) [Griffiths] *Ascanius; or the young adventurer, a true history*. London: the Proprietor and R. Griffiths.
- Smollett T (1746E) [Anon] *Alexis; or, the young adventurer*. London: T. Cooper.
- Smollett T (1746F) *The tears of Scotland*. Edinburgh.
- Smollett T (1746G) *Advice: a satire*. London: M. Cooper.
- Smollett T. (1746H) [Anon] *A journey through part of England and Scotland*. London: J. Stanton.
- Smollett T (1747A) [Anon] *The wanderer: or, surprizing escape. A narrative founded on*

- true facts. London: Robinson.
- Smollett T (1747B) [Anon] *A journey through part of England and Scotland along with the army under the command of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland*. London: Osborne.
- Smollett T (1747C) [Anon] *Alexis; or the worthy unfortunate. Being a true narrative of the affecting case of a young gentleman, whose ruin was occasioned by the late rebellion*. London: Cobham.
- Smollett T (1747D) *Reproof: a satire. The sequel to advice*. London: Owen.
- Smollett T (1748) [Anon] *The fool: being a collection of essays and epistles, moral, political, humorous, and entertaining. Published in the Daily Gazetteer. With the author's preface, and a complete index*. London: Nutt.
- Smollett T (1749A) [Goadby] *An apology for the life of Bampfylde-Moore Carew, son of the Rev. Mr Carew of Bickley*. London: Owen.
- Smollett T (1749B) [Fielding] *Stultus versus Sapientem, in three letters to the fool*. Dublin: Bate.
- Smollett T (1749C) [Anon] *Stultus versus Sapientem, in three letters to the fool*. London: Bromage.
- Smollett T (1749D) [Anon] *A second edition with additions of an apology for the life of Bampfylde-Moore Carew*. London: Goadby and Owen.
- Smollett T (1752A) [Graham] *An impartial history of the rise, progress and extinction of the late rebellion in Britain in the years 1745 & 1746*. London [Falkirk]: Johnston.
- Smollett T (1752B) [Graham] *A full, particular and true account of the rebellion, giving a full account of all the battles, greatly enlarg'd and corrected by the author Dougal Graham*. Glasgow: Graham.
- Smollett T (1752C) [Anon] *A letter from a physician in the highlands to his friend in London, on the subject of a consumptive habit*. London: Corbett.
- Smollett T (1752D) [Chaigneau] *The history of Jack Connor*. London, W. Johnston.
- Smollett T (1753A) [Goodwill] *The ladies magazine or, the universal entertainer*. London: C. Griffith.
- Smollett T (1753B) [Chaigneau] *The history of Jack Connor*. 3rd Edition. Dublin: Bradley.
- Smollett T (1753C) *The adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom*. London: W. Johnston.
- Smollett T (1754) [Burt] *Letters from a gentleman in the North of Scotland to his friend in London*. London: Birt.
- Smollett, T (1755) [Graham] *The copy of a letter from a gentleman in Scotland to Lewis XV. present King of France, concerning the Wars*. Glasgow.
- Smollett T (1757) [Anon] *Motives for a peace with England addressed to the French ministry. By an old sea officer*. London: Reeve.
- Smollett T (1763) [Anon] *John English's travels through Scotland. Containing, a curious and entertaining account of the manners and strange customs of the inhabitants. With many humorous anecdotes, and natural discoveries*. London: Morgan.
- Smollett T (1766) [Chaigneau] *The history of Jack Connor*. 4th Edition. Dublin: Bradley.
- Smollett T (1771) *The expedition of Humphry Clinker*. London: W. Johnston.
- Smollett T (1815) [Burt] *Letters from a gentleman in the north of Scotland to his friend in London*, volume I. London: Gale, Curtis and Fenner.
- Smollett T (1818) [Burt] *Letters from a Gentleman in the north of Scotland to his friend in London*, volume II. London: Best Fenner.
- Smollett T (1990) *The expedition of Humphry Clinker*. Athens: Georgia.
- Swift J (1726) *Travels into several remote nations of the world. In four parts. By Lemuel Gulliver, first a surgeon, and then a captain of several ships*. London: Motte.

*Periodicals*

*Critical Review*, various.

*Daily Gazetteer*, various.

*Edinburgh Review*, 1805.

*Gentleman's Magazine*, various.

*London Chronicle*, 1757.

*London Gazette*, various.

*Monthly Review*, various.

*Notes and Queries*, 1859.

*Scots Magazine*, various.

