

UNIVERSITY OF CRAIOVA



**JOURNAL
OF
YOUNG RESEARCHERS**

Series

**SOCIAL SCIENCES,
ARTS AND HUMANITIES
YEAR V, NO. 1/2022**

CRAIOVA: UNIVERSITARIA

ISSN: 2668-0300

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BILINGUAL SYNONYMY IN THE STUDY OF THE ASSOCIATIONS OF “HEART” IN THE BIBLE

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Abstract

The article aims at investigating cases of equivalence or synonymy focused on the term heart and its occurrences in both The Old and New Testament. The bilingual corpus selected reflects the view that Bible translation entails an accommodation with the culture and the conveyance of the message as clear as possible. This way, translation proves to be a dynamic process where the instances of absolute synonymy are a rarity and the cases of relative and partial synonymy are highly frequent taking note of the fact that culture-bound terms necessitate explicitation. The term heart is rich in meanings and nuances and gives rise to interpretation and a high frequency of connotative meanings. Bible fosters a language in itself which necessitates analysis and investigation so that it could be comprehensible.

Keywords

synonymy, parasynonyms, equivalence, dynamics

1. Theoretical framework applied to synonymy

The theories underpinning synonymy, as a complex phenomenon pertain to lexical semantics, but it is of paramount importance to pragmatics, neurosciences, philosophy, psychology and translation studies [1] (p.187).

In line with Vilceanu (2003), synonyms can be divided into two essential categories- absolute which are deemed rare and belonging to scientific domain mainly. There are also views which characterize synonyms as instances of idealization, unstable in nature- notably Cruse, 1986; Lyons, 1995; Saeed, 1997). The second category of synonyms is represented by parasynonyms which feature similarity rather than sameness. They can be subcategorized into relative-interchangeable in specific contexts of their occurrence and partial synonyms involving the actualisation of one of their multiple meanings. Relative synonyms can be distinguished according to the presence of denotative and connotative overtones. Connotative synonyms feature stylistic variations, being register-related, field-related, geographical, temporal synonyms and expressive ones, comprising axiological and affective synonyms [2] (p.47).

Synonymy is either relative or partial in the study of the term heart and the absolute category proves to be rare to encounter. A recurrent type of synonymy is the phraseological one which is

set between lexical units or lexical phraseological synonymy which is encountered between a word and an expression or collocation as those given as example in the above study [3] (pp.78-79). Paremiological synonymy, typical of proverbs is set in light of the logical relationships by referring to the same entities and can overlap reciprocally in one and the same context without any change of the global meaning [4] (pp. 56-57).

2. The Term *Heart* in The Bible

In Antiquity few things were known about *heart*, whose beatings coincided with life activities and whose finality meant death. The Biblical references about heart as a physical organ are few and, without any doubt, specific (2 Kings 9:24) but the word *heart* is associated with personality and intellect, with memory, emotions, desires and pleasures.

2.1. Personality

Heart is used with a metaphorical meaning to describe what is not palpable in the human being.

Genesis 6:5: according to Genesis 6:5 God realised that load of wickedness was great in earth and [5]:

every intent of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.

“întocmirile gândurilor din inima lui erau îndreptate în fiecare zi numai spre rău.”

Wickedness - the quality of being wicked, Wicked (ME <wikke, wicke, appar. < OE Wicca a wizard) moral depravity, sin, vice; crime; a wicked thing or act-wicked conduct).

Răutate - înclinare spre a face rău, slăbiciune, păcat, defect [6].

The word *răutate* is attested in the 16th century in Romanian language recorded in *Psaltirea Hurmuzachi*, Candrea Pubr.

The heteronym for *wickedness* is *răutatea* and they are axiological total synonyms.

Intent - in terms of origin, it is attested in English language in Middle English and it comes from Old French *entente*, based on Latin *intendere*. The adjective is from Latin *intentus*, past participle of *intendere*.

Întocmire - attested in the Romanian language in 1642, in Silvestru, *Evanghelie invatatoare sau Cazanie*, Govora. The meanings are: *elaborare, compunere, alcătuire, orânduire, organizare* [6].

The phrase *every intent of the thoughts of his heart* has the Romanian rendition *toate întocmirile gândurilor din inima lui* which is not a word-for-word equivalence, especially that *intent* is translated as *întocmire*. The word *intent* which is a shortening of *intention* is in a relationship of relative synonymy with the Romanian word *întocmire*.

At the level of adverbs, *continually* is rendered by the frequency phrase *în fiecare zi*, which means there is a relative synonymy between the terms, as the English adverb also implies a sense of relentless, while the Romanian phrase means *constantly, steadily*.

Genesis 20:5 [5]:

In the integrity of my heart and innocence of my hands I have done this.

“Eu am lucrat cu inima curată și cu mâini nevinovate.”

Integrity - designates the quality of being honest and having strong moral principles and the state of being whole and undivided. It dates back from Middle English and it comes from French *integrite* or Latin *integritas*, from *integer* intact. The translation in Romanian is phraseological

and it comes with the syntagm *cu inima curata*.

Integritate - (French origin) *cinste, probitate, deplinătate, însusirea de a rămâne intact* [6].

The heteronym for *integrity of my heart* is *cu inima curata* and *innocence of my hands* has the equivalence *cu mâinile curate*. It is not a word- for-word translation, but there is a dynamic equivalence between the phrases.

Innocence means *lack of guile and corruption; purity*. It dates back from Middle English originating from Old French, from Latin *innocentia*, from *innocent - not harming* (based on *nocere - injure*). In line with the Biblical text, *doing things in the integrity of heart* means withholding from sinning against God as it comes out from *20.6 Genesis*.

From this perspective, *heart* is the opposite of *flesh* or *body*. And the confession of the psalmist is relevant in this regard. Even if the heart and the flesh cease to be in proper use, God stays the stable anchor.

Psalm 73:26 [5]:

My flesh and my heart fail.

“Carnea și inima pot să mi se prăpădească.”

Fail - be unsuccessful in achieving one’s goal, behave in a way contrary to expectations by not doing something; origin: Middle English **failen**, from Anglo- French *faillir*, from Vulgar Latin *fallire*, alteration of Latin *fallere* (“to deceive”, “to disappoint”).

The heteronym for **fail** is *a se prăpădi*, and the terms are relative distractic synonyms used in the quote at the connotative level.

Prăpădi - *a se distruge, a se nimici, a se face praf; a se năruși, a se ruina, a se strica* [6]. Attested in the Romanian language in the 16th century and recorded in *Psaltirea Șcheiană 140,7*, therefore, it has an ecclesiastical initial use. It is of Bulgarian origin (*propadam*).

Psalm 73:26 [5]:

the strength of my heart and my portion.

“stânca inimii mele și partea mea de moștenire.”

Strength of my heart - *stânca inimii mele*.

Strength - *the degree of intensity of a feeling or belief*. Origin: Middle English **strength**; Old English *strengthu*; akin to Old High German **strengi** strong. The noun **strength** has a syntagmatic equivalent in Romanian *stânca inimii mele*. There is a lexico-phraseological synonymy between them, as they convey the same “force”.

Portion - an individual part or share of something: such as a share *received* by gift or inheritance; a dowry, an individual’s lot, fate or fortune: one’s share of good and evil. The heteronym for **portion** is the phraseological unit *partea mea de moștenire*. Origin: Middle English *porcioun*, from Anglo-French, from Latin *portion -*, *portio*; akin to Latin *part-*, *pars*.

To make use of a modern expression, *heart* is often used in the *Bible* to describe what makes us *show our true colours*, i.e. our personality. In other words, the term *heart* is used to describe those dynamic forces which make us unique individuals. Therefore, *heart* is endowed with moral features. The poet states:

Psalm 131:1 [5]:

Lord, my heart is not haughty.

“Doamne, eu n-am o inima îngâmfată.”

Haughty - the obsolete form *haught*, it comes from Middle English *haute*, from Anglo-French: *halt*, *haut*, literally means *high*; from the Latin *altus*.

Îngâmfată, încrezut, înfumurat, vanitos, orgolios. The heteronym of the term *haughty* is *îngâmfată*.

1 Sam 17:28 [5]:

pride and the insolence of your heart.

“mândria și răutatea inimii.”

Insolence - rude and disrespectful behaviour. Its morpheme is *insolent*, which dates back to late Middle English (also in the sense extravagant, going beyond acceptable limits), from Latin *insolent* (“immoderate”), unaccustomed, arrogant, from *in* (“not”) + *solent* (“being accustomed”) (from the verb *solere*).

Răutate - caracteristică a omului rău, înclinare spre a face rău altora [6].

The heteronym of the noun *insolence* is *răutate*.

Is. 44:20 [5]:

A deceived heart has turned him aside.

“inima lui amăgită îl duce în rătăcire.”

The adjective *deceived* is a derivative of the verb *deceive*.

Deceived heart - **inima amăgită**.

Has turned him aside turn aside - **îl duce în rătăcire**.

Turn aside - to turn your head or body away from.

A heart which has not become addicted to God is an uncircumcised heart. The act of circumcision, within the period of The Old Testament, is the token of commitment between God and Israel. The clear theological significance was available in Israel only and extended beyond the person being subject to circumcision within his family and the enlarged family.

Deuteronomy 30:6 [5]:

circumcise your heart and the heart of your descendants, (to love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul that you may live).

“Domnul Dumnezeuul tău îți va tăia împrejur inima ta și inima seminției tale.”

The act of circumcision has a particular significance in Judaism, being a sign of the everlasting covenant between God and man. God’s intentions for his people have always been for the whole person to respond to Him. Outward symbols, such as circumcision, were always intended to be the mark of an inner reality, the heart that was tender to the Lord. The aim of the action is to manifest love towards God whole-heartedly.

Circumcise - to cut off the foreskin of a young boy or man, especially a baby as a religious rite, especially in Judaism and Islam or as a medical treatment. Origin: Middle English < Old French *circunciser*, or from Latin *circumcis-* cut around, from the verb *circumcidere*, from *circum* (“around”, “about”) + *caedere* (“to cut”).

The verb *circumcise* is rendered by the verbal phrase **a taia împrejur** in Romanian, which is an explicitation of the action. Both verbs are used connotatively in the Bible and there are 4 uses of it throughout the text, but the verb *circumcise* is used denotatively 47 times.

Descendants - a person, a plant or animal that is descended from a particular ancestor.

Origin: Middle English < Old French *descendre* < Latin *descendere de* (“down”) + *scandere* (“to climb”).

Seminție - *neam, naționalitate, popor; totalitatea indivizilor sau familiilor care au același străbun* [6]. Attested in the Romanian language in 1563, recorded in Coresi, *Praxiu* 25, the term comes from vernacular Latin *semenția*.

The lexemes are in a relationship of relative diastatic synonymy, the Romanian lexeme having an ecclesiastical origin and stylistically limited use.

The heteronym or *descendants* is *semintia*.

Levitic 26:41 [5]:

their uncircumcised hearts are humbled.

“inima lor netăiața împrejur se va smeri.”

Be humbled- *cause someone to feel less important or proud;*

A se smeri - *a adopta o atitudine umilă, modestă, supusă; (Bis.) a se arata plin de cucernicie, de evlavie față de Dumnezeu* [6]. Attested in the 16th century in *Psaltirea Șcheiană*, 9, 31, the term has a Slavic origin *sumeriti*.

Jeremiah 9:26 [5]:

For all these nations are uncircumcised, and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in the heart.

“căci toate neamurile sunt netăiate împrejur și toată casa lui Israel are inima netăiața împrejur.”

Uncircumcised is a grammatical derivative of the verb *circumcise*.

The quote refers to the nations of Egypt, Judah, Ammon, Moab, people who live in the wilderness.

Following **the dictates of the heart** and disobeying God is seen as a corruption of the soul. In the utterance below man positions himself in singularity, and not associated with God, in control of his own decisions. The statement *I shall have peace* translated literally in Romanian by the words *Voi avea pace* is a self reflection of man in the world.

29:19 [5]:

I follow the dictates of my heart - as though the drunkard could be included with the sober.

“Aș urma după pornirile inimii mele și chiar dacă aș adăuga beția la sete.”

The drunkard - *a person who is habitually drunk*. The term is of Germanic origin, coming from Middle Low German *drunkert*. It is translated by means of the hyperonym **beția** in Romanian, the English version making use of a hyponim of the Romanian term.

Similarly, for the sake of symmetry, the *sober* comes in opposition with the *drunkard*. The adjective *sober* means *not affected by alcohol, not drunk, the quality of being staid or solemn*. In terms of origin, it comes from Old French *sobre*, from Latin *sobrius*.

The verbal phrase *follow the dictates of my heart* is rendered by means of the expression *as urma după pornirile inimii mele*. There is a partial synonymy between the utterances, as the English version has a more explanatory value while the Romanian one offers a hypothesis.

The dictates - an order or principle that must be obeyed. In terms of origin, it dates back to the 16th century and it comes from Latin *dictat* (“dictated”), from the verb *dictare*.

On the other hand, *selfish hearts* can be turned into *faithful hearts*. Ezechiel describes the process as one of transformation:

take the stony heart out of their flesh, and give them a heart of flesh.
“Voi lua din trupul lor inima de piatră și le voi da o inimă de carne.”

This transformation is presented as one of reception of *a new heart*, *a tender heart* is the meaning of *a heart of flesh*.

In view of the fact that *heart* represents human personality, God pays attention more to it than to our deeds, that is why we are called to look for God *with your heart and all your soul/ din toata inima si cu tot sufletul* (Deuteronomy 4:29, p. 284).

Our personality is a function of many different aspects of our human being which includes thinking, memories, feelings, wishes and our pleasures. There is no surprise that the Jewish term for *heart*, *leb* is used as a picture of all these.

2.2. *Intellect and Memory*

In the Biblical expression, thinking is a function of the heart we can grasp in the words of the psalmist:

I call to remembrance my song in the night
“Mă gândesc la cântările mele noaptea”
I meditate within my heart
“cuget adânc înăuntrul inimii mele”
And my spirit makes diligent search.
“îmi cade duhul pe gânduri.”

Call to remembrance - make diligent search.

The Romanian verb *mă gândesc* finds a phraseological turning in NKJV version by means of the collocation *call to remembrance*; the English verb *meditate* also has a phraseological Romanian turning *cuget adânc* and the Romanian expression *cade pe gânduri* is rendered through the syntagm *makes diligent search*.

As a prelude to the deluge, the book of *Genesis* tells us that God saw that “the wickedness of man was great in the earth and that every intent of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually”. The phrase *the wickedness of the heart* finds a perfect equivalent through *răutatea omului*, but the the syntagm *every intent of the thoughts of his heart* is rendered by means of *toate întocmirile gândurilor din inimă*. At the surface, the word forms is different but the overall meaning is the same. *Every intent of the thoughts of his heart* is translated with *toate întocmirile gândurilor* [7] (p. 236).

Each time the Bible records the interior dialogue, whether as a prayer addressed to God in silence, or as a simple thought, the expression *in the heart* is used. There are 419 occurrences of this kind. Among the most expressive, we can distinguish the following:

28:29 [5]:

Când va intra Aaron în Sfântul Locaș, va purta pe inima lui numele fiilor lui Israel, săpate pe pieptarul judecatii, ca sa pastreze totdeauna aducerea-aminte de ei înaintea Domnului.

“So Aaron shall bear the names of the sons of Israel on the breastplate of judgement over his heart, when he goes into the holy place, as a memorial before the Lord continually.”

Breastplate - a piece of armour covering the chest; a set of straps attached to the front of a

saddle, which pass across a horse's chest and prevent the saddle slipping backward. Another term for it is *ephod*, which has been described as a cape or vest made of fine linen with brilliant colours. Its two main sections covered the chest and back, with seams at the shoulders and a band at a waist.

The phrase *breastplate of judgement*, the breastplate of righteousness, the armor of God (**Ephesians 6**) is a liturgical term which is endowed with figurative meaning. The breastplate was artistically woven and contained twelve stones, *the sons of Israel* which represented the ancestors, a reminder of their Jewish identity under the Egyptian slavery.

Pieptar - *platoșă de metal sau de piele, cămașă de zale pe care o purtau oștenii medievali spre a-i apăra pieptul; pieptul hamului* [6].

The *breastplate of judgement* has a perfect equivalent through *pieptarul judecării*, being denotative synonyms. *Bear the names* is translated more expressively in Romanian by means of the phrase *va purta numele sapate* and the term *memorial* is also rendered with the phrase *aducere aminte*, between them being a relationship of partial synonymy.

Memorial - term, dating from late Middle English, coming from late Latin, *memoriale* ("record, memory, monument"), from Latin *memorialis* ("serving as a reminder"), from *memoria* ("memory").

A statue or structure established to remind people of a person or event; chiefly historical, a statement of facts, especially as the basis of a petition.

aducere-aminte

2.3. Emotions

In accordance with the Biblical use, *heart* is the source out of which emotions pour out. Aaron's heart is glad when he meets Moses as it is asserted in Exodus 4:14. In Leviticus the people of God are warned not to hate their brother in their hearts [7] (p. 245).

You shall surely rebuke your neighbour, and not bear sin because of him.

"Să nu urăști pe fratele tău în inima ta; să mustri pe aproapele tău, dar să nu te încarci cu un păcat din pricina lui."

bear sin = *să te încarci cu un păcat.*

rebuke = *să mustri.*

Fear is described as the loss of heart (Deuteronomy 1): *our brethren have discouraged our hearts/ frații noștri ne-au muiat inima*; indicating the fact that courage is also an emotion you feel whole-heartedly (Psalm 29:7) - *My heart shall not fear* and:

Anger (Psalm 39:3) [5]:

My heart was hot within me; While I was musing, the fire burned. Then I spoke with my tongue.

"Îmi ardea inima în mine, un foc launtric mă mistuia; și atunci mi-a venit cuvântul pe limba."

Heart is the centre of wishes, too. Sychem, the son of Hamor of Canaan, *whose soul was strongly attracted to Dinah, the daughter of Jacob* (Gen.34:3). The psalmist tells his listeners to return to God *to delight yourself in the Lord* so that *He shall give you the desires of your heart*. In the Romanian version: *Domnul sa-ți fie desfătarea iar El îți va da tot ce-ți dorește inima.*

Volition

Not only does the heart feel and think, remembers and wishes, but it also chooses a course of action. Jesus Himself learnt that "out the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries,

fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies (Mt. 15:19) / din inima ies gandurile rele, uciderile, preacurviile, curviile, furtișagurile, mărturiile mincinoase, hulele”.

Evil thoughts – “gândurile rele”;
Murders – “uciderile”;
Adulteries – “preacurviile”;
Fornications – “curviile”;
Thefts – “furtișagurile”;
False witness – “mărturiile mincinoase”;
Blasphemies – “hulele”.

The stubbornness of the human heart is also an act of volition. (**Deuteronomy 2:20**) and the references made about the Pharaoh. There are 27 occurrences of the phrase *to harden the heart*. Among the most relevant we will mention:

35:5 [5]:

Take from among you an offering to the Lord. Whoever is of a willing heart, let him bring it as an offering to the Lord: gold, silver, and bronze.

“Luați din ce aveți și aduceți un prinos Domnului. Fiecare să aducă prinos Domnului ce-l lasă inima: aur, argint și arama.”

Offering, a derived noun from the verb *offer*, dates back to Old English *offrian* (“sacrifice something to a deity”), of Germanic origin, from Latin *offerre* (“bestow, present, in ecclesiastical Latin “offer to God”) reinforced by the French *offrir*.

The heteronym of the word *offering* is *prinos* in Romanian. They are partial synonyms at the denotative level.

Prinos is attested in the Romanian language in the 16th century recorded in *Psaltirea Șcheiană* (Cant.2 puer.14) Both words have initial ecclesiastical use. That is why the term **offering** occurs 713 times in NKJV while in Romanian it occurs 7 times.

is of a willing heart = ce-l lasă inima

The adjective *willing* means *ready, eager or prepared to do something*. It is a derivative of the noun *will*, which designates the faculty by which a person decides on and initiates action.

The following quotes make reference to the offerings brought to God for the religious service held in the tabernacle of meeting commanded by the hand of Moses [7] (p.250).

Exodus 35:21 [5]:

Then everyone came whose heart was stirred.

“Toți cei cu tragere de inima au venit.”

Stir - The Old English form is *styrian*; of Germanic origin; related to German *storen* (“disturb”).

To be stirred - *to arouse strong feeling in someone, move, or excite; arouse or prompt a feeling or memory or inspire the imagination.*

The equivalence is dynamic in this situation, the idea of volition being rendered in English by means of a passive construction - *to be stirred*, while in Romanian it is conveyed by a nominal syntagm *cu tragere de inima*.

2.4. Other uses of the term „Heart”

18:5 [5]:

to refresh your hearts.
“ca să prindeți la inimă.”

The verb *refresh* comes from late Middle English, originating from the Old French *refreschier*, from re- (“back”) +fres(che) (“fresh”).

Refresh - give new strength or energy to, to reinvigorate.

The word *refresh* is translated in Romanian by means of the phrase *a prinde la inimă*.

A prinde la inimă - a căpăta curaj, a se îmbărbăta.

There is a partial synonymy between the word and the phrase, what differentiates them is the differentiating sem is *courage*, which is not present in English word.

Conclusions

There is a richness and multitude of meanings inherent to *heart* images in the Bible. The aim of this article has been that of detecting elements of culture and tradition and the way they are reflected in language. The componential analysis of pairs of lexemes and phrases in the text led me to discover pairs of synonyms, relative and partial synonyms and the recurrent paremiological synonymy in the case of proverbs and psalms. The figurative use of terms has proven productive in the case of all terms.

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EXPLORING COLLOCATIONS IN LITERARY TRANSLATION

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Abstract

The current paper will focus on a thorough analysis of figurative language conceptualized in the novel Jonathan Coe's *The Closed Circle*, with a particular focus on identifying collocations related to political discourse. Given the fundamental differences between languages, it is often the case that translating beyond the word level poses a significant challenge. Our aim is to investigate how the translation deals with collocations which carry a significant emotive force, reflecting not only their propositional content but also the social and affective meanings that they evoke. Particular emphasis is placed on the examination of lexical, semantic, grammatical, and cultural distinctions between the two languages as prospective origins of such complications.

Keywords

collocations, corpus-based study, culture, literary translation

1. Introduction

Irrespective of the specific language being investigated, it is widely recognized that words do not operate in isolation, but rather co-occur in semantically cohesive units as an outcome of the dynamics of language production and the interplay between linguistics and culture. So, lexical items exhibit a propensity to combine with other words in patterns that are considered as natural in the respective language, resulting in collocations that are readily recognized and deemed linguistically and semantically appropriate by the native speakers of the language. The role of collocations in understanding the meaning of language has gained prominence in the field of linguistics. As formulaic units, collocations carry a significant amount of meaning beyond that of their individual components. The inherent limitations that each language imposes on the way words are combined makes the search for equivalents in other languages even more complicated.

Collocations are linguistic elements deeply ingrained in the language system of a given language, originating from a complex interplay between linguistic, stylistic, and cultural factors. Their replacement with unsuitable expressions may have a significant impact on the functionality and naturalness of the target text resulting in an "odd collocational effect" [1] (p.189).

2. Featuring collocations

Collocation, in a broad sense, can be defined as the lexical tie between two or more words that exhibit a tendency to appear in close proximity to each other [2]. This observable fact occurs due to the conventionalized and context-dependent nature of language use, whereby certain combinations of words are considered more natural, frequent, and acceptable than others.

In frequency terms, a collocation refers to the combination of two or more words that have a higher tendency to co-occur than would be expected by chance. In other words, the frequency of their occurrence together is greater than what could be predicted by their individual frequencies. Such combinations conform to the general rules of a language for syntactic well-formedness and semantic compositionality, and therefore, are considered as a cohesive unit [3]. Collocations are not random, but rather exhibit patterns of regularity and predictability, based on factors such as semantics, grammar, register, context and culture.

2.1. Lexical and semantic features

Collocations reflect the lexical and semantic features of a language. The meaning of a collocation is not the sum of its individual words, but rather a combination of their meanings. The multiple senses that a linguistic unit has correspond to variation in lexical associations. Their overall collocational meaning is built up in accordance with “the principle of compositionality” which posits that the signification of a complex expression is constructed by means of a rule-bound synthesis of the significations of its individual components [4] (p. 36). Atkins and Rundell find that collocational behaviour is best analyzed against the background of two main features: open-endedness and extended arbitrariness. In support of their claim, the scholars provide the following example of the collocation “commit a crime”. In this case the verb “commit” is exclusively used in conjunction with the noun “crime”, rendering the usage of other verbs belonging to the same semantic category such as “make”, “do”, “perform”, “carry out”, or “execute” sound awkward and unnatural. Fluent speakers recognize this collocation intuitively. The likelihood of “commit” co-occurring with “crime” is significantly higher than it would be with any other verb having a similar sense [5] (p. 303).

2.2. Grammatical features

Grammar is structured according to two primary dimensions: morphology and syntax. Morphology encompasses the composition of words, throwing light upon the manner in which a word’s form undergoes alterations to signify particular distinctions within the grammatical system. Syntax, on the other hand, pertains to the grammatical organization of groups, clauses, and sentences, focusing on the linear arrangements of word classes as well as functional constituents which are permissible within a specific language [6]. While a language possesses the capacity to convey any variety of information demanded by its speakers, the grammatical structure inherent to a specific language governs “the ease with which certain notions such as time reference or gender can be made explicit” [6] (p. 83).

Languages possessing morphological means for articulating specific categories, such as number, tense, or gender, are compelled to consistently express these classifications. Conversely, languages devoid of morphological tools for conveying identical categories are not required to express them unless deemed pertinent. As a grammatical choice is derived from a finite set of alternatives, it is mandatory, and by default, precludes other options within the same system. Grammatical structure is distinct from lexical structure in its heightened resistance to modification. To insert a new word, expression, or collocation into a language is considerably more feasible than introducing a new grammatical category, system, or arrangement. Additionally, “grammatical rules are also more resistant to manipulation by speakers” [6] (p.

85).

An in-depth analysis of the grammatical features of collocations implies exploring their structural and functional aspects. In instances where two words collocate, the association can be maintained among all or multiple permutations of their respective forms, in any grammatically permissible sequence. For instance, the phrases “achieving aims”, “aims having been achieved”, “achievable aims”, and “the achievement of an aim” are all equally viable and customary in the English language. Conversely, it is not uncommon for certain words to collocate with other terms in some forms while remaining incompatible in others. For example, in English, while “bend rules” is a common expression, “unbendable rules” is atypical [6] (p. 48). Since collocations also reflect the grammatical features of a language, for those which are typically fixed in terms of their word order, changing this order can result in atypical expressions due to the numerous possible variations that can occur in their construction.

2.3. Cross-cultural pragmatic features

Collocations also reflect the cultural dimension of a language. They are influenced by the cultural background, customs, and beliefs of a particular community, hence the need to expose underlying structures of the meaning that an utterance acquires within the framework of its social, cultural, and situational context. Relying solely on knowledge of grammar and lexicon is inadequate for effective intercultural exchange. Certain collocations epitomize the cultural environment within which they emerge. In cases where the cultural contexts of the source and target languages diverge substantially, the source text may encompass collocations that communicate associations of ideas perceived as unhelpful to the target reader [6].

Cultural and contextual factors play a critical role in shaping the meaning and interpretation of language, which necessitates an understanding of the socio-cultural and situational variables that shape the use of language. In light of these considerations, an effective communicative competence demands a comprehensive awareness and sensitivity towards the contextual factors that underpin linguistic application [7].

3. Disambiguating political collocations for accurate translation

Translation has emerged as a fundamental mechanism for facilitating intercultural communication among individuals. It exerts a significant impact on the manner in which individuals engage in the comprehension of foreign languages, cultural practices, and belief systems. The fundamental objective of translation lies in the precise communication of meaning across languages, audiences, and cultural milieus, notwithstanding an inevitable degree of potential diminution or intensification. Furthermore, when undertaking the task to identify effective equivalents, a translator must remain cognizant of the metaphorical connotations potentially embedded within a collocation. Collocations may also encompass a myriad of cultural facets, such as religious convictions, culture-specific items, superstitions, and disparate ideologies of individuals from various societies and nations.

In view of the paramount function collocations serve in reflecting a nation's cultural characteristics via linguistic expressions, the task of translating them from the source language (SL) to the target language (TL) emerges as an essential undertaking that seeks to facilitate comprehension and foster interconnectivity among cultures, religions, and languages. Unquestionably, the notion embodied by a specific collocation in the source language may secure the employment of an essentially different collocation in the target language throughout the translation procedure.

The task of rendering collocations related to political discourse from one language to another is fraught with challenges, primarily stemming from the cultural disparities between languages,

especially on the grounds that they are often culture-specific and laden with ideological implications. Firstly, political collocations are intrinsically language-specific, bearing meanings that may not be effortlessly translatable into other languages. Political language is often deeply rooted in the historical, social, and ideological contexts of a particular society, which may not be immediately apparent to individuals from different cultural backgrounds. As posited by Newmark, political language encompasses numerous concepts which may initially appear to be effortlessly translatable yet pose challenges upon closer examination. A direct translation of these terms might prove difficult, as the communication of the intended meaning may not be a linear process. Such concepts frequently exhibit varying interpretations across diverse systems, primarily due to the substantial impact of each nation's political tradition [8].

Secondly, political collocations exhibit cultural specificity, encompassing connotations exclusive to a particular culture. Consequently, their meaning may be imbued with implicit assumptions, values, or beliefs that may not be immediately discernible to those unfamiliar with the political landscape from which they emerge. Disambiguating the meaning of such collocations thus requires an awareness of the underlying ideologies they represent. So as to make a complete end, political collocations are contextually reliant, potentially conveying distinct meanings in disparate contexts. Factors such as the speaker's identity, audience, and communicative purpose can all contribute to nuances in meaning that may be difficult to discern without a comprehensive understanding of the contextual elements at play.

Regarding the translation of political texts, renowned scholars Hatim and Mason conclude that factors such as socio-political and contextual considerations, as well as the rapport between the source and target audiences are crucial in shaping the translation process [9]. Translators do not engage in the rendering of discrete lexical units, but rather undertake the task of translating words that are invariably (albeit to varying degrees) tethered to their syntactic, collocational, situational, cultural, and idiolectal contexts. Although the degree of contextual binding may fluctuate, ranging from more to less pervasive, it is essential to acknowledge that words are never entirely devoid of contextual associations [10].

4. Applying translation procedures in corpus analysis

The translation procedures for collocations encompass a variety of methodological approaches aimed at facilitating the accurate and effective transfer of meaning from source language (SL) to target language (TL). The ones presented below belong to Newmark's framework [10]. These procedures, founded upon the recognition of the unique challenges posed by collocations, strive to ensure the retention of both semantic and pragmatic dimensions in the translation process. As follows we are going to provide an overview of Newmark's translation procedures, examining their theoretical foundations and practical implications in the field of translation studies.

- *transference* as a translation procedure, refers to the act of conveying a source language (SL) term into a target language (TL) text, maintaining its original form and lexical properties. The rationale supporting the adoption of transference in translation asserts that it demonstrates reverence for the SL culture. Conversely, the counterargument posits that the primary responsibility of a translator lies in elucidating and conveying meaning, thus necessitating the provision of explanations rather than mere transference [10];
- *naturalisation* is adopting a natural pronunciation in the TL;
- *cultural equivalent* refers to a near-precise translation, wherein a source language (SL) culture-specific term is rendered into a target language (TL) term that embodies equivalent cultural connotations;

- *functional equivalent* requires employing a linguistically unbound term for transference purposes, which may serve to neutralize or generalize the source language lexical item;
- *descriptive equivalent* means the description of a word along with its function so as to make it more clear to the target readers;
- *synonymy* indicates using a term with close in meaning to the TL equivalent in those cases when a precise equivalent may or may not exist, for instance types of snow for Eskimos may be similar to types of sands in the desert;
- *through-translation* entails the literal transference of prevalent collocational expressions, nomenclature for institutions, and constituents of compound structures, a process otherwise referred to as *calque*;
- *shift* or *transposition* encompasses alterations in grammatical structures when transitioning from the source language (SL) to the target language (TL). Examples of such modifications include the transformation from singular to plural, the conversion between nominal and verbal sentence/clause structures, the adaptation of a phrase into a clause, the inversion of active and passive constructions, the reinterpretation of double negations as affirmative statements, and alterations in lexical categories, such as the word class change of a noun into an adjective or a verb;
- *modulation* occurs when a translator renders the source text's message into the target language, adhering to the prevailing conventions of the target language. This process acknowledges the potential divergence in viewpoints between the source and target languages;
- *recognized translation* occurs when the translator employs the authoritative or conventionally accepted rendering of institutional terminology;
- *translation label principles* pertains to the tentative rendering of predominantly novel institutional terminology, enclosed within inverted commas. This approach allows for the eventual inconspicuous retraction of the provisional translation. Often, such translations are achieved through literal translation;
- *compensation* becomes detectable when a deficit in meaning, metaphorical significance, or pragmatic impact within a segment of a sentence is counterbalanced by adjustments in another constituent of the same sentence or an adjacent statement, thereby preserving the overall coherence and effectiveness of the translated text;
- *reduction or expansion*, exhibit a degree of imprecision, with practitioners employing them instinctively in certain instances and rely on either reducing a translation or making it longer;
- *componential analysis* means splitting a lexical units to its sense components;
- *paraphrase* is employed when the direct translation of a collocation would result in a loss of meaning or cultural relevance in the target language. This procedure involves the rephrasing of the collocation in the target language, with the aim of preserving the intended meaning while adapting the expression to the linguistic and cultural norms of the target audience;
- *couplets, triplets, or quadruplets* occur when the translator combines two or more different procedures;
- *notes* (footnotes or endnotes, additions, glosses are supplementary information in a translation added in support of the TT readers to ease understanding and make it seem natural and fluent. The supplementary data that a translator may need to incorporate into their rendition typically pertains to cultural (addressing disparities between source and target language cultures), technical (relevant to the subject matter), or linguistic

(explaining unconventional word usage) aspects. The inclusion of such information is in contact with the specific needs of the target audience, as opposed to those of the original readership.

The procedures employed in the translation of political collocations, as identified in the bilingual corpus comprising Jonathan Coe's *The Closed Circle* and its corresponding Romanian translation, *Cercul închis*, rendered by Radu Paraschivescu, are delineated in the subsequent discussion.

Through-translation or literal translation is the favoured procedure, as evidenced by its substantial presence in the chosen corpus: *a matter of state* (p. 148) = *o chestiune de stat* (p. 215); *a man of principle* (p. 172) = *un om al principiilor* (p. 413); *consumers of politics* (p. 221) = *consumatori de politică* (p. 318); This approach is employed even when addressing collocations possessing metaphorical potential: *none-too-subtle hints* (p. 321) = *aluzii străvezii* (p. 464).

Modulation is observed with notable frequency in the examined text, at the lexical layer, but extending to the grammatical dimension as well. This method entails altering the meaning of English collocations and expressions to adhere to Romanian linguistic norms, such as: *a potentially fine war leader* (p. 172) = *un potențial bun conducător în caz de război* (p. 213); *constantly talking a language of beliefs and idealism* (p. 256) = *vorbind constant despre convingeri și idealism* (p. 370).

Shift or *transposition* is frequently employed: *social duties on his minister's behalf* (p. 172) = *obligații sociale în numele ministrului* (p. 248); *had done the bidding of the party whips* (p. 172) = *se conformase indicațiilor sosite de la decidenții partidului* (p. 248); the nature of modern fascism (p. 256) = *natura fascismului modern* (p. 368); *allegiance lies* (p. 305) = *trebuie să ne aliem* (p. 444); *slavish support* (p. 314) = *sprijinul slugarnic* (p. 453); *bellicose rhetoric* (p. 314) = *retorica belicoasă* (p. 453); *parliamentary career* (p. 321) = *cariera politică* (p. 223); *a substantial backbench rebellion* (p. 321) = *o revoltă parlamentară substanțială* (p. 463). This preference for structure shift, particularly when dealing with noun phrases, is the result of the word order rules governing Romanian, wherein modifiers typically follow nouns in non-emphatic noun phrases [11].

The use of *paraphrase* stems largely from the translator's desire to convey greater explicitness in the translated text, as we can see in the following examples: *more pro-business, pro-wealth creation, pro-competition* (p. 172) = *un mediu favorabil afacerilor, bogăției și concurenței* (p. 413); *has got into bed with these people* (p. 255) = *i-a sedus pe acești oameni* (p. 367).

The identification of an official counterpart or term in the target language for an English collocation results in a *recognized translation*. The examples of such established equivalents identified in the text under scrutiny are *the New Labour project* (p. 255) = *proiectului Nouului Laburism* (p. 368); *the British far right* (p. 255) = *extrema dreaptă engleză* (p. 366).

The list of identified procedures also includes *couplets* which include both *shift* and *reduction* or *expansion*: *current mainstream politics* (p. 256) = *cadrul larg al politicii din ziua de azi* (p. 368); *the whole culture* (p. 221) = *întreaga cultură a fenomenului* (p. 318); *the deadening clutch of the trades unions* (p. 370) = *menghina sufocantă a sindicatelor* (p. 537); *moderate cross-party amendment* (p. 321) = *moderatul amendament* (p. 463).

Conclusions

Translation challenges intrinsic to collocations in general, and political collocations in particular, can be predominantly attributed to the author's intent, which is, once more, examined

in connection with the linguistically and culturally contextualized setting of the text.

First and foremost, an analysis of the Romanian translations of these collocations reveals a predilection for approaches that engender increased explicitness within the lexico-semantic layer of the target text. Secondly, scrutiny of the selected collocations unveils a plethora of cases in which metaphorical constructs in the English text correspond to Romanian counterparts imbued with a more concrete denotation. This phenomenon signifies the diligence exhibited by the Romanian text creator in conveying the original meaning with enhanced lucidity; however, such a choice does not invariably yield successful outcomes. There is an abundance of nouns frequently encountered in the collocations under examination which stand proof of the formal and elevated stylistic attributes that typify political discourse at large. Their translation uses a diminished number of nouns in comparison to their English correspondents.

Translators aim to strike a balance between maintaining the rhetorical potency of the original text and ensuring comprehension for the target audience. This entails employing procedures that prioritize explicitness and clarity, while also preserving the elevated stylistic attributes characteristic of the political discourse. The success of the translation hinges upon the translator's ability to deftly mediate between source and target languages, effectively conveying the subtleties of political language and fostering cross-cultural understanding.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my deep appreciation for my doctoral research supervisor, Professor Titela Vilceanu, PhD, University of Craiova, for her invaluable mentorship, constructive feedback, and esteemed intellectual guidance throughout my doctoral pursuits. I am profoundly grateful for the priceless assistance and support that she has provided me with, which has undoubtedly contributed to the advancement of my scientific research. It is with immense appreciation that I recognize her invaluable contributions to my academic development.

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FAUSTIAN FRIEND OR LACANIAN FOE? BRIONY TALLIS AND THE DOUBLE MOTIF IN IAN MCEWAN'S ATONEMENT

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Abstract

The purpose of this essay is to delve into Briony Tallis' unconscious, with a view to studying her character archetype in relation to the double motif, while following a psychoanalytical approach to her doubling. Admitted that Briony's character arc is a tumultuous one, with her going from confident accusations to ultimate pathetic remorse, I shall propose a different manner of interpreting her demeanour and judgement, as independent of the generic childish naivete acceptance; if anything, she possesses an emergently mature understanding of the surrounding world, while lacking the adult palpable experience she tries to compensate for by living vicariously through narratives. However, provided the constraints of this academic paper, I shall limit my argumentative discourse to discussing the manner in which Briony Tallis' unresolved childhood trauma verges on psychoneurotic behaviour, which ultimately makes her as unreliable a witness as she is a narrator.

Keywords

Briony Tallis; Atonement; double; psychoanalytical approach; trauma; morally-grey; narratives

Upon having read Friedrich Nietzsche's *Beyond Good and Evil* (1886) in early adolescence, with a view to outlining a basic understanding of ethics as an emergent high-schooler, I was baffled to witness the relativity with which these concepts are treated¹, their validity being actually attested by socio-cultural factors rather than by an absolute acceptance of moral objectivity. At such youthful a stage, however, the tendency to regard morality as either black or white – pretty recurrent among peers my age, yet painfully undocumented – was growing, due

¹ When close-reading Nietzsche, one becomes aware of the fact that the philosopher is not as much preoccupied with deciding what is to be labelled as morally-acceptable, respectively morally-wrong; on the contrary, Nietzsche's interest rests on the idea according to which good and bad are mere attributes that serve as a solid pillar when it comes to establishing "normative value formation" (Horstmann, qtd. in Nietzsche xviii).

to a school-encouraged lack of individual reflection, as well as a deeply-rooted, dogmatic educational system. Such a limited perspective¹ is not to be regarded humorously, as a mere teenage existential angst concerning one's position towards positive/negative judgement; contrarily, it is through this polarisation that young adults could become victims of radicalisation², for, in the absence of an ethical system that teaches legislation instead of doctrine, the *bad* is perceived as the absence of the *good* and vice-versa, with the *shades of grey*³ being disregarded completely.

Once with maturity, returning to Nietzsche might appear a less challenging artifice of the mind, for one is to observe the manner in which two such controversially-opposing pinnacles of justice⁴ have merged and composed a referential spectrum of their own, highly depending on more topical reflections of society in fields like psychology, culture, politics, religion, etc., hence the apparition of the above-implied *morally-grey*. To reach the ambiguous balance between the valued and the undesirable is neither to be coveted, nor rejected, but to be questioned. Essentially, one's values system plays a crucial part when it comes to establishing what is ethically-right or -wrong, to which the notion of a perspectival truth [1] (p. xxii) towards the subject of judgement is imperatively added.

To Nietzsche, *truth* is a very problematic concept, owing to its unreliable and idealistic character, thus requiring thorough reassessment:

Is it any wonder if we finally become suspicious, lose patience, turn impatiently away? That *we ourselves* are also learning from this Sphinx to pose questions? *Who* is it really that questions us here? *What* in us really wills the truth? In fact, we paused for a long time before the question of the cause of this will – until we finally came to a complete standstill in front of an even more fundamental question. We asked about the *value* of this will. Granted, we will truth: *why not untruth instead? And uncertainty? Even ignorance?* The problem of the value of truth came before us, – or was it we who came before the problem? [1] (p. 5).

Nietzsche proceeds to elaborate that truth does not possess an objective or absolute value, provided its malleability to be bent and adapted from a perspective to another [1] (p. xxii-xxiii). Although highly contextual, the philosopher's formulation of this puzzling, yet ever-present concept in one's everyday existence is equally questioned in literature, especially within the Faustian⁵ framework. The most relevant connection between Nietzsche's (*untruthful*) *truth* and

¹ That is, viewing the moral compass in black and white only.

² According to the European Commission, radicalisation is defined as “a phased and complex process in which an individual or a group embraces a radical ideology or belief that accepts, uses or condones violence, including acts of terrorism, to reach a specific political or ideological purpose.” (https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/policies/internal-security/counter-terrorism-and-radicalisation/prevention-radicalisation_en#:~:text=Radicalisation%20is%20a%20phased%20and,specific%20political%20or%20ideological%20purpose.)

³ That is, anything in between. The word in question is referentially-used, in order to outline the polarised thinking of ideological and religious extremists, without elaborating too much on the topic, with a view not to digress from the actual argument.

⁴ That is, the *good* and the *bad*.

⁵ Ambiguity; by Faustian framework, I am referring to all narrative pieces, as well as epic or dramatic poems, that explore the Faustian pact as rendered by Goethe's *Faust* (1790). Among such writings, to be mentioned are Marlowe's, respectively Thomas Mann's *Doctor Faustus* (1604, respectively 1947), Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774), Lord Byron's *Manfred* (1817), Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890), Mikhail Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita* (1966), etc. While Goethe's *Faust* (1790) becomes the pioneering piece defining this entire literary subgenre, one should notice the fact that,

Faust¹ is neither virtue, nor the consecrated character itself, but the shadow – the *stranger*, the *double*, the implied – literal or figurative – shade of grey mentioned earlier, permitting the re-evaluation and reconstruction of the *universally-acknowledged*².

When it comes to discussing the archetype as a comparative means of literary analysis, it is the term's acceptance that must be primarily understood. In *10 studii de arhetipologie* (2007), Corin Braga defines the archetype as represented by patterns of a series of phenomena which emerge in order to provide answers to a cognitive question. Provided the perpetual elements influencing our perception of the world, the archetype is discussed in relation to its tripartite ramification – metaphysical, psychological and cultural [2] (p. 5). Even if, as the case with widely-revered Faustian facets of the Enlightenment and early Romanticism³, whose metaphysical *double* archetype is rendered through the impersonation of the Christianly-accepted devil, its late 19th to early 20th century representation proposes a departure from the canonically-established (d)evil spirit bringing *absolute* knowledge to its invocator, with a view to embracing the troubled workings of the human mind. The devil's *psychologisation* is, thereby, conceptualised in the context of a modern temporal reference. During the Fin-de-siècle/early modernity, human experience inherited an oxymoronic character, according to Braga in *De la arhetip la anarhetip* (2006), as it was torn between the power of reason – once militated by the *Aufklärers*⁴ – and the power of the soul – perpetuated by the Romantics; therefore, it reached a paradoxical stance between lucidity and fantasy [3] (p. 213), which oftentimes led to psychoneuroses⁵. Quite evidently, these unhealthy cognitive patterns and responses do not fall under the label of mental conditions until mid-to-late-19th century – owing to psychoanalytical pioneers like Sigmund Freud and C. G. Jung; prior to them, the patterns mentioned above were interpreted as “the intuitive representations of a descend into the unconscious, where the *self* is met with its doppelgängers, on a par with its unknown psyche, which are to be brought to light” [3] (p. 133).

The theoretical baggage presented afore is relevant as far as establishing the parameters within which contemporary literature gravitates, when it comes to the characters' construction of impulses and decision-making. Ian McEwan's *Atonement* (2001) falls under the very precise example of a *cuspal* literary piece which wants to be a reviser of the modern individual's struggles, both ideologically and on a psychological level. Throughout the novel, the reader is met with wonderfully-obscure character archetypes being challenged by profound psychological turmoil. Despite the fact that the collective consciousness of the early 20th century was consistently imbued with mantras of war, the subject at hand does not derange the Tallis' and their immediate acquaintances until a shocking, although apparently inoffensive unit perturbs the orderly course of actions through her unreasonable judgement. Therefore, the purpose of this essay is to delve into Briony Tallis' unconscious, with a view to studying her character archetype

on a conceptual level, the Faustian bargain has undergone several adaptations throughout the centuries, as it turned from a material, mystic agreement with a fiendish creature (as rendered in Romantic/Sturm und Drang writing), to a psychologised inner turmoil, on which I will elaborate in the upcoming pages of this paper.

1 Ambiguation; Faust as a consecrated character.

2 Used rhetorically, in pursuance of outlining Nietzsche's above-mentioned acceptance of an impossible truth.

3 Such as Doctor Faustus, Young Werther, Manfred, etc.

4 German for Enlighteners, from the German philosophical movement Aufklärung (Enlightenment).

5 In Freudian key, a psychoneurosis is defined as an emotional imbalance whose subsequent cause is the repression of a triggering memory/impulse that later emerges as a symptom/response to stress disorders [4] (p. 9).

in relation to the double motif, while following a psychoanalytical approach to her doubling. Admitted that Briony's character arc is a tumultuous one, with her going from confident accusations to ultimate pathetic remorse, I shall propose a different manner of interpreting her demeanour and judgement, as independent of the generic *childish naivete* acceptance; if anything, she possesses an emergently mature understanding of the surrounding world, while lacking the adult palpable experience she tries to compensate for by living vicariously through narratives. However, provided the constraints of this academic paper, I shall limit my argumentative discourse to discussing the manner in which Briony Tallis' unresolved childhood trauma verges on psychoneurotic behaviour, which ultimately makes her as unreliable a witness as she is a narrator.

Reading *Atonement* acquaints one with the paramount importance of story-writing for Briony's development as an author of both her own storylines and her reiterated accounts of events. Ever since the incipient stages of the novel, the fact that Briony does not engage into writing as a mere relaxing activity is made extremely clear, through the trance-like state she appears to engage in upon sharing her stories to a familiar audience:

Briony was encouraged to read her stories aloud in the library and it surprised her parents and older sister to hear their quiet girl perform so boldly, making big gestures with her free arm, arching her eyebrows as she did the voices, and looking up from the page for seconds at a time as she read in order to gaze into one face after the other, unapologetically demanding her family's total attention as she cast her narrative spell [5] (p. 7).

Not only does one learn the fact that Briony is completely absorbed by the creative exercise she puts her ambitions into, but one also becomes aware of the fact that she experiences the textual intensity vicariously, provided her performance-resembling mannerisms when enacting the plot. Initially, the sheer passion for storytelling that she manifests so blatantly is to be accepted as a pure dedication towards her pluri-perspectivism; the balance-disruptive factor, however – Briony's perpetually-wandering imagination – hinders her from crossing a tangible line between her mind-bred fantasies and the actual processing of events. In her essay, "Re-imagining histories, Re-inventing the Self in Ian McEwan's *Atonement*," Vanja Vukićević Garić motivates the protagonist's lack of touch with reality as a youthful vanity, characteristic to upper-middle-class prodigies, highly related to her desire to be appraised as a literary visionary, by arguing that

Briony is masterfully depicted as a self-absorbed teenager (McEwan's psychological penetration into the character of the "border-line" age between childhood and maturity has proved its depth and clinical accuracy once again), slightly spoiled, obsessed with order and secrets (although empty, non-existent, invented), with strong literary aspirations and equally strong awareness of the class system. Out of the dark and indistinguishable comingling of all these characteristics, her motive to make the fatal accusation is reinforced by her egotistical need to create a tale, a plausible arrangement of things in which she would be a "savior", a knowing heroine and a judge [6] (p. 167).

Although Vukićević Garić made a rather compelling argument about Briony's class-consciousness, which is not to be excluded when outlining her character's portrait, I am inclined to disagree with the scholar's understanding of the main character's course of action as dependent on her pampered upbringing. Instead of blaming the circumstances in which she has developed, I suggest we shift the focus on the inner workings of her mind, which she coincidentally happens to transpose in reality through her stories, equally employed as a defence mechanism towards the alterity:

A story was direct and simple, allowing nothing to come between herself and her reader – no intermediaries with their private ambitions or incompetence, no pressures of time, no limits on resources [...] a story was a form of telepathy. By means of inking symbols onto a page, she was able to send thoughts and feelings from her mind to her reader's. It was a magical process, so commonplace that no one stopped to wonder at it [5] (p. 31).

Quite evidently, Briony's strong, yet restricted interest in writing a miniature world of her own is employed as a coping activity from her very rapid amassing of events, as well as from her neglected needs as an emergent adolescent. Through *The Trials of Arabella*, the protagonist engages into what scholars would nowadays call an impressive postmodern exercise, precisely *narrative writing therapy*¹, in order to process various traumatic moments, such as dealing with her family's lack of attention towards activities she deems important, seeing her cousin molested by Paul Marshall, witnessing Cecilia and Robbie's intimate library moment, and, ultimately, dealing with the guilt of having indirectly caused the death of both Cecilia and Robbie. Progressively, the manner in which these psychological impasses come to affect Briony are pretty concealed, yet deeply anchored in repression, mechanism in which she engages with a view to taming her intrusive curiosities. It is through this repression that we are met with Briony's *double* – a silenced voice which, once unleashed, clouds the protagonist's standard acceptance of her surroundings. In "The Double as the "Unseen" of Culture: Toward a Definition of Doppelgänger" (2000), Milica Živković outlines "mankind's chronic duality", by asserting that

the double pursues the subject as his second self and makes him feel as himself and the other at the same time. While its imaginative power springs from its immateriality, from the fact that it is and has always been a phantasm, the psychological power of the double lies in its ambiguity, in the fact that it can stand for contrast or opposition, but likeness as well. [7] (p. 122)

Much like her fascination with moths being drawn to light – "That night creatures were drawn to lights where they could be most easily eaten by other creatures was one of those mysteries that gave her modest pleasure." [5] (p. 124) – Briony's preoccupation with serving *justice*² emerges because of her writerly desire to keep the narrative under control. Nevertheless, she is not responsible for writing Robbie's narrative as well; the fact that she is an irreproachably-gifted teenager does not make her eligible for mistaking reality for fiction. Such an erroneous, yet insightful happenstance is to be correlated to her double's fascination with the obscure, which is, to the concrete and palpable world, nothing but a hallucination. As a result, the aforementioned pleasure that Briony experiences upon speculating the reason why moths are attracted to light is derived from her unconscious identification with the creatures themselves – "Even though they might be eaten, they had to obey the instinct that made them seek out the darkest place, on the far side of the light – and in this case it was an illusion" [5] (p. 124).

Through her vividly violent "imaginative power", Briony's double enables her to delve into the haunted nature of her psyche with a purpose different than re-evaluating her trauma. Provided she is approaching adolescence, her attempts at understanding and interacting with sexuality are not to be shielded from. Although presupposing that the injustice she did to Robbie was merely a means to punish him for his unrequited feelings for her, as resulted from the following excerpt –

1 On a postmodern note, narrative writing therapy was firstly explored in the 1980s, by psychology professor James Pennebaker. According to the American Psychological Association, this type of therapy focuses on "the way people use [writing] to interpret their experiences, right down to the words they choose." (<https://www.apa.org/monitor/jun02/writing>.)

2 Italicised for ironic purposes, knowing that Briony had been anything but just towards Robbie.

“Do you know why I wanted you to save me?”

“No.”

“Isn’t it obvious?”

“No, it isn’t.”

“Because I love you.”

She said it bravely, with chin upraised, and she blinked rapidly as she spoke, dazzled by the momentous truth she had revealed. He restrained an impulse to laugh. He was the object of a schoolgirl crush. “What on earth do you mean by that?”

“I mean what everybody else means when they say it. I love you. [...] I wanted to know if you’d save me.”

“And now you know. I’d risk my life for yours. But that doesn’t mean I love you.” [5] (p. 190)

– Briony’s unreasonable decision to report Robbie as Lola’s sex offender might have an underlying meaning rooted in misunderstood (sexual) relationships. Moreover, the protagonist’s *Lacanian gaze*, defined by Erin O’Dwyer in “Of Letters, Love, and Lack: A Lacanian Analysis of Ian McEwan’s Epistolary Novel *Atonement*” (2016) as “a desiring gaze” whose object of desire is the *Other* [8] (p. 181) appears to be a concept worth embracing in relation to the accuracy according to which the intimate scene in the Tallis’ library is rendered and unfolded before Briony’s eyes – “He looked so huge and wild, and Cecilia with her bare shoulders and thin arms so frail that Briony had no idea what she could achieve as she started to go toward them. She wanted to shout, but she could not catch her breath, and her tongue was slow and heavy.” [5] (p.103) Robbie’s graphic reiteration of Cecilia’s sheltering, conveyed through brutish actions such as “[h]e pushed his body against her [...] and trapped her where the shelves met”, “[his] left hand [...] gripping her hair”, “[h]e looked so huge and wild, and Cecilia with her bare shoulders and thin arms so frail”, would be outlined rather explicitly, had we considered petrified Briony to be the gazer; instead, if we are to suspect that such prolonged a contact with the visually-disturbing scene represents a manifestation of Briony’s answer-seeking double, we would position her on the morally-grey sphere mentioned in the beginning, with her being “[l]ike Oedipus, [...] both guilty and innocent because of this asymmetry in the structure of knowledge.” [9] (p. 150) When it comes to this speculation, Joanne Watkiss comes to confirm it, emphasising, in “The Trials of Briony”: Gothic Desire in Ian McEwan’s *Atonement*” (2016), that Briony is troubled by her limited understanding of sexuality, which pushes her to misinterpret sexual intercourse for assault, as far as Cecilia and Robbie’s relationship is concerned, respectively to accuse Robbie instead of Paul Marshall for the actual offence. Hence, the traumatic undertone of the novel, which stems from Briony’s conflicted apprehension of her own sexual identity, is attempted at being repaired through the act of atonement that the rewriting of events presupposes [10] (pp. 47-48).

Conclusions

With this last point in mind, I shall conclude this analysis on Briony Tallis’ archetype by outlining that her character, although adopting a rather cuspal stance between *double* and Corin Braga’s *divine child*, manifests an allure of its own, which deems it a conceptual Faust, seeking the absolute quantified by justice and order, as well as a postmodern Freudian projection, with repressed thoughts encompassing issues more topical for the literary audience of the late-20th/early-21st century. Through the psychoanalytical approach that I suggested when addressing the protagonist’s traumatic background and unreliable judgement, my purpose was to debunk the general acceptance according to which unreasonable behaviours like Briony’s, although exhibited by a child/teenager, are excused and forgotten; instead, I wanted to outline the

importance of competent decision-making as a rather imperative attribute for a young lady who envisions herself mature enough to take matters in her own hands.

Acknowledgement

The author would like to express her gratitude towards her advisor, Dr Adrian Radu, from the Faculty of Letters, Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, for the interdisciplinary insights into the British 20th century novel, as well as for the encouragement and constructive feedback on the paper at hand.

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PRISON EXPERIENCE IN ROMANIAN AND HUNGARIAN LITERATURE: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL IMPRINTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO A HYBRID GENRE: THE INTERWAR NOVEL

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Abstract

The current paper focuses on the similarities between two minor literatures- Hungarian and Romanian- regarding the captivity narrative, as a significant and complementary contribution to the war literature from the dawns of the twentieth century, more precisely, at the emergence of the First World War. In two significant works, those of Aladár Kuncz, *The Black Monastery. Notes from the Life of Internees in France*, respectively Gheorghe Banea, *Days of Lazaret. Journal of Captivity and Hospital*, we examine themes and motives that are not only common between these literatures, but are detectable in what we usually consider to be war literature: namely those works that reflect the trenches experience. Although these works deal with the problems behind the war lines, they provide evidence that the ideological panorama of the aforementioned period provides a better understanding when we resort to various experiences which are centered on World War I.

Keywords

trauma; disease; revenge; bestiality; individual; collective guilt; war; human essence.

1. War narrative - Captivity narrative, Different Facets of the Same Dilemma: War Shapes Us or We Shape War?

Prose generated by captivity in the concentration camps of the World War I, if we accept that there is a literature of detention [1], not only highlights a similar theme to war literature, but recalibrates the issue in question. Such works become a timeless artifacts by the multiples meanings they confer on the anguishing circumstances of war. Having a pronounced mosaic character, such literature has its own rationale, psychological, anthropological and cultural. They are a mixture of confessional prose and memoir, while also including narrative passages illustrative of the state of belligerence [2].

Captivity narrative approaches war literature to the point of almost identification: the hybrid character is common to both, as is the setting of historical facts. The shattered and stigmatized events, experienced in captivity, outline a collateral artery of war, but no less relevant: the narrated facts similarly undermine confidence in humanity, presenting a world twisted by absurd mentalities.

The thematic toolkit of prison literature follows, as we stated earlier, a quasi-similar arterial network to war literature, both in central and peripheral literatures, configuring an analogous ideological and mental panorama. Artistic production in this niche, at Aladár Kuncz and Gheorghe Banea- thus, related to literary fields in close proximity-, contributes in a relevant way to the configuration of a literary genre less explored in our country, the war novel.

Comparative analysis is concerned with the *particular repercussions of universal phenomena* [3] (p. 69): proving that literature engraves itself on historical fact, as historical cataclysm imprints itself on literature, and the distinction between them becomes a relative truth [3]. The relevance of such works to the contemporary reader is that they are part of that body of works whose significance does not fade with the passage of time. On the contrary, such narratives acquire increasing significance, for they make visible the fragility of the human being, revealing the flaws in its perspective on major historical events, while imposing the prioritization or resetting of fundamental human values: “*Sustainable stories take us back to basics: making us pause to consider the story arcs and story canopies that constitute the big and little problems of humankind. Here are macro sustainable stories (the big canopies) and micro sustainable stories (the little canopies). Big canopies have to deal with those central problems of human suffering and governance [...]; they are linked to memories and the cultivation of all kinds of remembrances of things past. Little canopies protect us from the little daily storms and chaos of everyday meaning through everyday stories. [...] Sustainable stories are the ones worth building up and taking to the future*” [4] (p. 153).

With the intention of highlighting the intuitive knowledge of one’s own destiny, but also of the collective destiny of humanity in the period in question, we have considered two source texts: Kuncs Aladár’s novel, *The Black Monastery. Notes from the Life of Internees in France* (1931), belonging to Hungarian literature, respectively Gheorghe Banea, *Days of lazaret. Journal of captivity and Hospital* (1938) from Romanian literature. The aforementioned works present similar internal configurations: congruent existential journey, common values, affinities of ideas, both illustrating a particular parable of war.

The interpretative analysis takes a supranational perspective, highlighting this common phenomenology – as the critical filter of both writers selects cardinal symptomatic experiences, bringing in foreground the imperative of accepting the shadow, in ourselves and in others.

The two volumes focus on the same limiting existential context - life in captivity during World War I, which for Aladár Kuncz began at the same time as the outbreak of the conflagration, in 1914, covering a period of five years, while, for Gheorghe Banea, the ordeal of detention began in 1916, when he was wounded in the fighting in Cadrilater, and lasted until his return to the country in the summer of 1918.

2. Captivity literature at Aladár Kuncz- The Black Monastery. Notes from the Life of Internees in France (1931)

The first world conflagration and its avatars find in Hungarian writer Aladár Kuncz an artistic achievement that breathes through all its pores the tragedy of an era and a generation, *The Black Monastery* being a “*micro-monography of a society*” [1].

The summer of 1914 surprises the philofrenchman Kuncz on holiday in the resort of Bretagne, and the untimely news of the outbreak of war has a perplexing effect on him: “*At this evening I felt, instinctively, for the first time the presence of the ghost of war [...]. From that moment, it appeared beside me, and since then, for sixteen years, it has never left me [...]. My youth was over. I had the feeling, at twenty-eight, that my life was over [...]*” [5].

Feelings resonant with the warning of a foreigner from Finistère, her frightening reactions - begging him, on her knees, to leave France at once- later proves its legitimacy. The feeling arises that the irreparable has occurred, proof that the inner barometer is never wrong, but often anticipates the hallucinatory blows of fate: “*I felt then, instinctively, that the fire of the world was coming*” [5].

Kuncz’s immediate arrest seems like a witticism to the man “*who had been chasing the lights of Paris*” [1] (8), but it is hallucinatingly complemented by the decadent spectacle of a France, crippled by the ravages of war: its militaristic spirit offers a theatrical performance at Montparnasse station. Escorted by soldiers with bayonets at arms, the residents of an enemy belligerent power find to their dismay that their civil liberties became null and void: “*I clearly felt that fortune no longer smiles on us and we saw how the future and troubles hovered with their dark shadows over our heads*” [5] (p. 38). As an Austro-Hungarian citizen, in a worlds smeared by nationalistic pretentions, Kuncz and his compatriots became in the eyes of the French authorities the image of the Austro-Hungarian Empire: they are enemies and will be treated accordingly. Thus, they step into a world in which all foundations are shaken: “*the foundations of security [...] turn into fears, the friend becomes enemy and enemy ally*” [6]. Metamorphosis, from vilegiaturist to *persona non grata*, is instantaneous for the Hungarian intellectual, it occurs tacitly, with the state of belligerence. The hostility is not limited to the police action, but to the whole French nation and the psychosis of the war constitutes an “*impressive school of suffering and learning*” [5] (p. 65).

Aladár Kuncz becomes a prisoner in the fortress of Noirmoutier, in the “*Black Monastery,*” then in the citadel of Île d’Yeu, where he remarks the mystifying nature of democracy: German militarism no longer scandalizes by its tangency within the disparities within France. Her apparent struggle for justice against the German aggression and injustice is just an idea transplanted into social circles, which now reveals its true nature: “*In Paris, a ruthless war psychosis reigned, hostile to foreigners, ready to discover spies everywhere*” [5] (p. 44). The volatility of France’s moralist and humanist discourse is evidenced in the overwork and injustice to which detained civilians are subjected. A cogitabund and sentimental nature, the Hungarian professor meticulously records the degradation, especially psychological, of those incarcerated: a slow process, increasingly acute in its manifestations, as the humiliating condition of prisoner is prolonged. Prison experience equals spiritual death, in which prison is “*not just a setting for the lives of those condemned to confinement, but becomes their very destiny*” [1] (p. 13).

On the anthropological level, the fortress-prison is a copy miniature of Europe: Hungarians, Croats, Poles, Germans, Romanians, Czechs and Bulgarians who stage the spectacle of their own lives, a Kafkaesque spectacle. The absurdity of the punitive situation is intolerable. Seeking motivation for their suffering, the captives adopt an inverted reasoning, in which “*punishment seeks fault*” [7]. Visible segregation, as aristocrats do not mix with “*plebs*”, does not cancel out tensions. Inherent in any human interaction, they are reminiscent of their former life, the life in freedom. Mostly educated people, prisoners engage in all sorts of activities: they read, paint, translate German literature, organize performances or sculpt. Oppressed by the French, the Hungarians form an ad hoc fraternity whose manifestation demonstrate the “*collective neurosis*” [8] of the Hungarians. Kuncz’s testimony is illustrative, no other ethnic group can be loyal:

“Apart from the Hungarians, no one had the appearance that would inspire confidence” [5] (p. 316). The small Hungarian community adopts retreat in imaginative capacity as a retaliation against humiliation, for “the way they had treated us had strengthened in us the feeling of the dignity of a prisoner, which did not allow us to work for our enemies except under duress” [5] (p. 146). Temporarily, the benefits of reading and music keep the line, mentally: “Our fantasy wandered joyfully through space and time, so we often freed ourselves completely from this odious environment” [5] (p. 195).

The cloistered space of the prison, of the two hundred inmates of different nationalities vampires, and alienation becomes an almost undeniable fact. Some are trapped in the malaise of dementia, others are mentally broken. Belonging to the “stigmatized, contagious category, of which people shy away from” [5] (p. 104), they are assigned to unhealthy, filthy rooms: here they sleep on straw, and the food is abominable and insufficient. From prisoner funds, Mayor Palvadoz, the “supreme master” [5] (p. 115) of Noirmoutier saw fit to embezzle. “Tyranny of the majority” [9], instituted by the abuses of the French authorities, requires precautions: the appellation “boches” is also applied to Germany’s allies, in order to seal any attempt at goodwill towards those imprisoned. There are exceptions, but humanity is rare. Even the old dog’s affection, Loló, is infamously repressed. The poor little dog shares the fate of those he spoils with his love, becomes a “stigmatized, disowned personality. Everybody kicks him, everyone chases him away. Nobody feeds him. He became, like us, a despised, hateful being” [5] (p. 227). The guardians are at a verge of piercing him with a bayonet under the terrified gaze of the prisoners who pull out in unison a “single, terrified howl of doomsday” [5] (p. 226).

In the prison-island of the Atlantic Ocean, where hatred breathes like oxygen, the cell refers to archetype of the animal. Human malice is corrosive and its inexhaustible repertoire never ceases to horrify. Mail is cancelled, as a punitive measure, Red Cross parcels are vandalized or withheld, reading the press is forbidden. The only news that gets past the impregnable wall of the “Black Monastery” are inevitably distorted. In this new life of the prisoners the truthful and the fictional become inseparable, and the mendacious justifications are ubiquitous: the idea is insisted on is that the oppression to which prisoners are subjected is legitimized by the reciprocity of reprisals.

As a weapon against the anxious universe, some solutions, pseudo-ideas de facto, are adopted, designed to give coherence to the mutilating reality. The inner universe is dominated by images in which the homeland becomes a veritable terrestrial Eden. Escape from everyday life- through divinations, theatre performances or games- fail miserably to make the captives less vulnerable to the aggressions, to the fatal existence of evil in man.

But, by elaborating within oneself a parallel reality to the external one, Kuncz and his companions sink into an ever-deepening inner abyss, in which existential questions become blurred as they fall into the void. The inner labyrinth sheds light on the human being, stripped of all hope, all joy, all grounding; what remains is atavism, depression and insecurity: “Little by little we have all become memories. Our figures [...] shadows of the world of memories. All that was life in us became pure memory” [5] (p. 286). Seduced by the idea of freedom, some enlist in the Foreign Legion, or choose to work in agriculture, forgetting that they are part of a “jeu de represailles” [5] (p. 82), for manipulation and disinformation are two sides of the same card.

The reactions of those who share the same fate -although there is quasi-cohesion of spirit and action between them- reach the limit of bearability and hence Kuncz’s impossibility to divert his attention from his inner turmoil: “I was visited by ghosts I had never seen before, that reminded me of no one, utterly alien to my imagination, thoughts and memories. Probably, they lived in the unknown world of the subconscious, glued to my nerves and senses, like bats on the bridge

girders” [5] (p. 335). The imposing image of American battleships or line ships passing through the vicinity of the fortress does not cancel the anxiety: “something was being prepared [...] I noticed, with a heavy heart and fear, that we have again arrived on the threshold of a new era, which had no end in sight” [5] (p. 470).

According to the psychoanalysis, the island symbolizes a protective space, favorable to escapes from under the tyranny of the unconscious, through the effort of will and consciousness [10], but the long period of detention makes resilience against aggression and malice infinitesimal. If the captives imagine the end of the war and liberation as a treshhold of a “*delightful*” land, “*bathed in sunshine*” [5] (p. 471), the end of 1917 is marked by a state of nervousness. Spring, for its part, brings with it the illusion of an approximate freedom: a possible transfer to Switzerland for medical reasons. But the land of the cantons is just another Fata Morgana. Autumn is approaching again, the state of affairs is the same, and the suffering multiplies: “*The walks, the usual distractions no longer comfort us [...]*” [5] (p. 475). On the other hand, rumors about the break-up of the German army and the conclusion of an armistice fit in the same dissaponting register: they are inconsolable for their fate remains unchanged: “*we clearly felt [...] that since the victorious French imperialism, whose representative had seized the directive in the preparations of the peace negotiations, one could not hope for any spare change*” [5] (p. 490).

When the clock of freedom is ticking ever closer, the Spanish flu epidemic begins to mow people down like ears of corn: people die, Zaruba dies, and so does young Stein Móric, whose last words are: “*Now I’m off to Budapest...*” [5] (p. 507), Neuhaus dies, then the handsome Jankovitz, the embodiment of health, the one who had come to Paris to study painting, the Romanian Ion Dumitru from Alba Iulia, the one with a little box full of home-woven whites, also dies. The claws of fear grow longer and longer: “*we all waited tense. I felt that death was circling us and we didn’t know which victims it would choose*” [5] (p. 505). After the terrifying struggle with death at Île d’Yeu, the New Year’s Eve brings another curse: severe depression: “*I felt it was futile to hide from death. Better to face it. It seemed to me that I had been lying in the crypt for years. My hands clasped on my chest were as heavy as a coffin lid. I had lost all hope, had I not?, I could no longer imagine the future. I was no longer able to go deeper, to sink any deeper than death*” [5] (pp. 511-512).

The dying doctor Hertz’s confession, with all its paradox and strangeness, is the counterpoint that brings Kuncz back to the realm of hope and, implicitly, of life: “*I die at peace because one can only expect bad things from life. How much happiness I have been given, I have lived it here, in prison...in life, there are many prisons that people do not realize, perhaps not even those who carry them inside them. I freed myself from my prison where I was given the most bitter bondage. I would be lying [...] if I did not confess to you: however horrible it may seem to you: I have never been so happy as here, in prison...*” [5] (p. 517). It’s a reconciliation with life that the Hungarian writer Aladár Kuncz will never experience again ... From this hell, of which he will eventually emerge, remains the nostalgia for the years of youth, a cyanotic soul... Marked forever by what he has experienced, the escape from the inner dungeon of pain will be done partly through writing, a “*release in extremis*” [1] (p. 19).

3. The Experience of Imprisonment in Bulgaria- Gheorghe Banea, *Days of Lazaret. Journal of Captivity and Hospital*

The biographical narrative of Gheorghe Banea is an authentic and devastating account of captivity in Bulgaria. The writing brings to light “*ashtonishing new areas of reality seen with an admirable discernment and a loyalty of word*” [11], bringing close that “*penetrating <spirit of*

the front>” [11]. As the only survivor of a Romanian platoon in the battles of Turtucaia, Lieutenant Banea, with a severe head wound, is taken prisoner by the Bulgarians. Until he is recovered by the medics, the officer becomes the object of the visceral manifestations of the passing soldiers: he is robbed, beaten, even shot.

Paradoxically, he manages to survive: “*But death, an old acquaintance of mine, didn't want me, only hounded me*” [12] (p. 10). Subsequent events catastrophically confirm the blind and treacherous will of chance, but also the truism that “*for man, the daily danger comes from man*” [6] (p. 436). Put in one of the wagons that make up the convoy with the wounded, Gheorghe Banea finds himself for a long time at the borderline between conscious and unconscious: “*The curse was following me...I felt sick, feverish, thirsty...I felt like I was back on the road that ran along the lake [...] covered with sweat and dust... Then the artillery bombardment with the sinister rattle of shrapnel and the wild, deafening bang that thundered me again...*” [12] (pp. 49-50).

Carried all over the Cadrilater, from one hospital to another, from one town to another, the young Romanian second lieutenant is nothing more than the memory of the man he once was. Ignored by the Bulgarians, left without food and water, he is almost completely cut off from reality: “*I was tormented all night by a deaf sickness. I could hear the shrapnel's gnawing and the wild crack that followed was the pang that shot through my head as the shrapnel broke. All I dreamed of was water and melons*” [12] (p. 45).

The bestiality and the vindictive spirit of the Bulgarians is multiplying frighteningly: they want revenge at any cost, therefore, the convoy of wounded Romanian soldiers is awaited by locals “*armed with clubs*” [12] (p. 9). Optimism is a feeling that rarely fails Banea and his survival is a miracle: “*As my head went limp and I stopped moving, I was just like my dead grandfather, as they were bathing him for burial [...] I was living in a kind of delirium, which gave me a kind of inner strength, a kind of peace, a kind of superiority over events...I was both actor and spectator...*” [12] (p.57).

A few scenes are relevant to the reality of war and they blatantly contradict any clichés regarding the literature on this subject. Asking to be communed by a Bulgarian priest who sings to him “*beautifully- like of the dead*” [12] (p. 58), and having his head covered with a patraphir, the protagonist of the events has a real epiphany: “*Then, for the first time, after so long of total numbness, of paralysis, a strong chill ran through me, from head to toes, my flesh tightened and I had a clear conscience that I would not die. Tears came over me, for the pope's song reminded me of things, old and forgotten, dusted by the beautiful service, as priest John did in our church back home*” [12] (pp. 58-59).

Because he is Romanian, he has to endure unspeakable tortures from his oppressors. The Bulgarians' torture ingenuity knows no bounds: from humiliations and beatings to attempts on their lives, “*for the Bulgarians have a nature unlike any other nations. They are made up of nothing but envy and rancidity*” [12] (p. 178). Besides, the head wound causes unbearable torment: “*besides the aches in my head and the convulsions of my hands, and less of my legs, I was singing all day long. Not loudly, no, but only in thought; with a loud voice I could not sing for a long time [...] But in thought I sang, I sang always, day and night without ceasing. I wanted to stop singing, but the song kept going, the song kept me, it wouldn't let me, it tormented me like a sinister irony. Songs were creeping up on me through groans, demands for water, requests for a turn, from one side to another*” [12] (pp. 61-62).

Months at a time, sitting in a “*sleeping position*” [12] (p. 111), for he sees those around him only on close quarters, Gheorghe Banea has the wonderful chance to meet a devoted Romanian doctor, Burlă. The scene in which he is encouraged to get up from the bed which he had not left

since the day of his misfortune, symbolically recreates Gheorghe's "resurrection": it is the starting point of a new life after the tragedy of Turtucaia.

Almost naked, ashamed of his nakedness, dressed only in a shirt, under the unblinking eyes of everyone, he takes his first steps again: "*My head was throbbing, the soles of my feet were burning, I was sitting on pins and needles, and so, as not to fall, I took a step towards sister Ceamurova to grab hold of her arm outstretched towards me, but she was pulled away by doctor Burlă, while the Pole Stanislas came after me to catch me if necessary, and I took another step after her, another step, another step, through the hall, turning round and round and shouting Sestra! Sestra! for fear of falling. [...] Tired and soaking wet from sweat, and laughing, continuously laughing nervously and loudly, as I have never laughed in my life, I fell back into bed. At the door the whole pavilion had gathered to see the miracle*" [12] (p. 112).

Considered cured, Banea is forced to report to the divisional headquarters in Shumla. Dressed in whatever he could find, as the Bulgarians had stolen both his clothes and shoes, Gheorghe and comrade Popa are "spotted" at the station on the basis of the Romanian uniform and they are about to be mazilized by Bulgarians in broad light. The scene counterpoints a mood of decapitation towards the *Other*: the individual is held responsible for a collective "guilt", but "we were none of us neither Brătianu nor Take Ionescu" [12] (p. 134), notes Gheorghe Banea.

A long journey through Bulgaria, by cattle trains, finally ends with the distribution to one of the most horrific camps, the one in Kârjălia. Bulgarian officers' camps - nothing but filthy, filthy pigsties- malnourished and left to fend for themselves, the Romanian grads also have to cope with disease: whooping cough, malaria or Spanish flu are claiming more and more victims.

The social imprint of the era is revealed by careful observations of people and events, for the world seems to contain within itself the seeds of self-destruction: "*At first we could find food in Rusciuc, but now we couldn't find it in town [...]. The Germas had just caught a smuggler and had put a good guard on the Danube, so that no more smugglers could cross anything in Bulgaria. Besides, that's how the <allies> were towards each other. The Germans harshly stopped the passage of food into Bulgaria. The Hungarians [...] were guarding their country against their hungry allies, so than even in the hardest days of shortage for the Central Powers, Hungary was like an rich island, like a jaded oasis*" [12] (pp. 239-240).

The mystification is obvious: the suffering of the individual, hypnotized by fables and distortions, melts away into collective nothingness, into the structuring patterns of a humanity ruled by abberant ideals, by false concepts of patriotism, which transforms any individual destiny into a trivial fact. Life in a camp is a stultifying experience. The Romanian officers, starving, eat turtles and hedgehogs, are overrun by lice, they get the worst treatment imaginable. No more wages, no more wood for heating arrive from the Romanian government, Red Cross parcels are confiscated, beatings and mistreatment are part of the daily landscape: "*But the days in the camp were getting harder and harder. I was always hungry, I, who had never been a grubber. I couldn't get enough of it. Bread, as soon as I got it, I ate it all, and until the next day, patience. [...] That's why is not surprising that I dreamed only of rich lunches...*" [12] (p. 223).

Arriving before the medical committee, a "very pretentious" committee [12] (p. 240), which is on the verge of rejecting his medical case, not finding him "quite invalid" [12] (*ibidem*), Gheorghe is sent to the country, following an exchange of invalids between Romania and Bulgaria. Before leaving, he learns that he had been declared dead in October 1917.

In Bucharest, at the Medical Institute, he is presented as a "successful number" [12], as a "*phenomenon of how much a man can endure*" [12]. But his patience is far from having reached end... Shortly after his arriving in the country, he is threatened with arrest for failing to attend the second mobilization: the Hungarian campaign had begun.

As a man left without identity, the former fighter is “*taken for a ride*”, by his countrymen this time, through hospitals teeming with exanthemaths and syphilitics, including the Socola hospital for the insane. It’s a situation, a repeating scenario which highlights the grotesqueness of the situation and which the scalpel of the narrator-protagonist makes it known.

Humiliating situations in one’s own country increase the ghettoizing experiences of the Bulgarians camps, highlighting the ultimate vulnerability of the human being: “*Ah! This pity of the people. What I wouldn’t given not to see it, not to feel it, not to read it in everyone’s eyes*” [12] (p. 284). These are traumatic events that validate the deconstruction, on a inner level, of any previous perceptions. Internalizing the traumas he has experienced, Gheorghe Banea parodies the gullibility of the ordinary man who has positioned himself in a disjunctive relationship with the blind interest of a social mechanism.

The Romanian authorities’ treatment adds new infernal figures to the carnival of masks pertaining to the war. The efforts to “*be resurrected*” by a daily order run up against with the work of the medical committee, that is carrying out its work “*boisterously*” [12] (p. 278), while Banea confesses: “*My head was always singing like the ringing of bells, sometimes louder, sometimes quieter. Was I dreaming? Was I really seeing? I was talking, I was babbling... [...] I heard bits and pieces, I understood bits and pieces, I wanted to say something too, and maybe I did, but I was always trying to climb a height, climbing it and falling again. And my ears were picking up all the bells in the world*” [12] (p. 256).

Surgically eradicating war-related clichés and heresies, putting the spotlight on “*noble*” concepts such as dignity, honour or respect due to those who have sacrificed for a cause, the narrative voice points out that physical disappearance is not as terrifying as humiliation and oprobium. Public offence to the physically mutilated “*means a continuous death, a death which lasts millions of millions of moments...*” [12] (p. 304).

The imaginary ego discerns the truth that not even the most virulent propaganda can volatilize. The blame for the misfortunes of war is rarely individual, it is undoubtedly collective. An entire humanity, caught in the nebula of war, hoards up the losses which it places *a priori* on the account of the *Other*, blaming new and new generations, fueling the hatred and absurdity of existence, the effects of which are epidermal. The detachment of which Gheorghe Banea is nevertheless capable, ultimately denotes the inexhaustible reservoir of the human being to adapt to the most toxic contexts.

Despite the trauma, the emotional deformation is not total, although the violence of the events necrotizes to a considerable extent the soul-tissue of the former combatant: “The cancelation of the death certificate does not strike me as the true epilogue to my days of lazaret ...I’m still waiting for the epilogue... it’s still coming, the day will come when it will seem to me that it was all just a bad dream, when I’ll ask myself again the question: Did I take part in the war?” [12] (p. 312). The literally odious context of the Bulgarian camps materializes itself in pages of undeniable documentary value: although it survives a historical schizoid reality, its effects do not disappear with the end of the state of imprisonment and the return to Romanian soil.

Self-irony and humour have a consoling effect on the former officer, who still keeps alive that human touch. Looking bitterly at the moral contortions of a changing world, the narrator-protagonist brutally exhibits the insignificance of any act [7] (p. 153): “I am convinced that the real lesson to be drawn from the horrors of war is that from the front you can remain crushed, stunted, crippled, or alive, and thus you can drag afterwards your bitterness through the rest of your life, in the indifferent, if not hostile world...Dying is a less frightening prospect, than to be crippled...” [12] (p. 303).

An original, disturbing piece of writing, Gheorghe Banea’s work “shows us another casualty

of this massive block of contempt for those who fought on the front lines.” [11], demonstrating that perspective on war is most often distorted by those who did not experience it firsthand, and even for the combatants themselves the “true” picture of it is not revealed until much later...

Conclusions

The two investigated works, as a valuable expression of two sensitive violins, say a lot about the ideology specific to the Great War, but certainly say even more about the human nature, about the universal evil, about the ease with which people allow themselves to be chloroformed by prejudices, clichés and stereotypes, sacrificing countless destinies on the altar of abstract concepts. Akin to war literature- which in its consecrated form, is identified with the experiences of the belligerence from the “grassroots”- the literature of captivity also reveals its exuvial side, with all the implications this entails, through convergent motifs and themes, both constituting a phenomenon of deflection from fundamental moral values.

However, we cannot speak of an authentic reconstruction of reality in these works, as they remain records of a personal experience. Their great merit however remains the personal interpretation of the contemporary world at the time, they are works in which the authors “*open a new dimension in front of history and facilitate, to a greater extent, a multifaceted understanding of the past*” [13].

The important historical events to which this ego-documents refer, make up, undoubtedly, a “*landscape more complicated than commensurate cause and effect*” [...]; [14] (p. 60), they give visibility to individual and collective destinies, no less tragic than those of front-line combatants in various theatres of war. Thanatophobia, solitude, the feeling of uprootedness, of disconnection from oneself, from the world, emotional discomfort, negativity [15], hopelessness, feelings of guilt rooted deep in the subconscious, “*in inflation or repression*” [16], ambivalent experiences, bordering on madness and consciousness, victimization or loss of dignity are subject to *catharsis* through writing.

The literarization of suffering certainly has regenerative capacities. But (re)finding oneself after such horrors is an act perverted to such an extent, that the ultimate meanings of these experiences give the impression of solutions that are never definitive, for “*Poetry and life stand face to face, as life and death stand on the front line*” [17]. Suffering, far from being measurable, is infinitely nuanced: it is a block of stone which, besides the effort of being carried, continually accumulates infinitesimal losses on the emotional level.

The literature of these two writers from the interwar period proves that mental suffering absorbs physical shortcomings, but does not annihilate them. Lack of control over one’s own destiny turns into an agony whose climax is never reached. The ethos outlined in these works highlights the need for a transcendence, beyond the real or imaginary walls of a prison, which is posited as both a prison space and human inner universe.

Both the prisoner and the combatant are victims of an inexorable time that makes the difference between life and death. But in disjunction with the combatant in the front line, whose time of reflection is less generous, the prisoner undergoes an expiation of a soul nature that echoes the being down to its essence. Time dilates itself in captivity, it is no longer measurable, it fully proves its devouring capacity.

The narrative perspective of Kuncz and Banea involves a paradigm of ebb and flow: both pessimism and optimism are common notes. In Aladár Kuncz the tide of pessimism is finally reversed into confidence in the human being, whereas in the work of the Romanian writer, the optimistic note, although it covers almost the entire volume, undergoes a rather tenebrous transmutation regarding humanity.

Both war literature and captivity literature present analogies that enhance the controversial and disturbing aspects of war, for “*the lines between big and small traumas are fluid*” [18] and, all the more, emotionally devastating. Fact is that the central figure that is unravelling from this impressive picture is not that of the war, but that of a *homo temporalis*, of which Saint Augustine spoke of [19]: a creature forced from birth to assume increasingly tragic, ever-changing roles from the repertoire of life, scores that paint a picture of individual and collective violence multiplied in endless losses: physical, emotional, social and spiritual.

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EXILE AT THE BORDER OF NOSTALGY AND IDENTITY

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Abstract

In the literary works of the XXth and XXIst centuries, exile is presented as a complex theme that emphasizes the ways in which characters change their perspectives upon life after the process of emigration in an unknown country. Alongside the theme of exile, we can identify another one, identity, which is related to literary motives, such as nostalgia and melancholy. Nostalgia becomes the binder which connects the exiles to their homeland. The characters rely on the nostalgic process because they need to gather all the memories which will help them rebuild an imaginary version of their homeland. Melancholy is connected to nostalgia because both emphasize the longing for a homeland that becomes unreachable. In the literary works focused upon exile, such as Kazuo Ishiguro's debut novel, *A pale view of hills*, and Salman Rushdie's anthology of short stories, *East, West*, we can discover different concepts, identity, memory, nostalgia and melancholy, that have an impact upon the characters' evolution or failure. The characters from these literary works perceive exile as an experience which helps them realize that life is unpredictable, because everything may change in the blink of an eye.

Keywords:

nostalgia, memories, exile, identity, melancholy, homeland

1. Introduction

Over the last decades, concepts, such as identity, memory, nostalgia, melancholy, aroused the interest and curiosity of many readers because they succeeded in portraying both the advantages and disadvantages of exile and what does it imply to be an exiled. Salman Rushdie and Kazuo Ishiguro are two authors who focused upon reflecting in their novels or short stories the way in which exile, as a main theme, influenced or changed their characters' perspective and vision upon life. Some themes that are highlighted in Kazuo Ishiguro and Salman Rushdie's literary works, *A pale view of hills* and *East, West*, are exile, identity, emigration, (post) colonialism, alongside literary motives, such as nostalgia, melancholy, hybridity, memories etc.. Apart from paying attention to the repercussions which appeared after the characters decided to emigrate from India or Japan, we, as readers, need to focus upon the effects inflicted by (post) colonialism on the characters' evolution throughout the exile experience or the clash between cultures, as

characters from Kazuo Ishiguro's debut novel, *A pale view of hills*, and Salman Rushdie's anthology of short stories, *East, West*, come from Japan and India, countries from the East, and move to England, a representative country of the West. *A pale view of hills* and *East, West* are going to be analysed in this article, because both are representative novels for the themes of exile, nostalgia, identity, memory, and melancholy.

2. The experience of exile

(Post) colonialism, exile, nostalgia, melancholy, emigration became some of the major themes which have been explored during the last decades. With the purpose of explaining the complex notion of exile, we can state that this concept highlights the consequences of the characters' voluntary or forced decision to leave their native country for an indefinite period. Exile is the main precept which incorporates all the others because represents the reason or cause for all the challenges and changes characters must undergo. Also, this concept may be defined as „a subspecies of the more general notion of human mobility across geographic and political space. It implies the idea of forced displacement (as opposed to voluntary expatriation) that occurs for political or religious reasons rather than economic ones” [1] (p. 26). Kazuo Ishiguro, in the novel *A pale view of hills*, and Salman Rushdie, in the anthology of short stories, *East West*, emphasize the way in which the experience of exile changed the characters' perspective upon past, present and future. The characters from both literary works perceive the differences and similarities between the spaces they interact with, East and West.

From the moment in which they left India and Japan behind, characters have the impression that they have lost their identity. Even though none of them is ready to admit it, the exiles are aware that there are slight chances of returning home. The memories related to the period in which they lived in Japan and India are portrayed in a nostalgic manner, with the purpose of emphasizing the characters' longing for the familiar places. Characters, such as Etsuko, Keiko, Sachiko, from *A pale view of hills* and Rehana and Mary from *East, West*, refuse to leave their past behind, because they are deeply attached to their homelands. In their steady quest to find the identity they have lost, the feminine characters realize how hard it is to adapt to an unknown country, when they are mentally connected to India or Japan. The constant struggle for discovering the lost identity and the place they used to call home places the characters in a hybrid dimension, called „the third space” [2] (p. 183). Etsuko, Keiko, Sachiko, Rehana and Mary are caught in a dimension „in-between” [3] (p. 211), which consists upon the mixture between the influences from Japan or India, their native homelands, and England, the adoptive country, that affects their identities and makes them suffer from nostalgia. The wound caused by the decision of leaving their native countries behind will never heal and that is the reason why they need to build an „imaginary homeland” [4] (p. 18), which is meant to illustrate a perfect image of India or Japan.

In *A pale view of hills* and *East West* are illustrated two types of exile. The first one is called *linguistic exile* and it reflects the characters' reluctance concerning the idea of learning English and use it in conversations, in order to adapt to the new territory, they have moved into, instead of communicating in their native language. The second type is called *geographical exile* and highlights the feminine characters' permanent oscillation between the East, represented by India and Japan, and the West, symbolized by England.

3. Nostalgia and melancholy

In *A pale view of hills* and *East, West*, nostalgia is presented as a feeling which expresses the characters' longing and grief for their homelands. Each day that passes by their thoughts are

focused upon finding different methods which can bring them closer to India and Japan, at least mentally, if physically is not possible. Some of the characters from both literary works, such as Etsuko, Rehana, Mary, find relief in nostalgia, because they perceive it as a remedy which has the power to ease the burden of being exiles. In her book, *The future of nostalgia*, Svetlana Boym emphasized two main types of nostalgia, restorative and reflective: „I distinguish between two main types of nostalgia: the restorative and the reflective. Restorative nostalgia stresses nostos (home) and attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home. Reflective nostalgia thrives on algia (the longing itself) and delays the homecoming—wistfully, ironically, desperately. [...] Restorative nostalgia is at the core of recent national and religious revivals. It knows two main plots—the return to origins and the conspiracy. Reflective nostalgia does not follow a single plot but explores ways of inhabiting many places at once and imagining different time zones” [5] (p. 13). The restorative nostalgia is activated in the moments in which characters are remembering the memories which connects them to their native homeland and helps them build an imaginary prototype of Japan or India. The reflective nostalgia is represented by the characters’ necessity to gather as many memories and objects as they can in order to ensure the longevity of their homeland. Apart from nostalgia, characters become fond of melancholy, too, during the moments when they cannot find another solution to cope with life in exile. Melancholy is defined as a feeling of sadness, for no reason, which lasts for a long period of time. In the literary works analysed in this article, melancholy is associated with essential moments, when characters need to decide between India, Japan, or England. Nostalgia and melancholy develop a bond which manages to connect the characters’ past, present and future.

4. The connexion between identity and memories

The contact with an unknown territory has an imminent impact upon the characters. This experience called exile makes them realize that they cannot control the changes and challenges which affect their identity or the memories that threaten to expose the fact that they did not manage to adapt to England. Kazuo Ishiguro and Salman Rushdie illustrate the characters’ permanent oscillation between East and West. A consequence of the fact that Etsuko, Keiko, Sachiko, Rehana and Mary interact with both spaces, Japan – England, or India – England, is represented by their hybrid identity. This concept emphasizes the fact that their homeland and the adoptive country inflict an influence upon the evolution and the development of the characters. Throughout the novel or the short stories, the exiles are always wondering who they really are, but, unfortunately, they cannot find the proper answers to this question. There are a few moments when the characters manage to establish a connection between their identity and their memories.

For example, Etsuko, the main character from *A pale view of hills*, feels that her memories are well preserved and her identity is untouched every time she looks at her daughter Keiko, who has Japanese nationality, like her mother, or when she admires the Inasa Mountains from the calendar which is hanging on the wall of her house, in England: “I stepped further into the room. From the window, I could see the orchard below and the neat rows of thin young trees. The calendar I was holding had originally offered a photograph for each month, but all but the last had been torn away. For a moment, I regarded the remaining picture” [6] (p. 126). As far as Mary, the character from the short story *The courter*, is concerned, the bond between her identity and her memories is finally complete only when she spends time with Mecir: “Certainly-Mary spent all her afternoons off with old Mixed-Up from then on, even though that first date was not a complete success. He took her ‘up West’ to show her the visitors’ London she had never seen, but at the top of an up escalator at Piccadilly Circus, while Mecir was painfully enunciating the

words on the posters she couldn't read – Unzip a banana, and Idris when I's dri" [7] (p. 109). Truth being told, the characters are neither in their homeland, nor in the new territory in which they live as exiles. Only in their imagination, they are free to return to Japan or India and recover their lost identity.

Conclusions

After reading the novel, *A pale view of hills*, and the anthology of short stories, *East West*, we will be able to say that both emphasize an important lesson, which everybody should follow. No matter how hard they struggled to recover their identity and memories by building an imaginary version of their homelands, characters never gave up on trying to return home, under any circumstances. The memories from the period in which they lived in their homelands and the nostalgia mixed with melancholy help the characters restore the connection between them and Japan or India.

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ETHNOGRAPHIC REALISM AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN NEW JOURNALISM

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Abstract

Literary or new journalists explore new definitions of reality, crossing the boundaries that capture the psychological connection between individuals. This study aims to discuss ethnographic realism and cultural anthropology in connection to the New Journalism that emerged at the end of the twentieth century in America. My goal is to bring them together into a succinct introduction to New Journalism and highlight the main characteristics of this new genre in connection with the most important nonfiction books at that time, one of them being Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood*.

Keywords

New Journalism; literary journalism; ethnographic realism, cultural anthropology

1. Introduction

At the end of the nineteenth century, the most vocal representative of the literary journalistic style was Tom Wolfe [1], who claimed that literary journalism is a New Journalism—using techniques that correspond to writers of fiction, such as: point of view, scene, and dialogue. The framework of this new-born genre is artful story telling [1]-[2]. It seems to have appeared as a response to the 1960s, when societal changes happened at such a fast pace, that a new strategy for ordering contemporary events was very much needed [3].

Eason [4] compares literary journalism to ethnographic realism [5]-[7] and cultural phenomenology [8]-[9]. Also, the literary journalist is conscious of his storytelling and of him creating a new literary form that we would not usually associate with objective journalism and facts, which are mostly opposed to the subjectivity of fiction. However, while it would be unfair to argue that this tendency towards separating fact from fiction (translated into reason versus emotion or human versus nature) has been a permanently used technique in journalism, it would be just as unfair to say that we can ignore it as if it were inexistent.

2. The Emergence of New Journalism

In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, writers were under the constraints of classicism.

Similarly, nineteenth century journalists began to question the oppressions of objectivity imposed by the classic view upon journalism [10]. So, in the twentieth century, journalists challenged the objectivity of the reality presented on paper [11]-[13]. Agee [14] admitted to doing this. He could not find a way to separate his persona from the people in Alabama that he was sent to interview. For him, there was no separation between human and nature, because he was one with his subjects. His perspective is somewhat romantic due to him stating that he wishes his vision to encompass a spacious and rich universe “that it is possible to capture and communicate [...] not so well by any means of art as through such open terms as I am trying it under” [14] (pp. 11-12). Tom Wolfe went on calling this attitude New Journalism.

Thompson tried to build a bridge between fact and fiction/writer and subject in his writings about Hell’s Angels and about experiencing the revelation that he is one of them: “I would start in Golden Gate Park, thinking only to run a few long curves to clear my head [...] that fear becomes exhilaration and vibrates along your arms” [15] (p. 345). This association allows the writers to achieve the mystical experience that the romantics longed for. However, others discovered their union with the natural element in ways that cannot be called romantic. Herr describes in painful detail how the countryside of Vietnam suffered because of the war. He writes about the time when they flew over a little village that had just been bombed, and when they landed children ran towards them while the pilot was cheerfully admitting that this is “Vietnam, man. Bomb ‘em, and feed ‘em, bomb ‘em and feed ‘em” [16] (p. 10). The natural landscape around them is always poisonous, filled with “frail grey smoke” and hills that look “charred and pitted” [16] (p. 10). This is a raw contact with nature, a personal experience seen through another human’s eyes, a true recount of what the literary journalist saw and turned into artful storytelling. Wicker bridges this gap between fact and fiction when he is called to a prison by the inmates who considered the reporter as an ally. Firstly, he uses the third person to describe his experience: “Tom Wicker was a disappointed man who believed he had fallen short” [17] (p. 10), perhaps with the purpose of a final try at distancing his objective self from his subjective one. Secondly, he is self-conscious about being part of the story and he uses this awareness to cultivate a piece of writing *within* the environment he finds himself in: “He secretly doubted his own character and openly questioned many of the values of the society in which he lived” [17] (p. 10). “I” becomes “he”, and the subjective self is sheltered by a forced—purely semantic—objectivity. The lines between fact and fiction become blurry at this point. Is the writer talking about his real self or about his self in the text? After all, this is one of the characteristics of New Journalism that we also see in the case of literary or creative nonfiction, and that is: “an internally defined reality” [10] (p. 189), in which emotion plays a crucial part.

“An age must be ripe for an idea, and certainly the same must be said for a new literary genre”, writes Wilkins [10] (p. 193), and he is right. Indeed, the twentieth century asked for a vision that erased the borders between fiction and reality, that universalized human experience, and that bridged fantasy and reality in an era that created confusion as to what is real and what is unreal. Zavarzadeh [18] writes about the disappearance of this separating line and blames contemporary technologies for it, stating that we can transform unreal fantasies into facts and contemporary sciences would still find little difference between the two. Until the twentieth century, this moral vision had belonged only to writers of fiction [11]. However, this shift can also be seen as a way for fiction writers to adapt to epistemological changes in the twentieth century [19], helping them navigate this growing threat that would make traditional subjects a thing of the past.

Hollowell writes that “the nonfiction novel is at least a tentative solution to the problems that confront writers of realistic fiction [...] in an era of intense social change” [11] (p. 16). What

changed was the philosophical structure that American journalism had followed for more than two hundred years. More specifically, the external view on reality slowly shifted into an inside perspective, and the rational human being (as a writer) became emotional and led by instinct [19]. From that point of view, this new type of journalism is indeed new. However, there have been journalists in the nineteenth century who followed this romanticised way or reporting facts. For instance, Mark Twain, early in his career, wrote for the New York *Herald* and his lines showcased intimacy between him and the reader, and a point of view that could be anything but objective: “What was the Shah to me, that I should go to all this worry and trouble on his account? Where was there the least occasion for taking upon myself such a responsibility? If I got him over all right, well. But if I lost him? If he died on my hands? If he got drowned? It was depressing, any way I looked at it” [20] (p. 198).

This type of confession is seen more and more in American journalism, especially in the past four or five decades, when Romantic assumptions about life and art started to make a comeback, as Roszak pertinently observed [21]. Webb calls it “this wider social upsurge of Romantic notions and ideas in numerous areas of intellectual work, cultural production and lifestyle” [19] (p. 40). The Romantic reporter can be clearly seen in Hersey’s account of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima, as the journalist chooses six different individuals and leads us, the readers, through their eyes as the dreadful event happens. He gets into the people’s mind: “From the mound, Mr. Tanimoto saw an astonishing panorama [...]. He wondered how such extensive damage could have been dealt out of a silent sky; even a few places, far up, would have been audible” [22] (p. 24), and we can observe that reality is seen from the inside, through a window that is different from any other windows of experience. The assumption is that “reality is to be found by focusing on the internal, rather than external, human processes and movements; [...] feeling and emotion are more essential to understanding human life” [19] (p. 41). We have to go inward to grasp what is happening on the outside.

The breakthrough is the realization of a general truth that has existed from the beginning of time, which is that people are different and experience the same thing differently. As a journalist, it may not be enough to present the objective, outside, view (similar to describing furniture), because when it comes to human experience, we might need something even more than that which Hvistendahl [23] calls ‘truth-as-I-see-it’ journalism.

During the two centuries before the emergence of New Journalism, American mainstream journalism was characterized by a well-established set of philosophical assumptions [24], some of which describe objectivity and facts as products of the rational man. Webb [19] breaks this philosophical orientation into five concepts: rationality (the key characteristic of the human being is his capacity to think and reason), externality (reality is an external phenomenon that we can only grasp via our senses), uniformity (human beings are alike and we have to focus on their similarities), statism (society is always the same, even if it seems like it is changing), and atomism (we have to cut reality into tiny pieces and look at them separately in order to understand the bigger picture). So, the objective reporter, who is closely following these concepts, presents every viewpoint as being equally important, and reports only what he can tell based on his senses. In the case of romantic reporting, we can replace these five aspects of rational reporting with the following: emotion (the human being is presented as instinctual and experiential) instead of rationality, internal reality instead of externality, diversity instead of uniformity, dynamism instead of statism, and wholism instead of atomism.

Wilkins believes that literary journalists returned to the mythopoeic world view, “in which connections are more important than categories and in which reality is explored from many different points of view” [10] (p. 195). The twentieth century shift in relation to the truth value

of an experience consists of a multi-faceted whole containing different (yet valid) ways of experiencing the same thing. What literary journalists do is study the nature of these affairs and encounters and find tentative solutions to the difficulties that man must face.

3. Ethnographic Realism and Cultural Phenomenology

Eason [4] discusses these two New Journalism modes in terms of the relationship between image and reality, observing and living, storytelling and experience. Wolfe [25]-[27], Talese [28]-[30], and Capote [31] are best known for their ethnographic realism, whilst Didion [32]-[33], Mailer [34], Thompson [35]-[38], and Dunne [39] are representative for cultural phenomenology. The differences between these two modes are presented by Eason [4]:

Ethnographic realism sees experience in terms of the duality image-reality. The reporter's duty is to penetrate that façade, to pierce it to lift the veil off the underlying reality. Cultural phenomenology, on the other hand, sees the world as a combination of image and reality.

Ethnographic realism prioritises cultural categories (experience as observed and experience as lived), grounding it in the assumption that observation is passive, entailing no existential responsibility. Cultural phenomenology examines these assumptions to explain and, at the same time, legitimize decisions from an ethical point of view.

Ethnographic realism respects traditional interpretation techniques, especially the story form, to present reality. In this case, reporting is a natural process. Cultural phenomenology, on the other hand, highlights reporting as a line that joins the writer (the journalist) and the reader (the public eye).

In terms of images and realities, Wolfe writes that realism is meant "to show the reader real life—'Come here! This is the way people live these days! These are the things they do!'" [1] (p. 33). Notice the preference for people, in general, as opposed to famous people (a characteristic prevalent in profile writing). For reality to be discovered, the reporter must penetrate the façade that the public sees and reveal the real subject, beyond appearances and ambiguities. And this process does not only involve a plain description of the world or of the subject, but also placing it within a social, cultural, or political framework.

Capote [31] is another example of an ethnographic realism writer, because he tries to offer psychological and cultural explanations for the murder of a family in Kansas. So, ethnographic realism is based on the image-world duality, exploring alternative realities, but without threatening the final discovery of the reporter. This mode organises itself around different and sometimes opposing views of reality, and at the same time it keeps its narrative conventions intact. This mode supports the idea that traditional ways of making sense of reality still apply, while cultural phenomenology does the opposite, claiming that the image-world blurs (neither reveals, nor emphasises) the distinction between what is fantasy and what is reality.

Didion writes about a place where people turn their back on tradition because they want "to find a new life style [...] in the only places they know to look: the movies and the newspapers" [32] (p. 4). Technology plays an important part in this shift. In Eason's words, it "cuts them [people] loose in space" [4] (p. 54), in the sense that reality has no way of differentiating itself from fantasy. Because of mass media, the fantastic becomes a model for daily life. For instance, Didion reports on the murder trial of Lucille Miller, which took place in California, and she suggests that its true significance is that image and reality become intertwined in a fantastical way: "What was most startling about the case of Lucille Miller was something that had nothing to do with the law at all, something that never appeared in the eight-column afternoon headlines but was always there between them: the revelation that the dream was teaching the dreamers how to live" [32] (p.17). And thus, we come in contact with the dream-like nature of the American

reality, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, which also interested Thompson, who writes about a culture in which reality mingles with fantasy, and ethics becomes a problem. Boorstin [40] suggests that the Americans return to the traditional distinction between image and reality. The cultural phenomenology mode of the New Journalism does not allow such distinctions, because our contemporary society “creates a realm where there is no exit” [4] (p. 55), no way of differentiating between images of reality or reality of images.

If we take the route of observation, ethnographic realism keeps the traditional distance of reporting, thus creating a distinction between experience as observed and experience as lived. This mode’s realism tells us that reality is “that of the other” [4] (p. 56). Wolfe declares in an interview: “the subjectivity that I value in the good examples of New Journalism is the use of techniques to enable the writer to get inside the subjective reality—not his own—but the character he’s writing about” [41] (p. 85). Talese expresses the same principle by calling himself “a director” operating his “own cameras”, shifting the perspective and the focus as he pleases: “I’m like a director, and I shift my own particular focus, my own cameras, from one to the other. [...] I find that I can then get into the people that I am writing about and I just shift” [2] (p. 97). Wolfe is also in favour of distant observation, and he warns against the dangers of directly confronting the subject. If a reporter spends too much time with their subject, there appears a hazard of responsibility, obligation, or guilt. Whilst ethnographic realism treats observation like a means to an end (the end = the story), cultural phenomenology sees observing and observation as vital parts that make up the story. In this mode, “observing is not merely a means to understand the world”, but it becomes “an object of analysis” [4] (p. 57). Cultural phenomenology delves into the reality constructed by the interactions between the actor and the spectator, turning observation into a lived experience. The observer looks at the reality and sees a group of active participants who are responsible for their actions.

However, there are also passive spectators who are not responsible for the reality they watch. In Dunne’s *Vegas*, the reporter admits that he is merely a voyeur who lives through the experiences of others, but this is not done out of the desire to live diverse experiences, but to avoid his own problems. To him, reporting does not stir up self-analysis, but avoidance of responsibility. He writes that “reporting anesthetizes one’s own problems. There is always someone in deeper emotional drift, of even grift, than you” [39] (p. 19). Dunne also describes the reporter as a seeker of various occurrences where observation is required. However, the passivity that connects him to the act of observing is not quite true, but rather an illusion. For Eason, “observing is a form of action which implicitly encourages events to continue” [4] (p. 58). Dunne agrees, stating that observing entails responsibility, and so does Herr when he writes about the Vietnam War, concluding that “it took the war to teach it, that you were responsible for everything you saw as you were for everything you did” [16] (p. 20). We can observe that the two modes treat observation slightly different, even though they both seem to encompass it in the reporting process. This does not, however, modify the relationship between the writer (journalist) and the subject. The only difference is in the attitude of the observer towards the act of observation, which does not necessarily change the result: the story.

In terms of stories and experiences, we have to make a distinction between the two modes with relation to the aesthetic contribution. Ethnographic realism sees style as a technique of communicating the fact that stories exist somewhere ‘out there’. Cultural phenomenology sees style as a narrative strategy to show the process of constructing an interpretation, whilst in ethnographic realism the narrative focuses on revealing that interpretation. In the latter, the reporter mediates between the subject’s experience and the public eye (the reader). About this, Wolfe writes that “the most gifted writers are those who manipulate the memory sets of the

reader in such a rich fashion that they create within the mind of the reader an entire world that resonates with the reader's own emotions" [1] (p. 48). These writers (or journalists) present the way things are with an objectivity that is taken for granted. On the other hand, cultural phenomenology has an aesthetic value that arises precisely out of the inability to present this state of things. Didion suggests that this mode cannot "impose the narrative line on disparate images" [33] (p. 11), so the story encompasses the efforts put in by writers who struggle to impose order on these experiences and events. It is not a story of 'out there', as in the case of ethnographic realism. Didion makes this struggle explicit by confessing that "I was meant to know the plot but all I knew was what I saw: flash pictures in variable sequence, images with no 'meaning' beyond their temporary arrangement, not a movie but a cutting room experience" [33] (p. 13). Apparently, the reporter has to come to terms with the disorder of events and show the process of putting them back together, so that the reader understands that the timeline belongs to the events, not the story.

This continuous shift between the two reminds us of what Barthes wrote in *Mythologies*: "The fact that we cannot manage to achieve more than an unstable grasp of reality doubtless gives the measure of our present alienation: we constantly drift between the object and its demystification, powerless to render its wholeness. [...] It would seem that we are condemned for some time yet always to speak excessively about reality" [42] (p. 159). It appears that the phenomenological mode of New Journalism does exactly that: it speaks excessively about reality, but to what end? We may believe that it is a form of cultural expression or continuous discovery and justification, but what it seems to be (if we consider what effects it has on the readers) is a tool of some sorts, a tool that the writer uses to plant the seed of an idea connected to the cultural, historical, and social background of the reader.

Realism cannot be expected to fit into a mould, and even New Journalism created a split within itself (ethnographic realism and cultural phenomenology). However, let us not forget its goal: to revolutionize a traditional form of expression, so that it can be further on adapted to whatever topic and subject the public might desire.

4. Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood*

Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood* was the turning point for the understanding of literary journalism, especially with relation to the psychological dimension. Capote has "the audacity to put thoughts into the heads of the two men who would commit one of the most brutal mass murders of the era" [10] (p. 190). What he did was use the tool of a fiction writer as a technique that shifts the point of view from an external one to an internal, subjective, and well-documented one, to convey emotions and thoughts. In his book, Capote had the courage to cross the invisible border between the internal world and the reality of someone, and the external journalistic representation that has no access to it. It appeared that it was indeed possible for a journalist to enter that inner world through the psychological understanding of the human nature, interviews, and careful observation, managing to transmit to the readers the subject's most hidden thoughts in an artful manner.

Capote's *In Cold Blood* was found to contain certain discrepancies, although Capote claimed that the book was "immaculately factual" [43] (p. 26). About these discrepancies, Tompkins (1968) concludes that the author puts his own observations and conclusions into the character's mouths, creating an inaccurate portrait of Perry Smith (the murderer). Although this could very well be considered a form of distant observation that involves ethnographic realism, which means experience described as lived by the other (in which case the author is somewhat forced to put words into the mouths of his subjects), Tompkins draws the conclusion that "art triumphs

over reality” and “fiction over nonfiction” [44] (p. 57). He explains: “By imparting conscience and compassion to Perry, Capote was able to convey qualities of inner sensitivity, poetry, and a final posture of contrition in his hero. The killer cries. He asks to have his hand held. [...] It is a moving portrait but not, I submit, of the man who actually was Perry Smith” [44] (p. 57).

If Capote had admitted that his book was a novel, Tompkins’ research and counterarguments would have been in vain. However, because he claimed that his book contained nothing but actual and real facts, *In Cold Blood* can now be the object of debate and doubt. Even if Tompkins says that he misrepresented Perry Smith, this does not show that fiction triumphs over fact, Heyne says, but it is a triumph of “lying over truth-telling, or blindness over insight” [45] (p. 482). However, what is left could be a “work of art” enjoyed by readers “for its own sake”, despite the “discrepancies of fact” [44] (p. 58). So, through its metamorphosis into fiction, the book is a good example of survival as literature.

Conclusion and Further Study

In the twenty-first century, literary journalism turns into something rather silent, expressed with less fanfare, in the form of creative or literary nonfiction, about which many scholars have been writing in the past thirty-forty years, and which became the metaphorical baby of New Journalism; a larger, more silent, but nonetheless just as present, child. Creative nonfiction uses what New Journalism built in the twentieth century to create this massive ‘dome’ that houses the expansion of the new genre that was literary journalism. Barbara Lounsberry was the first one to discuss the expansion of the journalistic genre (that she describes as too narrow) in *The Art of Fact* [46], categorizing journalists such as Talese, Wolfe, McPhee, Didion, and Mailer as creative nonfiction writers. The issue that arises here is: what do we keep from New Journalism, what do we recycle, and what novelty do we unveil in creative nonfiction? But this is to be discussed in a future study.

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THE OCCURRENCE OF THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE ON THE MOROCCAN STADIA

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Abstract

The present paper focuses on the embedded Italian elements in the manifestations of the Moroccan football fans. Borrowings, expressions and phrases broadly used by Italian ultras have inspired Moroccan ultras and football fans to either use them in their original forms or adapt them to new contexts in which they have been embedded. We will observe several examples that display means of manifestations pertaining to Raja Club Athletic supporters and ultras from Casablanca where Italian elements have been integrated.

Keywords

football; code-switching; stadia; sociolinguistics; Italian; Casablanca; ultras

1. Introduction

Romance languages are often preferred among North African football fans, due to their intention of approaching the authentic European ultras phenomenon. In the current paper, we will focus on the occurrence of Italian – the most popular Romance language on North African stadia – on Moroccan stadia, in both code-switching and independent structures. The qualitative methodological perspective is mainly based on my field research results from my visit in Casablanca between September and November 2021. The subjects chosen for the present paper are the football fans and ultras of Raja Club Athletic¹ from Casablanca.

2. Code-switching

The Italian language is preferred by North African football fans especially because the ultras phenomenon started in Italy, but also due to Italy's popularity among North Africans as an immigration destination. Although the Italian language is not widely accessible in the public educational system in Morocco, Moroccan football fans and ultras who observe and follow the Italian standard on social media attempt to acquire Italian lexical elements related to the ultras phenomenon.

In his study about the Arabic spoken in Mardin, George Grigore (2007) classifies code-

¹ Will be further referred to as "RCA".

switching in two major categories: redundant, and complementary – which are further classified in accordance with the semantical implications of these structures, namely intersentential or independent, and intrasentential or interdependent [1] (pp. 332-4). His method will be approached in our analysis about code-switching from the manifestations of the sports supporters from Casablanca; we will mainly focus on the complementary intrasentential or interdependent code-switching.

The forementioned category of code-switching is mostly measurable within chants, since this manner of manifestation is more complex from a linguistic perspective than other manners, such as banners, graffiti, tattoos, flags, etc. The following example displays lyrics extracted from a RCA’s fans chant entitled *Sensation Maganista*:

Table. 1. Italian structures embedded on a Moroccan Arabic matrix.

Moroccan Arabic transliteration	English interpretation
<i>Yā tʿīš ʿl-ḥadrā' per la vita</i>	Live green for life
<i>Siamo noi curva racista</i> [2]	We are the racist stand (group)

Italian can also be the matrix language for code-switching, as we can observe in the chant exemplified below, where Spanish is embedded:

Table. 2. Italian matrix embedding Spanish elements.

Moroccan Arabic transliteration	English interpretation
<i>Avanti ultras vecchia maniera</i>	Go old-school ultras
<i>Avanti curva vamos la Guerra</i> [3]	Go curva, let’s go to the war

Another complex display of code-switching is illustrated through the tifo captured in the following example. The RCA supporters expose their message in Italian, English, and French: *Amore* (‘love’), *more*, *ore* (‘hours’), *re* (‘king’) are expressed through tifo, while the French message *coudes serrés, ensemble on triomphe* (‘tight elbows, together we triumph’) is displayed on a banner.



Figure. 1. Tifo exposed in four stages and a banner by RCA's supporters during a football match [4].

3. Independent structures

Mottos and phrases promoted by the Italian ultras have become a source of inspiration for the Moroccan sports fans and ultras. These borrowed structures can be either acquired in their original form or they can be adapted to the semantic structure where they are embedded.

In the following image there is displayed the *Ospiti indesiderati* ('Unwanted guests') protest message exposed by the RCA supporters:



Figure. 2. Protest banner displayed by the RCA supporters during a football match [5].

Italian mottos acquired with their original form are present even in permanent tattoos, as shown in the following example with the *Amici di nessuno* ('Friends of nobody') motto:



Figure. 3. Italian ultras motto tattooed on an RCA ultras' arm.¹

The following example displays references to an Italian sports magazine – *L'Ultimo uomo* ('The last man') – through tifo and an Italian novel – *In ogni caso nessun rimorso* ('In any case, no remorse') through a banner:

¹ The photography belongs to the author's personal archive and was taken in October 2021.



Figure. 4. References to an Italian magazine and a novel displayed by the RCA supporters during a football match [6].

Flags with one or two poles are distinguishing elements for ultras groups that should be exposed during every manifestation and they can have texts, symbols, or both. The following two flags contain two specific expressions for the stadia environment, *Tifo e Avventura* ('Tifo and adventure'), and *Buoni o cattivi* ('Good or bad'):



Figure. 5. Flags waved by the RCA supporters during a football match [7].

Graffiti stands among the art expressions preferred by Moroccan sports supporters and ultras. Italian mottos are also acquired in the following examples:



Figure. 6. Italian ultras motto captured in a neighborhood from Casablanca dominated by RCA ultras.¹



Figure. 7. Italian motto between iconic symbols for RCA supporters [8].

Conclusions

The Italian language has become popular among the manifestations of sports supporters and ultras from Morocco and its occurrence on the local stadia and their surroundings indicate that the messages displayed in this language might not be addressed to the entire audience of the sports events, but rather to other North African sports fans and ultras and, by the instrumentality of social media, even to the European – especially Italians – sports fans and ultras. Thus, the Italian language advocates borrowings and code-switching to be used as means of communication beyond the limits of the implied stadia, country, and even continent.

¹ The photography belongs to the author's personal archive and was taken in October 2021.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO ANGLICISMS IN EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE

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Abstract

As in many modern languages, anglicisms in European Portuguese are a useful linguistic and communicative tool, but they also raise questions about language identity and cultural dominance. They come in various forms, but non-adapted anglicisms in their original English forms have become the norm in contemporary Portuguese as the influence and familiarity of English continues to grow in Portugal and the rest of Europe.

Portugal's history of borrowing from other languages, as well as sharing its own, is considered a natural linguistic evolution. However, the overwhelming presence of anglicisms, along with traces of American cultural traditions, in modern Portuguese discourses has been met with certain social anxiety as well.

We will explore how English, the lingua franca of international communication, together with American culture, has induced the Portuguese language to borrow specialized and casual anglicisms to adapt to social change. English loanwords have indeed marked the lexicon and discourse practices of European Portuguese, and they seem to be here to stay as long as they do not cross the fine line between mere borrowings and cultural intrusion.

Keywords

anglicisms; linguistic borrowings; language contact; sociolinguistics; globalization; advertising discourse

1. Anglicisms in Portuguese

Anglicism: It is the use of English words or expressions typical of the English language within the Portuguese language and in violation, therefore, of the very features of our national language [1] (p. 97), (my translation¹).

In other words, an anglicism is a loan or borrowing from the English language that people use in other languages in which equivalent terms, expressions, phrases, symbols, or even grammatical formats (morphosyntax) either do not exist or are replaced for various reasons.

¹ “É o emprego adentro da língua portuguesa de palavras ingleses ou de locuções típicas da língua inglesa e em contravenção, portanto, da feição própria do nosso idioma nacional.”

There are several forms of anglicisms, too, including, but not limited to, non-adapted loans and borrowings, which are anglicisms adopted more or less just as they are written in English; adapted loanwords, which are anglicisms that take on the morphology and phonology of the borrowing language; calques, which are translations of English words and expressions into the borrowing language.

Through language contact and globalization, many official and unofficial neologisms in the form of anglicisms have developed in Portuguese and in other languages due to the influence of the English language as the *lingua franca* of the modern era [2] (p. 87). In the past, most foreign words and concepts entered the receiving language only after going through a naturalization process [3]. For example, the Portuguese language would propose, or even create, a native equivalent or translate the foreign word(s) literally or figuratively, and this adaptation would become the neologism [3]. But with the influx of anglicisms arriving regularly since the second half of the 20th century, plus an increase in English language learning and fluency in Portugal, there has been less time to react to modern anglicisms and a greater tendency to adopt them directly in Portuguese in their original English forms.

Some common examples of anglicisms in European Portuguese in the form of non-adapted loanwords (also known as integral loanwords, raw loanwords, or xenisms), include:

background, brand, call center, cash, check-up, coffee break, design, diet, happy hour, high tech, light, link, made in USA, marketing, mouse (for computers), pub, ranking, sale, shopping/shopping center, site, stress.

Examples of adapted anglicisms in Portuguese include:

aeróbica (aerobics), alô (hello), bife (beef), boicote (boycott), clipe (clip), clube (club), coquetel (cocktail), inpute (input), futebol (football/soccer), iate (yacht), piquenique (picnic), póquer (poker), queque (cake), sandes/sanduíche (sandwich).

Lastly, some examples of Portuguese calques include:

arranha-céu (skyscraper), correio eletrônico (electronic mail/e-mail), em ordem a (in order to).

Sometimes, a Portuguese word consists of a native variant, or multiple variants, as well as an anglicism at the same time. *Aleatório* is the Portuguese word (a neologism itself) for “random” in English, while *feito à sorte* y *feito impensadamente* are other ways (possibly calques) to express it in Portuguese terms. Therefore, some native speakers might employ one Portuguese option over the other, while others prefer to use the anglicism *random*.

Certain anglicisms are assimilated into formal Portuguese and are even found in Portuguese dictionaries. Others represent informal language and are not always viewed as acceptable in Portuguese. Therefore, using these foreign loanwords is sometimes seen as polarizing, pretentious, and arrogant [1] (pp. 8-9). Frequently, raw anglicisms are the most abrasive among the various forms of anglicisms, but as previously mentioned, they happen to also be the preferred way to borrow nowadays, fueled by the predilections of younger generations, especially millennials, and Portuguese-English bilinguals.

However, even though anglicisms have had this persistent connotation in Portugal of a language reserved for young people and bilingual snobs, the perspective has long since shifted

from anglicisms viewed as superfluous and nonce to one in which they provide necessary discursive and semantic functions [3]. In addition to closing lexical gaps, the English language's codes inherent within anglicisms can serve as a tool for more effective and less ambiguous communications in certain contexts or between international participants [4] (pp. 43-44).

2. A history of language and cultural contact

The intensity of contact between languages is one part linguistic, but it is a greater part sociocultural [6] (p. 14). This means that even more decisive than the typological similarity between languages is the social implication of the contact between communities of different languages [6] (p. 14). Portuguese has been borrowing words from French, English, Spanish, Arabic, and others for a long time [1] (p. 9). Likewise, borrowing goes in the other direction, too. English itself only consists of 20% words of Anglo-Saxon origin [3]. According to linguist David Crystal, English has borrowed from more than 350 languages over the last millennium [3]. The Portuguese language, one with a very influential history, has left its influence on the lexicon of several languages, even English [7] (p. 29).

Thus, Portuguese has changed over time for various linguistic and sociocultural reasons. When the Portuguese empire spread to other regions of the world, it came into contact with other languages. Therefore, the Portuguese spoken in Brazil and other Lusophone countries is often characterized by lexical, syntactic, and/or phonetic borrowings and differences [8] (p. 4). In some cases, new dialects of Portuguese, e.g., creoles, were created as a result of the contact of Portuguese with pre-existing native languages [8] (p. 4).

Thus, the introduction of anglicisms and other foreign borrowings in the Portuguese language is not a new phenomenon in any of its dialects. One of the first recognized linguists to chronicle the subject of borrowings in peninsular Portuguese was F.J. Martins Sequeira in his book, *Rol de estrangeirismos e respectivas correspondências em português de lei*. He found that the Portuguese language began to borrow words of foreign nature in the 18th century, mainly under the influence of the French literature of that time [1] (pp. 3-4). However, these gallicisms were limited in number and were subjected to the "portugueseization" process before being applied in Portuguese [1] (pp. 3-4). As mentioned previously, if there was a lack of semantic alternatives in Portuguese, then borrowings were adopted as a final option, but only after their forms were adapted to Portuguese linguistic characteristics [1] (pp. 3-4). It was not until the end of the 19th century that loanwords, mostly gallicisms, seemed to infiltrate the Portuguese linguistic structure as well [1] (p. 4).

Bilingualism, often due to immigration in Portugal and the emigration of Portuguese people to other countries, is another reason for the mutual mixing of languages between Portuguese, French, Spanish, and English among others [8] (p. 4). However, the most contemporary factor that continues to influence Portuguese to integrate linguistic borrowings is social and economic globalization, which has been spurred on more and more by advances in technology and the almost limitless reach of the modern mass media [8] (p. 4).

It should be noted that neither Portugal nor the Portuguese language academy has an official policy (although there were movements in the past toward having one) on borrowing foreign words similar to that of language legislation in France. Portugal has historically ignored this issue, while the defense of the French language against the importation of foreign terms has been supported by the French Academy, the French State, and a veritable entourage of political bodies and laws since 1966 [5] (p. 40). Neither governmental or cultural institutions, nor grammarians (lexicographers and etymologists), in any part of the Portuguese-speaking world, seem to be involved in the normalization or defense of the Portuguese language against anglicisms and other

borrowings.

2.1 The rise of the anglicism

The first true wave of anglicisms in European Portuguese arrived in the 20th century, and the introduction of this new Anglo-American vocabulary spread vigorously at that time thanks to the invention of the radio and the American and British participation in World Wars I and II [1] (pp. 4-5). Since then, the trading of products and ideas in commercial, scientific, and media environments has created regular contact between countries. Above all, the strength of the US economy has been pushing its goods and culture, which are clearly accompanied by the English language as their means of communication, onto the rest of the world [9] (p. 160). Thus, modern life in most of Europe has evolved under the influence of American political, economic, and sociocultural leadership, while a plethora of new ideas and topics that bring with them long lists of Anglicisms have been introduced in Portugal and other countries. It can be quite difficult to translate all of these new arrivals from English to Portuguese because, among other complexities, there are semantic and stylistic differences from one language and culture to another.

Due to this impetus of American culture and a perceived invasion of the English language, using these anglicisms in European Portuguese is sometimes considered a barbarism or vice of the Portuguese language and culture. Sequeira's seething definition of anglicism to begin this paper suggested his condemnation of anything of English character compromising the Portuguese fabric. Although he did open the door to the possibility of borrowing when he stated [1] (p. 15): "Let us not seek extreme purism, but let us neither continue to bastardize Portuguese, with cynical contempt for its vernacular." On the other hand, faced with the natural evolution of language and the persistence of anglicisms, the general mentality has seen a gradual shift toward acceptance, or at least tolerance, of borrowings in Portuguese. Nowadays, purist and anti-globalization stances are more of a rarity.

The Portuguese language has had to deal with a much more intense onslaught of new words coming from English, however, than Sequeira or anyone could have ever predicted in the middle of the twentieth century. Indeed, anglicisms have come to the forefront in recent decades as a result of the economic and cultural dominance of the United States of America, which has created an imbalance in influence among modern languages [7] (p. 30). Thus, clashes over the need and function of Anglicisms in Portuguese have continued to arise periodically even in the present day.

3. The implications of modern-day anglicisms in European Portuguese

In the 21st century, it would not be very debatable to affirm that much of the world is under some influence from the United States, and almost all modern European societies share an Americanization present in many elements of daily life from socializing to the workplace to the media. Furthermore, the sociolinguist, Robert Lawrence Trask, states that English bestows a more modern and international aura upon its speakers than other languages do [9] (p. 161).

Trask also argues that the combination of this perceived prestige of belonging to the anglophone subculture and the aforementioned American rise to power are the main drivers for the increasing penetration of anglicisms in countries such as Portugal [9] (p. 161). Portuguese is continually under pressure to adapt to the need to lexicalize American objects, innovations, trends, and all of the other things that arrive in Portuguese without a concrete designation or translation [7] (p. 30). Furthermore, there are many other linguistic, cultural, sociological, and psychological factors that lead people, institutions, and companies to incorporate anglicisms into their native language communications in this day and age.

In publicity and advertising, for example, discursive aspects such as genre and the

relationship between speaker and listener are more important than adhering to grammatical and linguistic norms in texts, so employing anglicisms has been a common strategy to get the public's attention in this field. In another study, this very author [10] (p. 83) surveyed TAP Air Portugal's Facebook page and discovered that 11 of its 52 advertisements (approximately 21%) in 2017 (the last year before its Facebook discourse transitioned from Portuguese to English) featured at least one anglicism. Table 1 highlights the anglicisms found in the Portuguese airline's advertising discourse that year:

Table. 1. Anglicisms used in TAP Air Portugal's Facebook page advertisements in 2017.

Non-adapted anglicisms				Calques
<i>Basic</i>	<i>Email</i>	<i>Lounge</i>	<i>Top Executive</i>	<i>Estrela</i> (celebrity)
<i>by Victoria</i>	<i>#escapewinter</i>	<i>Miles & Go</i> (2x)	<i>XMAS Weekend</i>	
<i>Check-in</i>	<i>Executive</i>	<i>Plus</i>	<i>YOWO!</i> (acronym)	
<i>Classic</i>	<i>Fly+</i> (2x)	<i>Retro</i>	<i>You only win once</i>	
<i>Cyber Weekend</i>	<i>flytap.com</i> (3x)	<i>store</i>		
<i>Discount</i>	<i>Gift Voucher</i> (2x)	<i>TAPStore</i>		

However, the value of anglicisms goes far beyond just stylistic or aesthetic needs in modern Portuguese society, as they are often relied upon in various specialized discourses to communicate internationally on common grounds. For example, in international business or the many U.S.-led sectors such as technology, entertainment, and tourism, most of the industry terminology, coined in English, has been borrowed by other languages so that other countries as well can effectively engage with the United States and the international marketplace in these sectors.

On the other hand, we previously mentioned that the influx of anglicisms has also been known to disillusion Portuguese monolingual communities and others that are generally opposed to the proliferation of English. The use of anglicisms, especially in unadapted form, in a context considered inappropriate or directed at the wrong audience can be divisive, and it has led to polemic debate in Portugal. Thus, the implementation of anglicisms in the mass media is usually moderate and isolated to a few key and widely recognized words [9] (p. 161) as the findings from TAP Air Portugal's advertisements seem to support. In the end, the authors and speakers of any Portuguese discourse, whether in the media or basic conversation, must consider whether anglicisms make their communications clearer due to their concise reference to the original concept, or cause interference because their foreign elements are unfamiliar or distracting.

Conclusions

Either according to our general thoughts, or to the scientific studies of researchers such as Milton J. Bennett [11], one of the foremost experts in intercultural communication, language is considered a cultural product. So much so, that in Bennett's work, language is found as an aspect of the two types of culture he defines. According to him, language is a part of "Objective Culture" along with science, art, music, and literature because it is a product created by society, and we

understand all these things in the same way [11]. Concurrently, he proclaims that language, or more specifically, language use, is a part of “Subjective Culture” along with values and beliefs, because it is an abstract competence as well [11].

Threatened by an infiltration of its cultural heritage as much as its language, Portugal has been sharing its terrain with the *lingua franca* for about a century. The history of European Portuguese is colored with outside influences and an acceptance of linguistic borrowings, which have resulted in many anglicisms penetrating both its formal and informal discourses. These words, phrases, and other borrowings have descended upon the Portuguese language and culture, and they appear set on remaining a part of it for as long as English and the United States are at the helm of the global economy. Even faced with linguistic and social opposition, anglicisms are an inevitable sociolinguistic phenomenon that has helped Portuguese to integrate novelties, convey desired connotations, and enrich its lexicon.

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THE LITERARY POLEMICS OF ALEXANDRU VLAHUȚĂ

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Abstract

The present study aims to capture some controversial moments from Alexandru Vlahuță's publicistic activity, as a result of a research of many works about his life and writings. The purpose of this approach was to highlight some lesser-known moments from that era, by reporting as rigorously as possible on the situation of literature and art. Approached from a modern perspective, the study presents the pulse and colors of the respective era.

Keywords

publicistic; life; ideology

1. Introduction

In his time, Vlahuță's notoriety mostly came from a series of public manifestations, often of a pronounced polemical character. As soon as the first editions of the *Vieața* magazine have been issued, Vlahuță engaged in polemics that a balanced spirit would have given up, not being started from contradictions of irresolvable ideas.

2. The controversy between Alexandru Vlahuță and Titu Maiorescu

The controversy between Vlahuță and Titu Maiorescu broke out at the beginning of 1886. The Bucharest newspapers announced for the month of February that the writer would hold a conference on Eminescu's poems at the Athenaeum. On the other hand, in January of the same year, a chronicle of the historical play *Despot Vodă*, by Vasile Alecsandri, appeared in the *Epoca* magazine. This chronicle was signed under the pseudonym of Barbu Ștefănescu Delavrancea. Alecsandri's play was criticized here in very severe terms. Delavrancea's article, representative of the new artistic mentality that had begun to impose itself in that period, would have remained, however, an insignificant fact without Titu Maiorescu's reaction.

Both Delavrancea's chronicle and Vlahuță's conference, which offered related ideas, seemed to the Junimist leader to be part of the concentrated action of the young generation, with the goal of denigrating Vasile Alecsandri. Maiorescu will serve them a lesson in objective judgement and historical-literary intuition in the article *Poeți și critici*. The theoretical support of this demonstration should not be lost sight of when judging Maiorescu's position, which constitutes

the distinction between artist and critic, a distinction made on the basis of the different capacity to receive art in its various forms and manifestations. Between the artist and the critic – Maiorescu says – there will always be a “radical incompatibility”, a contradiction that he summarizes in the formula “The critic is by nature transparent, and the artist is by nature refractory” [1] (pp. 2-3).

In conclusion, the two young authors are inexperienced in the field of literary criticism and are recommended to cultivate their own creativity, their intellectual power which must be embodied in works of art and not consumed in critical elaborations. The second part of Maiorescu’s article refers to Alecsandri’s place in the Romanian literature of the time. Since the positions taken by Vlahuță and Delavrancea hid the comparison between Alecsandri and Eminescu, who believed that they had contributed to the affirmation of Eminescu by denigrating Alecsandri, the critic feels obliged to shed light on this issue. Demonstrating that such joining is not fair, Maiorescu writes one of the most beautiful pages of literary criticism. Alecsandri’s unique value lies in the totality of his literary action, suggesting, at the same time, that the fact is beyond the reach of frustrated spirits, incapable of highly objective judgement, and that there is in literary criticism a higher area of analysis in which dilettantes do not can have access.

Also in the same year, Alexandru Vlahuță starts a public attack on Maiorescu. Eminescu was once again admitted to the hospital, where he suffered in the highest material deprivation. Constantin Mille opens the campaign for a public subscription in the *Lupta* magazine. Vlahuță immediately follows him, through the article *Scrisoarea către cititori*, in the same magazine. In the first lines, Vlahuță refers to a fact whose support was Titu Maiorescu, in the hope of obtaining a new donation from the Crown Domains. All these facts irritated Maiorescu, who had other opinions about the origin of Eminescu’s drama. The poet, deprived of material possibilities, forced to live only from public subscriptions, tries in moments of lucidity a feeling of anger and dissatisfaction against this way of ensuring his existence. In a letter, he asks Vlahuță to give up on such procedures. A few weeks after issuing *Scrisoarea către cititori*, Vlahuță publishes the poem *Delendum*, a real anti-junimist manifesto. Like any romantic poet, Vlahuță transposed literary ideas more than once into verses, thus defining his position in relation to the artistic currents of the time. *Delendum* states in a pamphlet tone his separation from the aesthetic ideas which defined *Junimea* and his desire to regain his spiritual freedom. The image that this poem leaves us, suffocated, sometimes, by indignation, it is that of an independent conscience, forced for years to fit into a literary program that did not correspond to its conceptions [2] (p. 72): “Cry, hate and curse according to the rule in the book./ Be gallant – disregard your passion in which you struggle,/ Lest you upset the nerves of delicate critics./ Poetry is a sweet song – a heavenly perfume!/ So fragrant art, oh, thank you very much!” [3] (p. 52).

This tone is preserved throughout the entire poem and the same dominant idea returns in *Liniște*, which appeared a little later. Here, the poet sarcastically sketches the picture of the “ridiculous precious” from the capital of Romania, unable to understand true poetry. But the poem also has another meaning contained in its very title: *Liniște* (tr. *Silence*). The writer, who had experienced a true disillusionment after his approach to *Junimea*, now states: “Like a hermit shuts you in your poor room,/ And to vain desires command them to be silent:/ The world you were dreamed of without knowing nowhere/ Look within yourself for peace and happiness” [3] (p. 68).

The differences of vision between Maiorescu and Vlahuță did not stem from personal reasons, but from a fundamentally opposite vision regarding the artist’s situation in society. Vlahuță did not express his point of view only through statements of a theoretical nature, but, above all, through articles that brought Eminescu’s drama before the readers. These attitudes will

be seen more clearly when Vlahuță becomes the propagator of Gherea's ideas. Vlahuță, as can be seen, was the declared partisan of the idea that the social construction of the time, the contemptuous attitude towards art and artist of all leading factors of that time, starting with the Royal House, made Eminescu's last years be weighed down by the specter of poverty and hastened his end.

3. Vlahuță and B. P. Hașdeu – from mutual respect to rough accusations

At the beginning of 1894, Vlahuță responded to an article from *Revista nouă*, in which he seems to have been downplayed, along with Gherea and Caragiale. Reminding Hașdeu of the trust and esteem with which he had once surrounded him, Vlahuță attacks him bluntly, making the assumption that if they were collaborators of the magazine, they would no longer have been qualified as nullities and their merits would have been recognized. The article is, in fact, the signal of the intense battles that would follow and in which Vlahuță would temper his reputation as a polemicist, not bypassing harshness and attacks on the person, compromising the opponents by revealing some facts of the past and other such aspects. In 1894, the first disagreements between Vlahuță's magazine and socialist circles took place.

The animosities will be triggered by an article in which Vlahuță summarizes the conference held by A. Bacalbașa at the Athenaeum regarding "art for art's sake": "The dissertation was so attractive that, although it lasted more than an hour, the general impression was that it ended too soon. As for the tendentious art of the lecturer, more exactly the tendency to serve the cause of a class and a party, we continue to remain convinced that this is not art" [4].

As a polemicist, Vlahuță is remarkable for his ability to expend himself personally and for two characteristic features: the conscious avoidance of rigid schematizations and the use of the false modesty as a combat weapon. To the theoretical objection, such as that, once the interference of social trends is refused, we should campaign for a pure art, and not stick, in another form, to tendentious literature. Vlahuță answers with sentimental arguments:

"Life is so complex, its views are so varied, that a poet who would put his soul under the stewardship and discipline of a program and would stubbornly look at the world only from a certain point of view, let him see falsely, but his works would also become an unbearable monotony. The talent placed at the service of a party would undoubtedly be a precious organ of propaganda – for the cause of that party – but if the poet were to work only under his incitement, we believe that, thus gathering his thoughts in the clutches of a system, he would destroy himself as poet and what he would do would no longer be art" [5] (p. 84).

4. The Polemics between two good friends – Alexandru Vlahuță and I. L. Caragiale

The year 1893, the year that marks Alexandru Vlahuță's refusal to enter in the Academy, coincides with the appearance of the *Vieața* magazine, under the leadership of Vlahuță and Dr. Urechea, and *Vatra* magazine, edited by Coșbuc, Slavici and Caragiale. Initially, it had been decided to publish a magazine in the drafting of which Vlahuță would take part, along with Delavrancea. Caragiale, who was their close friend, tried hard to convince them, but he was refused. *Vieața* published pages of literary guidance and culture, the fight for tradition, which were especially useful guidelines for the youth. The polemic between the two friends – Caragiale and Vlahuță – who are now in different editorships, started after *Vatra* published a sketch entitled *Cum se înțelege țărani*, in which the peasant speech was imitated. The appearance of this sketch received an immediate and severe response from *Vieața*, through the article entitled *Ce cred*

țăraniile noastre despre "Vatra" noastră signed by Vlahuță under the pseudonym El. For its part, *Vatra* does not remain in debt and responds through I. L. Caragiale: "Mr. A. Vlahuță is persecuting "Vatra". Why? This is an easy answer. He can't swallow mediocre writing, like bad and insipid writing – and as a positive proof of that are his latest productions of his own, which he's thrown out to the public. A nonsense of ours of 168 short words cannot be swallowed by a man of taste like yours without turning up his nose, while other mortals have swallowed books of 168 X 2 = 336 large pages without making a face..." [6] (p. 159) (direct allusion to *Dan* novel, which had 336 pages).

Even in this situation, Alexandru Vlahuță shows a lot of tact, trying to reconcile things, replying to them: "But remember what you told me a year ago: - Mate, only you and I really are writers in this country!" [7]. The cause of the polemic between I. L. Caragiale and Alexandru Vlahuță is intuited by Nicolae Iorga: "Now, for I. L. Caragiale, Vlahuță – who had allowed himself to write a novel, in which personal memories were revealed too much in a form that was too little cohesive, *Dan* – he was becoming an intruder in a domain that was not his" [8] (p. 253-254). I. L. Caragiale will also attack Vlahuță in the sketch *Poetul Vlahuță*, published in *Europa literară* from May-June 1896. Soon, the controversy becomes less noisy, after the closure of the *Vieața* magazine.

5. Other controversies in which Vlahuță was involved

Vlahuță not only maintains strained relations with Alexandru Macedonski, but also breaks certain friendships, such as the one with B. P. Hașdeu (*Zecherlina d-lui Hașdeu*, in *Vieața* on 9 January 1894 and *Gherofobia domnului Hașdeu*, in the same magazine, on 16 January 1894). Also, during this period, a series of confusions in the field of aesthetics crept into Vlahuță's writings, which generated the controversy from 1894, with the socialist publications *Munca* from Bucharest and *Evenimentul literar* from Iași. The controversy was sparked by a misunderstanding on Vlahuță's part, of the art for art's sake and trend in art theories, Vlahuță confusing trend in art with commission art. In that period, Anton Bacalbașa leaves the socialist press and switches to the *Adevărul* newspaper, affirming in the spirit of Vlahuță's ideas that this newspaper is the only independent one, without the support of a party and as such it is the only equidistant Romanian newspaper, which reveals the absolute truth. All the other newspapers, claims A. Bacalbașa, whose purpose is to promote a certain party cannot be honest, are intended to support the purpose of the party and subsidizes the newspaper.

Vlahuță is forced to answer in *Vieața* to the young Eugen Botez, the future writer Jean Bart, who publishes an article *Munca* entitled *Să ne dumerească*. In this article, after it is shown that the workers, although overworked and deprived of the necessities of life, make efforts to buy newspapers, in order to enlighten their minds, they express their bewilderment that exactly the writer A. Vlahuță – about which the author of the article has particularly complimentary words regarding his work – he does not want to answer calmly and decently, but wants to resort to ridicule, making fun of them and those who support them. Vlahuță responds to this intervention with an article named *Să ne dumerească* in the *Vieața* magazine. Vlahuță states that he did not criticize or ridicule the workers and their leaders, but certain opportunists. Dissatisfied, Jean Bart writes a new article, reproaching Vlahuță for not being honest and testing him with quotes from the articles published in *Vieața*.

In the *Armonia* newspaper (1882), a polemic between Vlahuță and Costică Fusea is published. The writer had attacked the liberal leader from Târgoviște for his being immoral. Because of this conflict, Vlahuță was removed from the educational system.

Conclusions

In *Arta socialistă* (*Vieața*, 1894), Vlahuță combats the socialist theories on art, promoted by the *Evenimentul literar* and *Munca* magazines. Vlahuță did not understand the essence of the socialist ideology, he did not understand the principle of tendentious art, which he was unsuccessfully trying to fight. Vlahuță continues the polemic with the socialists on the subject of art, without scientific arguments. It is far from rising to the scientific level required by such a discussion. The article *O privire generală* (*Vieața*, 1895) represents a retrospective on the year-long polemic with socialist magazines.

Realizing the results of the controversy, Vlahuță expressed his regret for everything that happened. In *A doua aniversare* (*Vieața*, 1895), Vlahuță, after two years of experience, takes a look at the polemics from the past, trying to separate *Vieața* from the other magazines. It is, however, too late, his distance from socialist circles being irremediable. He had shown all his ideological confusion and displayed too much passion to bring himself to any further rapprochement with the socialists [9] (p. 134-139).

Despite these polemics, Alexandru Vlahuță remained a writer whose work is permeated by a certain tendency, a bearer of popular aspirations [10] (p. 93).

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ET ALORS? MAIS... THREE DISCURSIVE MARKERS IN THE POLITICAL DISCOURSE OF EMMANUEL MACRON

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Abstract

Our paper aims to research the interpretation of the way in which the President of France, Emmanuel Macron, uses discursive markers for political purposes to convey his message in a convincing way with the aim of influencing his audience, to persuade them of the validity of his political ideas, of his devotion to the service of France and the French people and to make them adhere to his actions which would reflect the implementation of his electoral program and his political vision. The methods of analysis that we use are discourse analysis, pragmatic analysis of the utterances of the French president who, in his desire to stage himself, to involve his audience, also deploys markers of discourse. For this analysis, we have chosen three discursive markers which have a very high frequency in the analyzed corpus: *and*, *so* and *but*. Our research hypothesis and our initial intuition is that the French president uses a lot of discursive markers, especially, *so*, *and*, *but*, mainly at the beginning of the statements, because these represent a mark of spontaneity in official speeches and reinforce the impact intended with its audience.

Keywords

political discourse; discursive marker; discursive values of markers.

1. Introduction

Less leaning towards the study of the DMs than the Anglo-American or German tradition, French linguistics has approached these units, especially through the work of Ducrot, Anscombe of the School of Geneva, from various angles and approaches. Rodriquez-Somolinos [1] (p.4) considers that: "In the field of historical pragmatics, the study of the evolution and formation of markers of French discourse remains largely to be done. It is much less developed than for English".

It was only in the 80s of the previous century with the growing interest in the theories of linguistic pragmatics according to Austin and Searle, enunciation and its contexts and dialogical strategies that research into verbal interactions developed in Geneva around the team of E. Roulet (1985) and J. Moeschler (1985) and in Lyon with C. Kerbrat-Orecchioni and his theory of

enunciation, dialogue and trilogue. These theories have led, on the one hand, to the research into communicative intentions, coded as an illocutionary function, and, on the other hand, to the research into argumentation and its markers in writing and orally where a very rich field of argumentative connectors opens up.

Our research hypothesis and our initial intuition is that the French president, Emmanuel Macron, uses many discourse markers, especially, *so/then, and, but*, and in combination with others (*and so, but then, so yes, and therefore*, etc.) especially at the beginning of the statement, because these represent a mark of spontaneity in official speeches and reinforce the impact pursued with his audience.

The research objective of our study is the use of discursive markers for political purposes in the speeches of Emmanuel Macron in order to convey his message in a convincing way.

The methods of analysis that we will use, will be discourse analysis, pragmatic and enunciative analysis of the words of the French President Emmanuel Macron who, in his desire to stage himself, to involve his audience, also deploys markers of speech. We have chosen, therefore, for this study the analysis of discourse and that of enunciation because “one of the most obvious characteristics of the trends in French discourse analysis is to constantly exploit the theories of enunciation” [2] (p.1).

For this analysis, we favored three discursive markers which have a very high frequency in the analyzed discourses: these are the discursive markers *and, so and but*. “These frequent, heterogeneous and multifunctional elements that are DMs” [3] (p.4) have an important pragmatic component, a fact also noted by the terms that designate them, DM playing an undeniable role in the discourse and discourse analysis: “the description of a DM brings into play different levels, both semantic and pragmatic [4] (p.8). “As far as the enunciative analysis concerned, relying in part on previous syntactic and semantic studies, it seeks to highlight the presence of the speaker in his discourse and to characterize his attitude. (Catherine Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1980 (1st edition 1970), *The Enunciation. Of subjectivity in language, Paris, Armand Colin*)” [5] (p.110).

For Vermander [6] (p.54) the DMs *and, but* “have a more pragmatic than syntactic or semantic function, that is to say that their use has more of a discursive structuring role than a “classical” grammatical role. Because of the impossibility of using only grammar to explain these occurrences, one must resort to pragmatics and conversation analysis which allow a more complete description”.

Our corpus is made up of 3 speeches that President Emmanuel Macron gave in the first year of his previous five-year term, from July 1, 2017 to October 2, 2017, in various situations of enunciation: at the inauguration of a new TGV line, on the occasion of the 27th plenary session of the Assembly of French people living abroad and before the Parliament meeting in congress.

2. What is a DM?

The enthusiasm that these “discourse words” (Ducrot *et al.*, 1980) aroused from the 70s of the last century and especially at the beginning of the 21st century, is revealed by the works that deal with them but it remains quite difficult to answer to this question and all the more, to give a definition of what are called “discursive markers”, (henceforth: “DM”). We could speak of “an overabundance of different terms, of which we will retain only the most generally used in French linguistics, *connector, marker*, and to a lesser extent *particle*” [7] (684).

Initially called connectors, as elements for achieving discursive cohesion, then markers, these units aim at a broader domain, by seeking to organize thought, to govern interpersonal relations or those between the speaker and his text: “Rather than referring to the extralingual realm,

discourse markers refer to the realm of the *text*, to the *interpersonal* relations between its participants (or between speaker and text), and/or to their *cognitive* processes” [8] (194).

The fact of not being employed only as DM explains the hesitation and the fluidity with regard to their fixation as DMs:

“In many languages, a large number of units entering into the formation of DMs have another language status, which raises the problem of their identity when they are used as DMs or as one of the units composing a DM. Moreover, the accession of a word to the status of DM seems strongly contingent: *precisely* is a DM, but not *falsely* and *unjustly*; *good* is a DM, but not *bad*; and the examples can be multiplied” [4] (p.6).

In dictionaries, *Marker* can be defined as “what has the function of being or leaving a distinctive mark” (TLFi). In the linguistic sense, it can have a syntactic or semantic scope: in the dictionary of Dubois et al. (1972), this term mainly refers to grammatical morphemes, which indicate the structure of a sentence, as opposed to lexical morphemes. For his part, Mounin (1974) defines *marker* as each of the general semantic features or properties ([animated], [concrete], etc.), within the framework of the componential analysis of Katz and Fodor” [7] (p.686).

Chanet [9] (p.3) assigns them a role in interpreting the way in which a universe of reference is constructed discursively in order to maximize the interaction and/or the transmission of the intended message: “the discursive markers would not necessarily intervene in the construction of a universe of reference, but could give indications on how to build this universe, and, more generally, on the cognitive operations to be carried out by the interactants in the discursive activity to optimize communication”.

Authors such as Shiffrin and Fraser (1999) insist on the cohesive dimension of DMs and the connectivity they ensure within the framework of a discourse. Shiffrin, one of the pioneers in the study of his particles, considers that they affect different levels with a view to binding one or more planes:

“sequentially dependent elements that bracket units of talk, ie nonobligatory utterance-initial items that function in relation to ongoing talk and text. Markers could work at different levels of discourse to connect utterances on either a single plane or across different planes” [10] (p. 31).

3. Typology of DMs

There is a multitude of theoretical frameworks and terminologies and, consequently, we cannot speak of a consensus typology of DMs: “All these works aim at a set to study enormously vast, but also particularly heterogeneous conjunctions and adverbs being the most abundant, but also some prepositions and a whole range of locutions derived from them, conforming an open class of signs carrying a meaning essentially qualified as *instructional* or *procedural*, according to the underlying enunciative and pragmatic theory” [7] (p.684).

Dostie [11] (p.41) considers that the terminological diversity reflects the variety of definitions proposed and the various approaches under which these “little words” have been approached: such as semantic, socio-linguistic or pragmatic approaches. Obviously, the term “discursive marker” being the most widespread, we find it in Shiffrin (1987), Jucker & Ziv (1998), Fraser (1999), Dostie (2004), Dostie & Pusch (2007), Andersen (2007) and Paillard, (2017), but also, we can list: “words of discourse” (Ducrot *et al.* , 1980), “particle” (Fernandez, 1994, Mosegaard-Hansen, 1998, Fernandez - Vest and Carter-Thomas 2004), “discourse particle ” (Schorup , 1985, Hansen, 1998), “textual organizer” (Adam, 1990) “ pragmatic particle ” (Beeching ,

2002), “discursive operator” (Redecker , 1990), “operator” (Anscombe & Ducrot, 1983, Rossari , 1989, Vasquez-Molina 2019) “ connective discourse ” (Blakemore , 1987), “connector” (pragmatic and/or argumentative) (Roulet *et al.* , 1985), “punctuating” (Vincent, 1993), “meta-discursive marker” (Mosegaard -Hansen, 1995), “metalinguistic marker” (Cadiot *et al.* 1985), “little oral words” (Brussels & Traverso, 2001).

It remains, therefore, quite difficult to identify and integrate these units into the category of DM and “it is in the discourse that one can determine their true value” [7] (p.688).

“An immediate problem therefore arises in terms of the very identification of DMs, which cannot be identified by their shape alone. It appears in fact that a good number of forms do not constitute DMs in all their uses, either because they subsume very different morphological and/or syntactic functionings (theadjective *good* in *it's good* and the particle *good* in *good, finally short*), or because their discursive functions are very different (comparing the forms *finally* in *he finally arrived* and in *he passed his exams, finally I believe*) in terms of the very identification of DMs, which cannot be identified by their single form” [9] (p.6).

Although they are not infallible (fuzzy borders of grammatical classes, migration from one class to another) [11], there are, nevertheless, some criteria to respect for the insertion elements in the category of DMs: they are morphologically invariable, from the semantic point of view, they do not contribute to the propositional content of statements and they do not influence the truth conditions of the sentence (nonvericonditionals), syntactically optional, their absence does not have the effect of ungrammaticality, since they belong to the macro-syntax and they also play a fairly large freedom of placement with respect to the statement unless they are not used as word-phrases [11]-[6].

Regarding their syntactic behavior, DMs can come from a variety of grammatical categories, mainly conjunctions of coordination and subordination (**and**, **so**, **because**, **even if** – among others, Bolly and Degand , 2009), adverbs (**but**, **finally** – among others, Barnes, 1995; Degand and Fagard , 2011) and prepositional phrases (*in fact*, *on the other hand* – Lewis, 2006; Mortier and Degand , 2009; Defour *et al.* , 2010). They can also belong to other less prototypical classes, as is the case of verbal parenthetical constructions (*you see*, *I think* – Bolly , 2010a and 2012), adjectives (*bon* – Waltereit , 2007) or particles, that is, interjections or other underdetermined expressions (*uh*, *ben* – Hansen, 1995 and 1998), as well as acronyms (*lol*, *mdr* – Uygur-Distexhe , 2012 and 2014) [3] (p.5).

Thus, Fraser, asserts that:

“Syntactically, it seems clear that DMs do not constitute a separate syntactic category. There are three sources of DM—conjunction, adverbs, and prepositional phrases- as well as a few idioms like *still and all* and *all things considered*. Coordinate conjunctions **and**, **but**, and *or* function primarily though not exclusively as DMs. Subordinate conjunction such as **so**, **since**, **because** and **while** also function as DMs, although they function in other ways as well [...]” [12] (p.943).

We hold as valid the typology set out by Bruce Fraser in the article “An Account of Discourse Markers” published in the *International Review of Pragmatics 1*, in 2009, pp. 293–320, which distinguishes four classes of its units called Pragmatic Markers [13] established on pragmatic criteria: Base Pragmatic Markers, Commentary Pragmatic Markers, Discourse Markers, a category that includes the terms we are looking at in this article (**and**, **so**, **but**), and Discourse

Structure Markers. He considered that: “These expressions occur as part of a discourse segment but are not part of the propositional content of the message conveyed, and they do not contribute to the meaning of the proposition, *per se*. However, they do signal aspects of the message the speaker wishes to convey” [14] (p.295).

For Chenet [9] (p.3) “the term 'discursive markers' covers both what the pragmatic literature usually calls 'connectors', and what it calls 'particles' (in the sense of Fernandez, 1994). For example, *but, so, therefore* (usually considered connectors) are part of DMs [...]”.

In turn, Fraser [14] (301) asserts: “The first marker in each class (*but, and, so*) is what I call the primary DM of the class and has the broadest meaning of all the DMs in a class. To date, I have not found a DM that falls into more than one class”. These are, of course, the three discursive markers whose occurrences we propose to study in Emmanuel Macron's speeches and which he uses extensively.

4. Semantics of DMs

The semantics of DMs represents an important aspect, related to the effort to achieve a typology of these items and even if there are authors who consider them as devoid of semantic content, AH Jucker and Y. Ziv (1998), for example.

“Others, such as K. Aijmer, A. Foolen and A.-M. Simon Vandenberg (2006), posit that DMs not only have semantics but that it is possible to associate an MD with a *core meaning* (semantic identity *nn.*), which supposes that one identifies the factors of variation making it possible to account for the polysemy of certain DMs. Among the most frequently mentioned factors is the position of the DM in the utterance and the prosody. The question of the semantics of DMs is also linked to the taking into account, or not, of the semantics of the units which enter into the formation of DMs. The majority of studies consider the DM as a "whole" which tends to mean that as DM, the units involved have a particular status, as evidenced by the use of the notions of *grammaticalization* or *pragmaticalization* (Traugott & Dasher 2001, Hopper & Traugott 2003, Dostie 2004, among others)” [4] (p.7).

The theory of grammaticalization initially represented the framework for the study of those units which acquire pragmatic values as a result of an evolutionary process. Lately, the authors seem, however, to favor pragmaticalization to explain the formation of its highly disputed particles [15].

DMs maintain semantically

“close relationships with the discourse, which confirms, in a certain way, the pragmatic component of the majority of DM approaches: a DM participates directly in the enterprise consisting for a subject (the speaker) in using one or more utterances to inform/manipulate/act on another subject (the interlocutor). The title of a work by O. Ducrot: *Le dire et le dit* (1984) highlights the distinction between the activity of the speaker (the “dire”) and the product of this activity (the “dit”) (for Ducrot, the DMs are on the side of “dire”)” [4] (p.10).

These elements, far from being meaningless and which provide pragmatic or discursive rather than propositional information, represent, according to Ducrot [16] (p. 96), instructions given for the interpretation of statements.

5. Corpus analysis

What seemed salient to us, from the start of our analysis, was the fact that these three DMs appear in the majority of cases in the initial position. Privileging such a syntactic position does not seem to us at all a coincidence, because the pragmatic value seems more evident at the beginning of the statement and reinforces their enunciative functions.

In the studied corpus, we note that the occurrence of *and* cannot be interpreted as an internal coordinator, because it does not coordinate with anything; “its function comes rather from the opening of the turn, from the graphic marking of this opening and perhaps from a certain emotionality of the discourse. Indeed, oral grammar has often noticed the high proportion of these *and* in the unfolding of the narrations, necessary for the proper holding of the word and the cognitive establishment of the information presented successively by the speaker [6] (59). The DM *and* has, in our corpus, the most frequent use in the majority of cases in initial position, several occurrences in the different utterances expressing the same functions: we have identified 48 occurrences of *and* DM in under-specified jobs (imprecise uses, [[17]), having the following functions:

- Specification 20 occurrences;
- Conclusion 7 occurrences;
- New subject 3 occurrences;
- Temporal 3 occurrences;
- Consequence 2 occurrences;
- Addition 2 occurrences;
- Punctuating 1 occurrence.

Examples:

« *Et* je me réjouis comme vous ce soir que nous ayons pu grâce à cette demi-heure de moins entre Paris et Rennes, à ces 3 quarts d'heure entre Paris et Brest ou Quimper, à travers cette refonte des gares qui est en cours, des trains régionaux et des correspondances montrer que oui, il n'y avait pas de fatalité dans notre pays, il n'y avait pas une histoire à sens unique qui serait celle du moins bien ou d'un déclassement en cours mais qu'il y a une vraie volonté et capacité françaises à faire mieux, à aller de l'avant, à porter des grands projets, des réussites. »¹ (le 1^{er} juillet 2017)

« *Et* nous devons accompagner par une nouvelle stratégie d'investissement, de planification, cette transformation de nos usages ». ² (le 1^{er} juillet 2017)

« *Et* quand je parlais de richesse, c'est celle de l'intelligence des données, mais c'est aussi celle des femmes et des hommes présents ici dans cette salle. » ³ (le 1^{er} juillet 2017)

« *Et* je peux vous dire que cet appel fonctionne et nous allons redevenir dans les prochains mois, les prochaines années, un pays qui, sur ce sujet, rayonnera, attirera les meilleurs talents,

¹“*And* I am delighted, like you this evening, that we have been able, thanks to this half-hour less between Paris and Rennes, to these 3 quarters of an hour between Paris and Brest or Quimper, through this overhaul of the stations which is in progress, regional trains and connections show that yes, there was no fatality in our country, there was not a one-way story that would be that of the less well or of a downgrading in progress but that there is a real French will and capacity to do better, to move forward, to carry out major projects and successes.” (July 1, 2017) (our translation)

²“*And* we must support this transformation of our uses with a new investment and planning strategy.” (July 1, 2017) (our translation)

³“*And* when I spoke of wealth, it is that of the intelligence of the data, but it is also that of the women and men present here in this room.” (July 1, 2017) (our translation)

sera un exemple et que cet exemple doit être promu ».¹ (le 2 octobre 2017)

Sometimes these DMs appear in cascade:

« *Et* pour lui faire écho, les Assises de la mobilité suivront en septembre sous l'égide de la ministre des Transports. *Et* je souhaite que l'on parvienne ainsi dès le premier semestre 2018 à une loi d'orientation des mobilités qui apportera enfin des réponses concrètes à ces situations que nous n'avons que trop longtemps laissé perdurer »² (le 1er juillet 2017).

« En chacun de nous il y a un cynique qui sommeille. *Et* c'est en chacun de nous qu'il faut le faire taire, jour après jour en lui rappelant sans cesse le devoir qui est le nôtre, en lui rappelant sans cesse le moment que traverse notre pays. *Et* cela se verra »³ (le 3 juillet 2017).

And reinforced also appears in combination with other DMs:

and therefore 10 occurrences;

and finally 1 occurrence;

and then 1 occurrence.

Examples:

« *Et enfin*, c'est aussi le fruit de la mobilisation de l'Education nationale qui malgré les difficultés qu'elle a pu connaître continue à détacher plus de 6 000 enseignants dans le réseau »⁴ (le 2 octobre 2017).

« *Et puis* on peut être tout à fait efficace au service d'une mauvaise cause »⁵ (le 3 juillet 2017).

In our corpus, the DM *and* mainly performs the function of specification which results in the addition of precision or examples in the statements. Also draws attention to the use of the combination of two MDs: *and so*, which reinforces the conclusive character of the statements.

Examples:

«*Et donc* c'est avec beaucoup d'humilité que, ce soir, je suis parmi vous pour cette formidable nouvelle et cette inauguration de la ligne grande vitesse Paris – Rennes »⁶ (le 1er juillet 2017).

« *Et donc* cette loi de programmation mettra enfin nos priorités et des financements en face »

¹ “*And* I can tell you that this call is working and we will once again become in the coming months, the next few years, a country which, on this subject, will shine, will attract the best talents, will be an example and that this example must be promoted.” (October 2, 2017) (our translation)

² “*And* to echo it, the *Assises de la Mobilité* will follow in September under the aegis of the Minister of Transport. *And* I hope that we will thus arrive in the first half of 2018 at a mobility orientation law that will finally provide concrete answers to these situations that we have allowed to persist for too long”. (July 1, 2017) (our translation)

³ “In each of us there is a sleeping cynic. *And* it is in each of us that we must silence him, day after day by constantly reminding him of the duty that is ours, by constantly reminding him of the moment our country is going through. *And* it will be seen.” (July 3, 2017) (our translation)

⁴ “*And finally*, it is also the result of the mobilization of the National Education which, despite the difficulties it has experienced, continues to second more than 6,000 teachers to the network.” (October 2, 2017)(our translation)

⁵ “*And then* we can be quite effective in the service of a bad cause.” (July 3, 2017) (our translation)

⁶ “*And so* it is with great humility that, this evening, I am among you for this wonderful news and this inauguration of the Paris-Rennes high-speed line”. (July 1, 2017) (our translation)

¹ (le 1er juillet 2017).

« *Et donc* je vous je vous remercie instamment de m'offrir cette occasion de le faire avec vous, mais pour vous dire que nous devons ensemble prendre nos responsabilités »² (le 1^{er} juillet 2017).

« *Et donc* nous devons collectivement travailler sur ce problème de participation en tant qu'il est le symptôme de quelque chose de plus profond qui s'est parfois ancré. »³ (le 2 octobre 2017).

Brezar [18] and Crible [17] consider the use of DMs to be a degree of orality, and their use is less frequent in prepared speech: "in more formal speech situations where the speaker benefits from prior preparation (or even of a complete script), it can be expected that the interpretative needs of the interlocutor will be better taken care of by the speaker, in order to promote optimal understanding, for example in public and professionals as a political discourse. Therefore, the proportion of underspecified discourse markers should decrease as discourse preparation increases. This is not, however, what we have been able to observe in EM's speeches, because it is in no case, in our opinion, a concern or an attempt to save production, at least in the discourses analyzed.

On the other hand, the under-specified value of *and* makes it conducive to a function of pragmatic reinforcement or emphasis of co-textual elements [17], which seems to us the most probable discursive intentionality, the French president being constantly concerned and aware of the value and importance of his remarks, and, at the same time, by carrying out an illocutionary act with a modal value of insistence, including by the repetition of the DM *and* especially, wants to make sure that he will convey his message in a clear and convincing way, his main aim seems to be to mobilize his speakers or to make the speeches delivered piercing.

The MD *but* has 29 occurrences, with different values:

- phatic function, introduces argumentation in an indirect way, emphasizing the speaker 15 occurrences;
- at the beginning of the statement, introduces a new argument 12 occurrences;
- metalinguistic, marking the change of point of view 2 occurrences.

Examples:

« *Mais* il faut dans ces matières avoir aussi beaucoup d'humilité parce que, mesdames et messieurs, je vous dois l'honnêteté de vous dire ce soir que s'il y a bien une personne qui a très peu fait pour cette inauguration, c'est votre serviteur »⁴ (le 1er juillet 2017).

« *Mais* ce succès technique et les belles perspectives économiques et sociales qu'il implique ne doivent en rien nous faire renoncer à penser la mobilité du futur car nous devons ensemble l'admettre, malgré notre immense fierté devant le projet que nous inaugurons aujourd'hui, bien des combats restent à mener. »⁵ (le 1er juillet 2017).

¹ "And so this programming law will finally put our priorities and funding in the face". (July 1, 2017)

² "And so I thank you very much for offering me this opportunity to do so with you, but to tell you that together we must take our responsibilities." (July 1, 2017) (our translation)

³ "And so we have to collectively work on this problem of participation as a symptom of something deeper that has sometimes become entrenched." (October 2, 2017)(our translation)

⁴ "But in these matters you also need to have a lot of humility because, ladies and gentlemen, I owe you the honesty to tell you this evening that if there is one person who has done very little for this inauguration, it is your servant." (July 1, 2017)(our translation)

⁵ "But this technical success and the great economic and social prospects it implies should in no way make us give up thinking about the mobility of the future because we must together admit it, despite our immense

« *Mais* la France, comme je vous le disais, doit choisir et elle doit à présent davantage concentrer ses efforts, ses investissements sur la rénovation des réseaux existants, sur la réduction de la fracture territoriale qui s'est aggravée ces dernières années! »¹ (le 1er juillet 2017)

So, as DM, presents 7 occurrences:
conclusion 5 occurrences;
introduces a new theme 1 occurrence;
reintroduces the theme 1 occurrence.

Examples:

« *Alors*, je me venge parce qu'on me prêtera beaucoup de choses malfaites qui ne viendront peut-être pas de moi, ça a déjà commencé; il y a peut-être beaucoup de choses formidables que j'essaierai de faire pendant les années à venir, qu'on ne reconnaîtra pas »² (le 1er juillet 2017).

« *Alors*, je vous le dis ce soir en inaugurant avec une immense fierté cette ligne et cette transformation de notre territoire ».³ (le 1er juillet 2017).

« *Alors* montrons-nous dignes aujourd'hui de la fermeté d'âme de ceux qui nous ont précédés dans les épreuves »⁴ (le 3 juillet 2017).

So, reinforced, also appears in combination with *yes* in 2 occurrences, for:
introduce a new theme 1 occurrence;
reintroduce the theme 1 occurrence.

Examples:

« *Alors oui*, je pense que la France a un rôle indispensable – je n'y reviendrai pas longuement aujourd'hui, hormis à travers quelques-unes des batailles fondamentales – a un rôle indispensable dans l'ordre international contemporain. Parce qu'il est profondément désorganisé, parce que nous avons un besoin »⁵ (le 2 octobre 2017).

« *Alors, oui*, nous rompons avec les facilités que nous nous étions données au cours des années précédentes, pour être à la hauteur de ce que le moment exige de nous. »⁶ (le 3 juillet 2017).

pride in the project we are inaugurating today, many battles remain to be waged.” (July 1, 2017) (our translation)

¹ “*But* France, as I told you, must choose and it must now concentrate its efforts and its investments more on the renovation of existing networks, on reducing the territorial division which has worsened in recent years!” (July 1, 2017) (our translation)

² “*So*, I take revenge because I will be credited with many bad things. do that may not come from me, it has already started; there may be many things, great things that I will try to do for years to come, that will not be recognized.” (July 1, 2017) (our translation)

³ “*So*, I tell you this evening by inaugurating with immense pride this line and this transformation of our territory.” (July 1, 2017) (our translation)

⁴ “*So* let us show ourselves worthy today of the firmness of soul of those who preceded us in trials.” (July 3, 2017) (our translation)

⁵ “*So yes*, I think France has an indispensable role – I won't go into that at length today, except through some of the fundamental battles – has an indispensable role in the contemporary international order. This is because it is deeply disorganized, because we have a need.” (October 2, 2017) (our translation)

⁶ “*So, yes*, we will break with the facilities that we had given ourselves in previous years, to be up to what the moment demands of us.” (July 3, 2017) (our translation)

We were able to observe that each of these three discourses analyzed ends with the DM *so*:
« *Alors bravo* à l'ensemble des élus, des femmes et des hommes, des entreprises ici réunis ce soir qui ont fait cette fierté bretonne, mais aussi cette fierté française que nous partageons aujourd'hui, merci à vous ! »¹ (le 1er juillet 2017)
« *Alors* pour cela, vous pourrez toujours compter sur moi »² (le 2 octobre 2017).

In addition, just like *and*, *so* appears in cascade with a pragmatic value reinforced by repetition:

« *Alors* nous serons crus. *Alors* nous rendrons le service que le peuple français attend de nous avec humilité. *Alors* nous resterons fidèles à cette promesse de nos commencements, cette promesse que nous tiendrons parce qu'elle est la plus grande, promesse de nos commencements, cette promesse que nous tiendrons parce qu'elle est la plus grande, la plus belle qui soit : faire à l'homme, enfin, un pays digne de lui »³ (le 3 juillet 2017).

Conclusions

The three DMs studied turn out to be particularly rich in values, having multiple functionality, which not only lightens the production task of the speaker but also facilitates the transmission of the message, being at the same time a mark of the latter's subjectivity. We have noted that, in the speeches analyzed, there are many occurrences of “and I wish”, as a mark of the president's desire to impose his political vision and his electoral program, or of *and* followed by the deictic *I* which marks the insistence on the speaker, in his desire to stage himself as Jupiterian president.

We also observe that the three DMs of our research are, with predilection, positioned at the beginning of the statements, this initial position reinforcing, alongside their repetition, in our opinion, the impact pursued with its speakers, which confirms our departure hypothesis. His speeches are strong and engaging.

Emmanuel Macron completes the three speeches analyzed with the DM *so*, which accentuates the conclusive character of the final part of his remarks, and uses it alongside the DM *and* in cascade to maximize the effect with his speakers, in his concern eloquence and efficiency in terms of receiving his message, which is clear and convincing.

These three “primary DMs”, as Fraser calls them, seem to be preferred in the speeches delivered by EM, *and* having the greatest recurrence due to its multifunctionality and ability to also express with intensity and power certain emotionality and to make the utterances more coherent.

As DM, *and*, *but* and *so* are not only a means of filling, they mark the speeches having a function of discursive sequencing and play an important role with regard to the cohesion and the overall coherence of the text, as well as in the of pragmatic and enunciative cohesion.

¹“*So congratulations* to all the elected officials, women and men, companies gathered here this evening who have made this Breton pride, but also this French pride that we share today, thank you!” (July 1, 2017) (our translation)

²“*So* for that, you can always count on me.” (October 2, 2017) (our translation)

³“*So* we will be believed. *So* we'll make it service that the French people humbly expect from us. *So* we will stay true to this promise of our beginnings, this promise that we will keep because it is the greatest, promise of our beginnings, this promise that we will keep because it is the greatest, the most beautiful there is: to make for man, at last, a country worthy of him”. (July 3, 2017) (our translation)

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VARIATION IN LEGAL DISCOURSE

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Abstract

Variation remains one of the major concerns in research on legal discourse, as this particular discourse is highly complex and it is inserted in utterly diverse institutional space of distinct legal systems and cultures. It is acknowledged that there is great variation in legal language, depending on location, degree of formality, and other related factors such as the language and style of lawyers. We presume that this state of affairs should actuate the mechanism of retrieving the unaccomplished and unscientifically selected linguistic features and the lack of corresponding terminology, especially in European context. In our paper, we propose exploring cross-language variation in legislative speech and we intend to carry out an exploration of the EU judicial language and its influence on the language of national courts, an analysis of intra-linguistic diversification in judicial discourse, examining both the over-structure and the sub-structure.

Keywords

institutional space; legal discourse; variation

1. Introduction

Legal discourse, like any specialised language, has its own unique characteristics and variations that distinguish it from other types of discourse. This formal language helps to convey the precision and exactness required in legal language. Legal discourse has its own terminology (which often includes Latin phrases and technical terms) used to convey precise meanings and to avoid ambiguity. Legal discourse can vary widely depending on the context and the audience and examples of variation in legal discourse include the level of formality, the audience, the specific culture, the jurisdiction and the purpose of communication. The presence of diversification in legal language can also be seen in terms of several distinctive lexicogrammatical features such as, for instance, the excessive use of the passive voice, conditionals, archaic adverbs and prepositional phrases, the use of the modal verb shall, etc. – features of all types and categories of legal texts. We propose researching interlanguage variation in legislative speech and we plan to perform an inquiry of intra-linguistic diversification in judicial discourse.

2. Variation in legal discourse

One of the essential concerns in the study of legal discourse is variation, as legal speech is

highly complex and it is enclosed in utterly varied institutional domain of different legal systems and cultures. Tiersma [1] (1999: 139) recognises the presence of diversification in legal language by observing that “there is great variation in legal language, depending on geographical location, degree of formality, speaking versus writing, and related factors. The language and style of lawyers also differs substantially from one genre of writing to another”. We presume that this state of affairs should actuate the mechanism of retrieving the incomplete and arbitrarily selected linguistic features and the lack of corresponding terminology, especially in European context.

Legal discourse, like any specialised language, has its own unique characteristics and variations that distinguish it from other types of discourse. Variations in legal discourse can be discussed referring to formal language, genre, context, audience, cultural and historical variation, the purpose of communication, etc. In view of these facts, legal discourse is characterised by its formal language, which is often technical and precise, mostly because legal language often includes Latin phrases and legal jargon which can be difficult for non-lawyers to understand. However, the level of formality can vary depending on the context and audience (e.g., legal documents such as contracts or court filings may use a higher level of formality than legal advice given to a layperson). Legal discourse includes various genres, such as statutes, case law, legal opinions, contracts, legal briefs etc., and each genre has its own unique features and conventions. Likewise, the context in which legal discourse is produced and consumed can vary greatly (e.g., legal discourse produced in a courtroom setting may differ from legal discourse produced in a legislative setting). Legal discourse can also vary depending on the intended audience (e.g., legal arguments presented in a court of law may use a more formal and technical language compared to legal advice given to a layperson). Legal discourse is often written for a specialised audience, such as judges, lawyers, or legal scholars, so the language and style used may be tailored to this audience.

Moreover, legal discourse can vary across different cultures and historical periods (e.g., the legal language used in common law systems may differ from that used in civil law systems). Legal discourse can also vary depending on the cultural context. For example, common law systems such as the United States may use a more adversarial style of legal discourse, while civil law systems such as France may use a more inquisitorial style. Legal discourse can also vary depending on the jurisdiction (e.g., the legal language used in the United States may differ from that used in the United Kingdom or Australia). Similarly, legal discourse can vary depending on the purpose of the communication (for example, a legal brief may use a more persuasive style of discourse to convince a judge or jury, while a legal memorandum may use a more objective style to provide juridical analysis and advice).

Considering variation in legal discourse, Tiersma [2] proposed an overall classification of legal texts into three main classes, i.e., *operative legal documents* (those that generate or change juridical relations such as petitions, statutes, contracts, testaments, etc.), *expository documents* (e.g., judicial opinions which analyse objectively legal points) and *persuasive documents* (such as briefs or memoranda). Furthermore, Bhatia [3] proposed a more comprehensive categorisation, acknowledging the elemental differentiation into written and spoken forms and listing certain operative classes (e.g., law reports, cases, judgments, lawyer-client interaction) on the basis of diverse criteria such as their explanatory aim or the context in which they occur.

The presence of variation in juridical language can also be seen in terms of certain specific lexico-grammatical characteristics such as, for instance, the overuse of the passive voice, conditionals, archaic adverbs and prepositional phrases, the use of the modal verb *shall*, etc. – features of all types and classes of juridical texts. Legal discourse uses a highly formal language that is often characterised by technical terms, legal jargon, and archaic expressions. The use of

passive voice is common in legal discourse because it allows the writer to focus on the action being done rather than the person doing it. This is especially important when describing legal obligations or rights. In legal language, sentences are lengthy and complex, being longer than in other ordinary or specialised texts. Thence, we notice largely modified Noun Phrases, the frequent use of the Indicative Mood, Present Tense, 3rd person singular, passive voice and impersonal constructions, alongside the prevalent modal verb *shall* [4]. Legal discourse often uses complex sentence structures that include subordinate clauses and conjunctions, allowing the writer to convey complex legal concepts in a clear and concise manner.

To clarify the operative foundations underlying each set of jointly occurring linguistic characteristics and the amplitudes of variation (reflecting both linguistic and operative content), qualitative analysis is required. Joint occurrence and joint selection of linguistic characteristics derives from shared functions, meaning that co-occurrent structures should be described in terms of situational, social and cognitive functions shared by the linguistic features. The corpus-based exploration of the EU judicial language shows its influence on the language of national courts, a corpus analysis of intra-linguistic diversification in judicial discourse, examining both the over-structure and the sub-structure (formulaicity, terminology and lexico-grammar templates).

Similarly, the appearance of forensic linguistics as a discipline was firmly linked to one of the initial applications of corpus linguistics which was to aid linguists in their positions as expert witnesses in the courtroom. This law-related language study, known as forensic linguistics, has come to rely on corpora as a beneficial instrument of investigation, particularly with regard to problems such as authorship or plagiarism. But its sphere is doubtlessly much extended and many of its areas require analytical tools other than the corpus linguistics methodology, as revealed by its subsequent subdomains: the language of the police and law enforcement, courtroom interaction, interviews with vulnerable witnesses and children, linguistic evidence and testimony in courtrooms, forensic phonetics and speaker identification [5].

Examples of text types usually encountered in forensic linguistics casework are threat letters, blackmail/extortion letters, terrorist threats, suicide notes, ransom demands, e-mails or text messages, police and witness statements, etc. [6]. All these types of texts have been scarcely researched in general linguistics conducting to critical downsides in their generic knowledge. Having in view the nature of these documents and the problem of multilingualism, it is observed that the forensic linguists' work is necessarily comparative.

Moreover, the evaluative role of language in juridical discourses is related to concepts such as interpersonality, voice and modality. The significance of assessment in juridical speech is obvious as it outlines the importance of linguistic interactions between diverse legal actors, prevalently perceived from the perspective of stance and stance-taking (which focuses on discourse models in courtroom interactions) and as the concept of evaluation is fundamental in studying the quality and strategy of legal argumentation. In the same way, attitudinal language represents an indispensable part of the judicial voice as evaluative language is exercised in diverse assessments produced by judges for the purpose of justifying their decisions. This context is notably visible in constitutional cases with strong axiological preoccupations corroborating discords between norms and values.

Similarly, most examinations of evaluation in judicial discourses are corpus-based, i.e., they commence with a predefined language form already connected with evaluative significances, which is later identified and studied in large corpus data. The text-corpus method uses the body of texts (in our case, legal texts) written in any natural language to derive the set of abstract rules which govern that language. These results can be used to explore the relationships between the subject language (for instance, English legal language) and other languages which have

undergone a similar analysis (Romanian legal language, French legal language, Spanish legal language, etc.). Such corpora can be derived from source texts and compared to their counterparts.

Additional types of corpora have been commonly portrayed in terms of dichotomies: general versus specialised, monolingual versus bilingual or multilingual, etc. Hence, speech analysis is inexorably comparative, as it is possible to portray a type of juridical speech only by comparing it with other (legal or non-legal) discourse types. For instance, we use bilingual corpora of English and French texts to show the way in which two distinct legal cultures may vary, mainly in terms of the degree of terminologisation and in stylistic characteristics of that particular juridical discourse. Nevertheless, these differences of such bilingual or multilingual legal systems and the effects of bilingual and/or plurilingual legislation, translation and interpretation may impact in some way the trial proceedings.

Indeed, law and corpus linguistics have turned into a new academic subdiscipline that uses large databases, called *corpora*, to better get at the meaning of words and phrases in legal texts, like statutes, constitutions, contracts and other legal materials comprising laws and other legal documents. In short, law and corpus linguistics represent the application of corpus linguistic tools, theories, and methodologies to issues of legal interpretation. Certainly, there are several manners in which modern corpus linguistics can be exploited to enhance and extend the discerning of juridical discourse, starting from phraseology, translation, terminology or diversification in legal discourse and translation, register and genre perspectives on judicial discourse, legal discourse in forensic contexts to evaluative language in judicial context. In the disciplinary speech of law, language is fundamental to its development and description and this became a prerequisite for the explorations carried out by legal academics and legal practitioners using corpus linguistics methods as a recent tool, primarily preoccupied with juridical explanation, concerning in particular the typical sense of expressions.

Even if corpus linguistics may offer lawyers and linguists a rich perspective to unfold patterns of language use in law and judicial texts, there are also several pitfalls and limitations. Accordingly, the use of corpus linguistics in analysing legal discourse is relatively recent. It seems that there are some issues of judicial discourses which are notably submissive to corpus analysis, such as its intrinsically formulaic nature, and various corpus-based studies have explored this matter of fact, particularly regarding the problem of diversification. Obviously, the methodology of corpus linguistics is inherently quantitative (statistical), but recurrence of lexical items can turn exposing only if a comparative perspective is adopted. This state of affairs means that linguistic analyses tend to characterise juridical discourse, by comparing it with other general or specialised discourses or by comparing various types of legal discourses with one another.

Considering that the amount of current corpus-informed work carried out in a wide domain of legal languages and cultures, language is locked in the so-called “fixed phrases”, particularly in legal discourses and their various textual manifestations [5]. We may say that research carried out in corpus linguistics phraseology profoundly impacts on other (sub)areas like formulaicity and standardisation in legal documents, variation within legal speech, legal translation, legal terminology, a.s.o.

Conclusions

Overall, variation is one of the major concerns in the study on juridical discourse, as legal speech is a complex and varied form of communication that requires specialised knowledge and skills to understand and produce. Understanding the variations in legal discourse is important for

effective communication within the legal profession and for effective legal translation and interpretation. Legal language is often highly formal and technical, using specialised terminology and complex sentence structures. The variation in legal discourse reflects the complexity of the legal system and the need to communicate effectively with different audiences in different contexts and legal professionals must be able to navigate this variation in order to communicate effectively and achieve their goals. We noticed that legal discourse is characterised, among others, by a highly formal language, the use of passive voice and nominalisation, legal terminology, and complex sentence structure. All these features allow legal writers to convey precise meanings and avoid ambiguity when discussing legal concepts and actions.

Acknowledgment

I would like to express my deepest appreciation for my doctoral research supervisor, Professor Titela Vilceanu, PhD, University of Craiova, and thank her for the invaluable guidance, precise feedback, and cherished intellectual support throughout my doctoral studies – all of these have unlimitedly helped me in my scientific endeavours so far and will undoubtedly influence my future (academic) activities.

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EU ENGLISH AND EU DISCOURSE – SPREAD AND IMPACT

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Abstract

The phenomenal spread of English in the 21st century has been determined by it being a functional language. Languages, either national or international exist because of their users, and users do not exist independently of language communities. In the case of English, we speak more about societal and individual bilingualism or multilingualism. Colonialism and more recently globalization have contributed to this wide use while adapting to suit various new circumstances and through contact with local languages and cultures, English has adopted new forms and functions. However, the developing realities are in close connection with English growing role in European union. English is used locally, as an additional language, for intra-regional communication in the multilingual community that constitutes the European Union more and more a supranational state language as lingua franca version of English in the EU.

1. Introduction

“Fortunately or unfortunately, *international English* is a fact of life” [1] (p. XIX). English as the world’s most widely used language is to be found in three primary categories of use of speakers: as a *native* language, as a *second* language, and as a *foreign* language. Being used by millions of speakers from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds on a daily basis, serving as a common means of communication for speakers of different first languages the current profile of English demands a permanent redefinition of the term, as it continues to extend in Expanding Circle established by Kashru in 1985 [2], being referred to as a lingua franca (ELF) of a country or as an international lingua franca.

English is currently a *lingua franca* that educated people throughout Europe are expected to know, in addition to any other European language. Looking back on the history of European languages, it can be observed that Europe has always been a space for lingua francas in a strong connection with the changing patterns of linguistic diversity and political power, e.g., the establishment of Latin as a *lingua franca* in most parts of the Roman Empire, throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance period. Latin shared the role of a European *lingua franca* with Greek, which was the main language of wider communication for a while.

The so-called vernacular languages as literary languages in Europe were increasingly used

as *linguae francae* in certain areas [3]. French as the language of diplomacy and German as a supra-regional *lingua franca* as well as an international language of learning and modern science [4]. House [5] remarks the fact that the concept of *lingua franca* in its original sense is different from the role which the English language plays today as its original meaning term coming from Arabic *lisan al farang* was referring to an intermediary or contact language used by speakers of Arabic with travelers from Western Europe.

2. English as a lingua franca in Europe

So far, none of the *linguae francae* threatened European multilingualism in any serious way. However, the continuing spread of English geographically, functionally is perceived as a hindrance to active multilingualism and as a threat to linguistic diversity, but without English as a *lingua franca* there would be much less communication and mutual understanding amongst Europeans today. On the other hand, EU context also plays an important role in this phenomenon. Historically Europe has been multilingual with a change in dominant language from Greek to Latin and French.

Unlike international organisations, such as the United Nations with 193 states with six Charter languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation with 28 states but two official languages: English and French, World Trade Organisation with English, French and Spanish as official languages, European Union has committed itself to the principle of multilingualism and to fundamental rights of non-discrimination and equality of its citizens since 1958, when the Council approved Regulation number 1 concerning the basic provisions for the language regime in the European institutions (OJ L17, 1958). According to this Regulation, each Member States has the right to request that any of its national official languages be given the status of official EU language. The existence of a European nation with 24 official languages where none is over the others, is a beautiful and generous idea, but seems more and more difficult to keep.

The Commission's multilingualism policy has three important aims [6]:

- encourage language learning and promote linguistic diversity in society;
- promote a multilingual economy;
- give citizens access to EU information in their own languages.

“Language policy” and “language planning” are two terms used interchangeably to refer to approach in EU linguistics. While the frame is that of multilingualism, working languages seem to be the compromise between the EU multilingual policy and functionality. While in the European Parliament, representing the EU citizens, linguistic plurality is disregarded, particularly in preparatory work and informal meetings, and a reduced number of working languages is used, with English domination (Article 138 Rules of Procedure of European Parliament) in the Council of the EU and in the Commission the decisions are prepared by a committee consisting of the standing representatives of the EU Member States, work is carried out exclusively in English, French and German.

In the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) the language policy is differently established to resolve ambiguities and divergences among the various languages of EU legislation and to lay down a uniform interpretation to be applied by the national courts of all Member States.

Although there is no rule stating specifically which languages have to be used as working ones, working languages of the EU may be identified as those used between institutions, within institutions and during internal meetings convened by the institutions. Łachacz & Mańko [7] remark that approximately 95% of legal texts adopted in co-decision procedures are drafted,

scrutinised and revised in English. English, French and German are not the official working languages of the Commission, but just the most commonly used for its internal activities. The rules of procedure of European institutions vary with respect to linguistic issues. The Council Decision of June 5, the Council's Rules of Procedure (2000/396/CE, ECSC, Euratom) in article 14 allows reducing the number of working languages.

However, translating written text in 24 official languages slows down the work, so using only English as an official and working language certainly helps and improves the work within the EU, although it would eliminate language diversity in the European union.

By and large, Hartman [8] (p. 4) defines the term *the Europeanness of English* and sees its dominance in different domains as linked with the status of English as a world language and this, due to England's intensive participation in what Golo Mann called the "Europeanisation of the World".

The more its use as a working language, the more distinct it becomes as a language used in the Community. It is a new English in the sense that it has undergone an evolution. In other words, English has become a hybrid language, being no longer tied to technical concepts of English law. As rightly pointed out by Barbara Pozzo [9], even though English is the most common spoken language, it is at the same time the less suitable to translate civil law concepts. Pozzo [9] speaks of the Continental English or the Bruxelles English, which in the future may make the translator's work difficult (e.g., *How to translate from EU-English into British English?*). In 1980s for the first time European English was proposed as a possible variety of English. In 1993 Décsy [10] is focused on the development of a European form from English and called it "Eurish". Today, Eurish is a fusion of English with other European languages within the EU. The term "Euro-English" was originally used by Carstensen in 1986 [11] (p. 832). EuroEnglish was an interesting phenomenon as English language spoken by European politicians was different from the real daytime English usage, a new variety of English in the process of its formation.

Elżbieta Kuźelewska [12] (p.162) claims that:

In the long run English would change from the lingua franca (in the sense of a foreign language) to a native tongue of wider communication. It takes time. However, the heart of the problem is not only the number of working languages but the diversity of the national legal systems of the twenty-eight Member States which EU legal instruments must be integrated into.

3. Case study

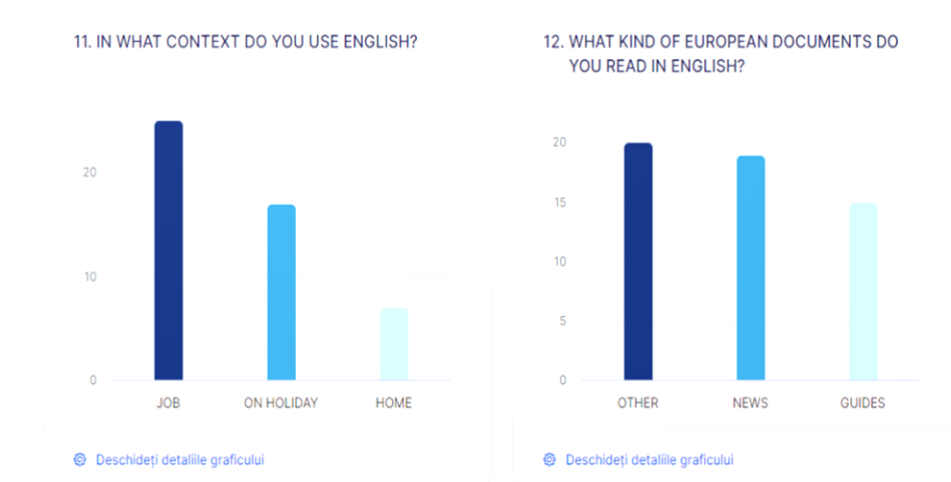
The following QUESTIONNAIRE FOR EUROPEAN TEACHERS has revealed aspects regarding English use in European educational area. Starting from the questions:

1. Age;
2. Nationality;
3. Level of studies;
4. Number of languages you speak;
5. Which language do you prefer to read?
6. Which language do you prefer to write?
7. Which language do you prefer to listen?
8. Which language do you prefer to speak?
9. Main foreign language;
10. Did you study English at school?

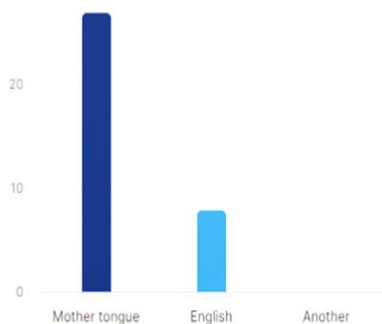
11. What is your level of English?
12. How often do you use English?
13. In what context do you use english: job, home, on holiday?
14. What kind of documents do you read in English?
15. How understandable is an Erasmus guide for you?

The following statistics resulted:

- The questionnaire was applied to a number of 30 subjects, 73% of whom are European and 27% non-European with ages above 45.
- 53% of the respondents speak two languages, 33% more than two languages while 13% speak one language. Two thirds prefer to read in mother tongue and one third in English or other language.73% use English for job, 56% on holiday and 30% at home. 50% reads guided in English while most of the respondents use English to read news and other. When it comes to writing, two thirds prefer to write in their mother tongue while one third in English thus concluding that, as normally, it is easier to read than write In English mostly because writing involves thinking in English and mastering English spelling, grammar, syntax.
- 73% prefer to listen in mother tongue, 46% in English and 3% in other language.73% prefer to speak their mother tongue while 33% prefer to speak English. 97% learned English in school while 3% studied it after school years.50% declare their level of English is intermediate, 30% know English at advanced level and 20% are beginners in using English. 50% of the respondents use English often while the other 50% use it in equal percent either.
- 63% consider that an Erasmus guide is acceptable in terms of English usage and 37% consider it very acceptable, none of the respondents consider it unclear.80% consider English used in European discourse is or possibly is a particular form of English while 20% disagree. When asked about the particularities they identify in EU English, a little above half of the respondents mention vocabulary while the other half mention either a different syntax or a different grammar.
- Almost 90% of the subjects are university graduates or post-graduates.

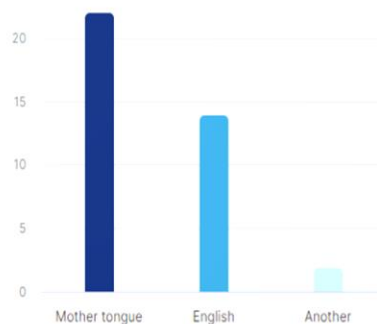


5. WHICH LANGUAGE DO YOU PREFER TO WRITE?



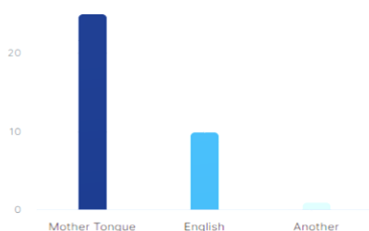
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6. WHICH LANGUAGE DO YOU PREFER TO LISTEN?



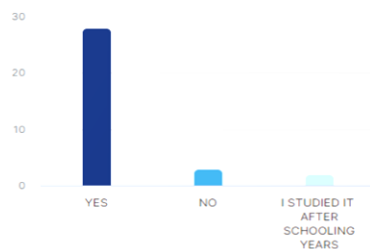
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7. WHICH LANGUAGE DO YOU PREFER TO SPEAK?



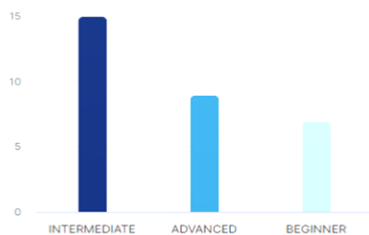
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8. DID YOU STUDY ENGLISH AT SCHOOL?

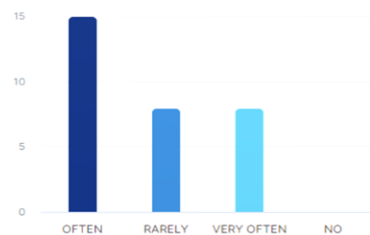


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9. WHAT IS YOUR LEVEL OF ENGLISH?



10. HOW OFTEN DO YOU USE ENGLISH ?



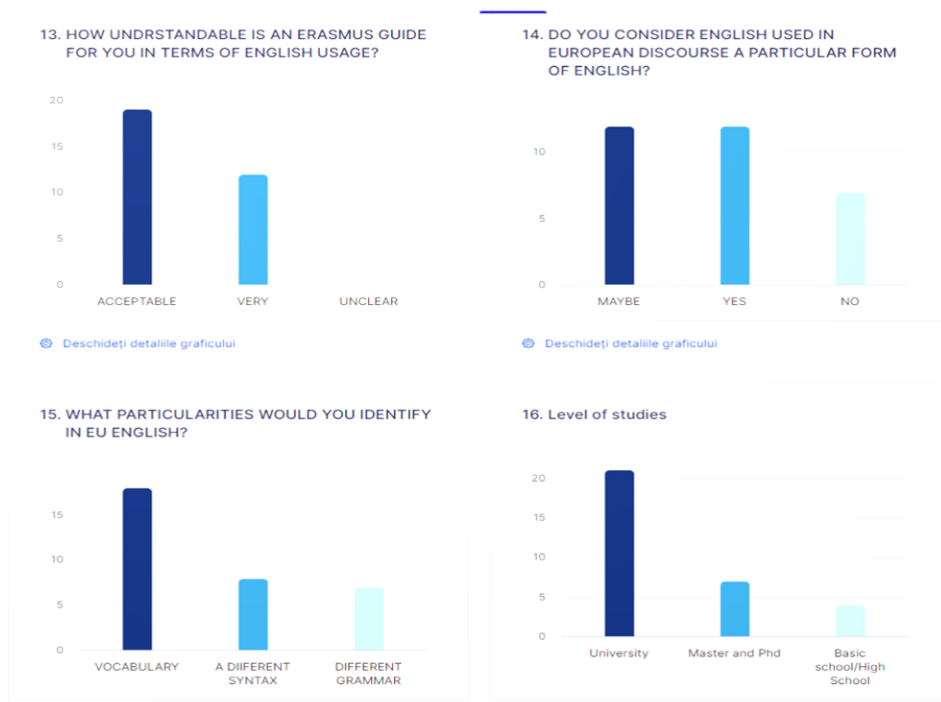


Figure. 1. Questionnaire for European teachers.

Conclusions

Time will tell how the EU concepts and terms from multilingual and multicultural perspectives evolve in future making European English a distinct language, considering that the underlying aim of EU to bring national economies gradually towards a form of “fusion” via the customs union, single market, approximation of laws, common policies which will finally lead to political union in the future. English currently used in European institutions is not the classic British English, but rather Euro-English. Since there are a lot of variations of English and people adopt them for their own purposes [13] (pp. 22-29), the variety of the Euro-English might be a successful tool. The European variety of English (known as Euro-English, European English, Brussels-English, or even Continental English) would promote legitimacy for the EU institutionally and support speech community within the EU. Would this perfect the idea of two kinds of language: languages for communication and Quo Vadis English?

Predictive patterns and linguistic shifts suggest an impending epoch when EU English is anticipated to evolve in line with projections for Global English. While for native speakers of English, Global English means speaking distinctly “the gap between native English and Global English may some day widen to a degree that we would face two languages: English and Globalese. One problem that will remain, though, is how we should deal with the phenomenon of phonetic, grammatical and lexical change with respect to Global English. I think that Global English must be diachronically flexible if we don’t want it to become artificial and dead...” [14] (p. 60).

Cogo A. and Jenkins J. [15] (p. 290) see this following step more in the hands of those in charge: *Turning to language policy for the whole Community, we believe that the EU should finally take the elephant by the tusks and declare English its official lingua franca, within a policy that embraces multilingualism, promotes multicompetence, and takes developments in ELF into account.*

In other words, instead of promoting a narrow national variety of English for the EU, their recommendations should incorporate the kinds of pragmatic strategies and the fluidity and flexibility of English use that we have outlined above.

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A CORPUS ANALYSIS OF FACEBOOK POSTINGS ON THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: METAPHORS AND PUNS

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Abstract

The present paper investigates the language used in comments or posts by Facebook users regarding various aspects of the Covid-19 pandemic: the mandatory wearing of a mask indoors and outdoors, quarantine and lockdown, compulsory vaccination and Covid-19 green pass. I assumed that similar to political disputes or discussions related to religion, race, sexual orientation and others, people tend to express their opinions by manifesting hate speech more or less intentionally. I designed a study to test the central hypothesis: the participants, Facebook users, posted comments on various news about Covid-19 from American, British and international magazines, newspapers and news channels, using metaphorical language, to proliferate hate speech. I started collecting their remarks within a self-made corpus manipulated later with the help of a concordancer. The study results revealed that metaphorical language is a way of expressing opinions, pros and cons of Covid-19. I concluded that people's reactions to the measures and laws adopted by the world's governments to stop the coronavirus spread are a new opportunity to increase hate speech.

Keywords

metaphors; language; Facebook; Covid-19 pandemic; hate speech.

1. Introduction

As the title of this paper states, the context in which the present research is carried out is formed by two components: a temporal one during the pandemic period linked to Covid-19 and the online environment from a spatial point of view. During the Covid-19 pandemic, the measures of the World Health Organization (WHO) and the world governments were essential. To stop the high mortality rate caused by the new coronavirus, the authorities had to take firm decisions, more or less accepted by individuals and society. Thus, with new laws and measures to stop the spread of the coronavirus, people again positioned themselves in pro and con sides, continuing their old disputes in the online environment. This is how the sides formed, those who agreed or disagreed with the obligations and restrictions regarding wearing masks, the lockdowns

imposed by governments, mandatory vaccination or digital Covid certificates of vaccination.

Every spoken word, written text, or instance of computer-mediated communication (CMC) permanently carries traces of texts that came before it [1] (p.66). People have the gift of contradicting themselves about anything on the Internet, whether we are talking about politics, sports, economics, religion, race, health issues and others. The Internet users often use hate speech when they want to impose their opinions and beliefs. It's necessary to acknowledge that not all manners of hate speech are covered within the scope of this analysis. To protect victims of online hate, I won't reveal the users' names in any examples to ensure they're not searchable. For the purposes of this report, I have focused on online hate speech relating to Covid-19, a relatively new gap of research. As a social network user, I noticed this behaviour of internauts¹, our case on Facebook, probably the most well-known social media platform in our country and abroad. This remark even led to a research proposal for the undersigned's doctoral thesis. Hence the motivation for choosing the theme of this article.

The metaphorical language uses the rhetorical figure of metaphor to talk about reality through other words which, although in their original meaning, imply a specific concept, have another meaning when used in the metaphorical sense. Like the Internet, metaphors are part of our everyday life. Many phrases we say contain metaphors because they have been rooted in the culture for some time without us realizing their metaphorical character. To theorize this aspect, the article has as its foundation stone the famous work of Lakoff and Johnson about the omnipresence of metaphor in human knowledge and human life, "Metaphors We Live By". Moreover, I would say that the Internet has nowadays become an "everyday, pervasive" [2] (p.3) medium. Therefore, studying the Internet language together with the metaphorical process makes sense. The main question I would like to address in this paper, sounds like this: What might Facebook users express through Covid-19 metaphors?

To deal with the issue of the metaphorical language of Facebook posts comments on Covid-19 pandemic, the paper will raise three main questions that will display its structure:

First, how the lexis and vocabulary is modified by the language of Facebook users?

Second, what kind of language do Internet users use regarding Covid-19?

Finally, is there an increase in hate speech using metaphorical language on the topic of Covid-19 in the online environment possible?

The experimental approach started from the following hypothesis: if Internet users employ metaphorical language to express their opinions about covid-19, then they use hate speech to exercise their power over those with a different view.

In addition to metaphorical language, this paper also addresses specific puns, which, like metaphors, are meant to poke fun at others or denigrate when it comes to covid-19. That is, they are another form of manifestation of hate speech.

The main target of the current research focuses on the language used by both sides and is not biased, pursuing a neutral position. And it cannot be any other way because these opinions about covid-19 do not necessarily come from specialists in the medical field. In fact, most of those who post comments on Facebook take their information from various online sources, more or less verified or scientifically proven.

The next section describes the theoretical background of the metaphor. It also addresses puns and hate speech in general.

¹ From INTER (internet) + NAUT (the Greek word "nautilus" literally sailor); Internet user; term usually utilized to distinguish between the ordinary Internet user, and the frequent Internet user. A person who spends considerable time on the Internet can be called an internaut.

2. Theoretical background

Internet language is known as a technical language for specific purposes. However, just like ordinary, standard, everyday language, it is not an exception to the rule and contains a lot of metaphors [3] (p.9). Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC), particularly Facebook, has been widely accepted as an alternative to face-to-face communication [4] (p.99). Facebook comments can be described as asynchronous, one-to-many, form of CMC, where users typically have no offline connections with one another. But I will return to these comments in chapter 4.

This section describes the theoretical framework in which the experiment is conducted, following the three main directions mentioned above: metaphors, puns and hate speech.

2.1. Definition and structure of the metaphor

A metaphor is a figure of speech that describes one idea, object, or action by associating it with another. The identification of one idea with another is not accurate in metaphors. Metaphors help us comprehend and experience one thing by relating it to something else to which we are more accustomed. Understanding the structure of metaphors helps us know better how to use them and minimise the risks that come when we use them.

The fundamental structure of metaphors is "A is B." Borrowing terminology from cognitive linguistics, A is the target of the metaphor and B is its source. Consider the following example: *My son's room is a war zone.* As a metaphor, it identifies my son's room as a war zone, when it isn't literally a war zone. We mean that his room is messy and disorganized. We don't mean to imply that military ordnance or troops are involved. Therefore, a definition of the metaphor would sound like this: A metaphor is a figure of speech used to convey an understanding of one concept, object, or action by identifying it with another well-understood, even though the identification is inaccurate. The well-understood concept is called the source. The less-well-understood concept is called the target. The metaphor is thus a statement that "<Target> is <Source>." Although identifying the target with the source is invalid, it provides a means of understanding some aspects of the target in terms of some of the properties or behaviour of the source [5]. Returning to our metaphor, my son's room is the target, and the war zone is the source. Because metaphors compel our minds to accept the identification between source and target in total, they can cause us to make errors of thought. Those errors create risks for the enterprise as we attempt to manage technical debt. The risk of misidentification is acceptable if we understand it and manage it properly. But that risk is often unrecognized, and therefore it remains unmitigated. A significant source of this risk is our inability to control which attributes of the metaphor's source the reader or listener chooses to associate with the metaphor's target. We can call this phenomenon unintended association.

How we think metaphorically matters. It can determine questions of war and peace, economic policy, legal decisions, and the mundane choices of everyday life. Metaphorical thought is normal and ubiquitous in our conscious and unconscious mental life. The same mechanisms of metaphorical thought used throughout poetry are present in our most common concepts: time, events, emotion, ethics, and business, to name but a few. Conceptual metaphors even lie behind the building of computer interfaces (e.g., the desktop metaphor) and the structuring of the Internet into "information highways," "department stores," "chat rooms," "amusement parks," and so on. It is essential to recognize that questions about the nature of meaning, conceptualization, reasoning, and language require empirical study. The nature of metaphor is not a matter of definition; it is a question of the nature of cognition. In short, metaphor is a natural phenomenon. Conceptual metaphor is a natural part of human thought, and linguistic metaphor is a natural part of human language. Moreover, which metaphors we have and what they mean depend on the nature of our bodies, our interactions in the physical environment, and our social

and cultural practices. Every question about the nature of conceptual metaphor and its role in thought and language is empirical. Multiple methods of inquiry, with different methodological assumptions, have been used effectively to date. Systematic polysemy: In this area of research, entire lexical fields of words not only have literal meanings in a concrete domain but also have systematically related meanings in abstract domains. For example, *up, down, rise, fall, high, low, hit bottom*, and so on are not only about verticality but also quantity. Thus, the conceptual metaphor More Is Up explains why we use the polysemous word *rise*, for example, to mean both increase in elevation and increase in quantity. The conceptual metaphor explains the systematicity of the polysemy, and correspondingly, the systematic polysemy provides evidence for the existence of the metaphor. Generalizations over inference patterns: A fundamental finding here is that reasoning in abstract domains uses the logic of our sensory-motor experience. For example, if something rises physically, it is higher than it was before. If the price of something "rises" (metaphorically), then it is "higher" (metaphorically) than it was before. The metaphor More

Is Up maps the inference pattern about physical heights onto the inference pattern about amounts. By hypothesizing the metaphor, we can see that these two apparently different inference patterns are in fact the same. Other types of evidence derived from various empirical methods:

- Extensions to poetic and novel cases;
- Psychological research, for example, priming studies;
- Gesture studies;
- Historical semantic change research;
- Discourse analysis;
- Sign language analysis;
- Language acquisition.

This evidence is important because it comes from many different methodologies and no longer rests exclusively on data from linguistic forms and inferences. These new sources have produced converging results concerning how metaphor lies at the heart of abstract thought and symbolic expression [6] (pp. 244-249).

2.2. Definition and classifications of pun

Puns are widely employed in both written and oral language as a rhetorical device. It plays a crucial role in generating and carrying humorous effects. The term pun is a form of wordplay that contains two or more meanings, exploiting multiple meanings of words or similar-sounding words for an intended rhetorical or humorous rhetorical effect. As a central figure of speech, a pun is a widespread linguistic phenomenon in human life. It has been widely applied in diverse genres and registers, for instance, in literary works, humorous stories, entertainment programs, jokes, advertisements, etc. A good pun makes language subtle, implicit, funny and vivid. Thus, it can attract readers' interest and make a profound impression [7] (pp. 244-249).

A pun is a figure of speech that exploits a word's meaning. For example: "Make like a tree and leave." Puns are often used in writing to create humour. Another word for a pun is "paronomasia," which derives from the Greek word "paronomazein," which means to make a change in a name. Puns can be classified in different ways, depending on the intended effect of the phrase. Puns can put similar-sounding words together, pair terms with similar meanings, or play on a word with multiple definitions. Here are five different types of puns:

1. Homophonic pun. A homophonic pun uses paired homonyms: words that sound the same but have different meanings. For example: "Why is it so wet in England? Because many kings

and queens have reigned there.” This pun interchanges the words “rained” and “reigned”;

2. Compound pun. A compound pun contains more than one pun in the same sentence. For example: “Never scam in the jungle; cheetahs are always spotted”;

3. Homographic pun. A homographic pun, also referred to as a heteronymous pun, plays on words that are spelt the same way but have a double meaning. Because these puns rely on spelling, they are visual and must be read to be understood. Here is an example of a homographic pun that transposes the word “flies”: “Time flies like an arrow; fruit flies like a banana”;

4. Visual pun. A visual pun, or a graphological pun, does not use phonetic writing. Visual puns can be achieved through imagery, graphics, or logos. An example of a visual pun would be an image of a fork in the middle of a street, a take on the typical “fork in the road” metaphor;

5. Recursive pun. A recursive pun is a two-part pun. One needs to recognize or understand the first part of the pun in order for the second part to make sense. For example, the pun “May the Fourth be with you” requires an understanding of the Star Wars movies and the phrase “May the force be with you,” as well as the knowledge that May 4 is Star Wars Day [8].

Through contextual puns, the audience can get the generated meaning by analysing the original meaning of a word to deliver double meanings. Context is vital to interpret the contextual pun and help people to get the optimal relevant purposes of puns.

2.3. Online hate speech

Hate speech, whether online or offline, threatens democracy and human rights. Countries have different views about the degree to which speech should be limited by society – where to set the balance between one person’s fundamental right to express him/herself and another person’s fundamental right to safety. Many case-law judgements and decisions can be consulted online, as well as CM/Rec (2022)16 on hate speech and its Explanatory Memorandum, which guides the various stakeholders involved. The Council of Europe standards and practices related to addressing hate speech have conducted the work of the Expert Committee on Combating Hate Speech. It prepared a Recommendation on a comprehensive approach to addressing hate speech within a human rights framework, including in the context of an online environment. The final Recommendation was adopted by the Committee of Ministers in May 2022. It provides non-binding guidance for member States, building on the relevant case law of the European Court of Human Rights and paying particular attention to the online environment in which most of today’s hate speech can be found. Thematic factsheets on hate speech are issued regularly [9].

Online hate speech in the UK and US has risen by 20% since the start of the pandemic, according to a new report. Ditch the Label¹ commissioned the study, which analysed 263 million conversations in the UK and US between 2019 and 2021. It found 50.1 million discussions about, or examples of, racist hate speech in that time. The report found that these conversations spiked around major news events. These included the World Health Organisation (WHO) declaring the Covid-19 outbreak a pandemic and the Black Lives Matter² protests [10].

Hate speech can take many forms: violent threats, references to violent events, slurs, epithets, tropes, and hateful imagery or symbols [11]. To counter hate speech, the United Nations supports more positive speech and upholds respect for freedom of expression as the norm. Therefore, any restrictions must be an exception and seek to prevent harm and ensure equality or the public

¹ Ditch the Label is a global youth charity, dedicated to helping young people through a range of issues, such as mental wellbeing, bullying, identity, relationships and digital literacy.

² Black Lives Matter (BLM) is a decentralized political and social movement that seeks to highlight racism, discrimination, and racial inequality experienced by black people. Its primary concerns are incidents of police brutality and racially motivated violence against black people.

participation of all. Alongside the relevant international human rights law provisions, the UN Rabat Plan of Action provides key guidance to States on the difference between freedom of expression and “incitement” (to discrimination, hostility and violence), which is prohibited under criminal law. Determining when the potential of harm is high enough to justify prohibiting speech is still the subject of much debate. But States can also use alternative tools – such as education and promoting counter-messages – to address the whole spectrum of hateful expression, both on and offline [12].

3. The Study

The following section describes the chosen method, the instrument and the steps of the experiment.

The experimental approach is based on the corpus linguistics method. That is why I compiled a self-made corpus, including the comments that Facebook users posted on various articles and news about Covid-19 during the pandemic period, which appeared in British, American and international newspapers, magazines or news channels such as The Guardian, Daily Mail, BBC News, The Sun, The Independent, The Telegraph, The Mirror, Sky News, The New York Times, Time, The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post, ABC News, CNN, FOX News, NBC News, AFP News Agency, Reuters and Euronews.

3.1 What method?

Over the past decade, there has been a considerable increase in the power and abilities of computers to digitise, store and analyse text. Corpus analysis has become an indispensable method that offers insights into many fields of linguistic study, ranging from lexical semantics and grammar to psycholinguistics and discourse pragmatics. Among these elementary tasks, the creation of concordances, i.e., formatted displays of all the occurrences of a particular type in a corpus, may be considered the most fundamental task. Thus reliable, fast, and user-friendly search-and-retrieval software is of great value to any researcher in this field. The routine processes of corpus-linguistic study include searching a corpus for a particular phenomenon, counting, organizing, and illustrating the results. This has enabled linguists to create and analyse massive corpora (collections of authentic language text) and reassess the assumed rules regarding how we use language, especially words. With the spread of the Internet, these corpora are now becoming available to any researcher with an Internet connection, opening up a vast resource for language studying [13].

Lancaster University professors Tony McEnery and Andrew Hardie define corpus linguistics as the study of large-scale linguistic data – the computer-aided analysis of extensive collections of transcribed utterances [14].

In the experimental approach, I compiled a corpus containing 438942 words and including the comments posted by Facebook users on 37 articles and news related to covid-19 between 2020 and 2022. Table 1 shows details such as the total number of words the comments have according to their sources of origin: British, American and international. The percentages they represent of the total number of words in the corpus are also presented.

Table. 1. A detailed description of the corpus used in the experimental approach.

No.	Source of comments	The number of words	The percentage of the total number of words
1	British	229839	52,36%
2	American	170073	38,75%

3	International	39030	8,89%
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Due to the unrounded number of words in the corpus, I extracted the percentages using two decimals. I used keywords closely related to the study topic to search for articles. Although comments on British articles are predominant, in the end, the corpus is reported globally because the Facebook users who posted comments were from all continents.

3.2 Experimental tool

What is a concordancer? The answer to this question reveals the tool I used in the experiment. A concordancer is a piece of software, either installed on a computer or accessed through a website, which can be used to search, access and analyse language from a corpus. They can be particularly useful in exploring the relationships between words and can give us very accurate information about the way language is authentically used. A typical concordancer allows us to enter a word or phrase and search for multiple examples of how that word or phrase is used in everyday speech or writing. More complex concordancers can help us to extract examples from very particular contexts [15].

In our case, ConcApp provides concordance searches and includes full editing support, testing activities, and word frequency text analysis. ConcApp also supports Unicode¹ and can process not only English, French and probably most other European languages but Chinese, Japanese, Thai and Russian texts in Unicode [16] - [17]. ConcApp offers a set of functions including creating concordances, aligning and frequency lists, identifying groups of words as well as identifying keywords. Figure 1 shows the search menu of the ConcApp concordancer.

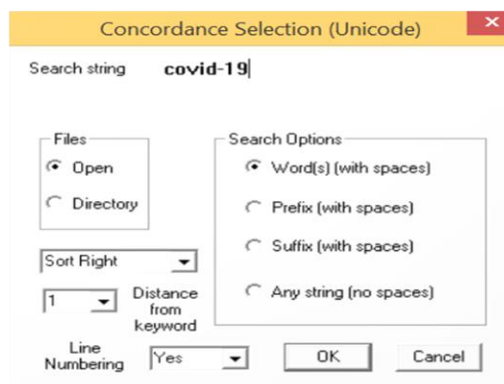


Figure. 1. ConcApp search menu.

3.3 Experimental design

The data collection procedure from the main experiment was carried out on the Facebook platform between October 2021 and December 2022. Here is the design of the experiment:

¹ The Unicode Consortium is the premier standards organization for the internationalization of software and services, including the encoding of text for all modern computing systems. The Consortium supports internationalization with the Unicode Standard and provides core libraries, software algorithms, and structured data. The Unicode Standard refers to the standard character set representing all-natural language characters. Unicode can encode up to roughly 1.1 million characters, allowing it to support all of the world's languages and scripts in a single, universal standard.

I searched for news titles containing keywords closely related to the research topic on the Facebook pages previously mentioned in this chapter;

The data were collected in a Microsoft Word document continuously enlarged;

There were also difficulties, especially in cleaning the corpus: banned or deleted comments, articles and videos, Graphics Interchange Format (GIFs), and specific aspects of Facebook (e.g., Like, Answer or 1 year ago). Moreover, due to the extensive number of comments from users around the globe, there were comments in languages other than English. Thus, I translated the comments from German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, Russian, Chinese, Filipino, Arabic and others into English using Google’s instant translation tools.

- The corpus in its final form was manipulated using the Concapp concordancer. I tried to extract keywords in the context, following the frequency of the words, too.

For a better understanding, we can observe below the data which is displayed in Key Word in Context format (KWIC), in which the word to be studied or “node” (e.g. Covid-19), is presented in the centre of the screen or page, with context on either side. Figure 2 shows us a sample of concordance comprising 37 instances of Covid-19 using Concapp.

```

1 a extraordinary breakthrough in the fight against covid-19 after it was recognized by the world health organization
2 national time to spread coronavirus disease 2019 (covid-19) and combat the disease however, many nations are
3 not, although antibiotics vaccine prevent covid-19 and death, they offer individually lower potential
4 to the unvaccinated population, the new vaccine, the covid-19 vaccine may be the one to get more the vaccine
5 to time [1]. In Denmark, the rate of coronavirus covid-19 cases among the fully vaccinated (vaccinated) is
6 low. However, the rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19 cases
7 as the vaccine is not 4. Germany's vaccine covid-19 is the only one of its kind in the world. It is
8 based on a single health insurance and the covid-19 vaccine. The rate of covid-19 cases among the
9 vaccinated is not likely to reduce the burden of covid-19. However, the rate of covid-19 cases
10 among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
11 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
12 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
13 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
14 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
15 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
16 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
17 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
18 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
19 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
20 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
21 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
22 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
23 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
24 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
25 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
26 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
27 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
28 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
29 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
30 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
31 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
32 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
33 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
34 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
35 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
36 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19
37 cases among the vaccinated is low. The rate of covid-19 cases among the unvaccinated is high. The rate of covid-19

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Figure 2 - Sample of concordance for Covid-19.

The search results are displayed and described in the following chapter.

4. Results and interpretation

Metaphors and puns prove to be very useful in letting laypeople understand a complex health issue in the case of covid-19. The chapter devoted to the experiment’s results contains two parts to prove the hypothesis from which the research starts. Thus, the hate speech expressed by Facebook users regarding Covid-19 follows two directions: metaphors and puns.

4.1 Covid-19 metaphors

Metaphors help us make sense of complex or sensitive information. By offering us a structure for how to think, they point us towards what the problem is and, therefore, what the solution should be. Often they slip in unseen. We can use, repeat, and extend them without even realising it [18].

This section discusses what fields such as war, crime, sports, entertainment, politics, business, media, conspiracy theory, or laboratory experiments have in common with the coronavirus. A number of 46 metaphors were identified. Here are examples of metaphors that the experiment reveals:

1. WAR METAPHORS

To reach this result, I searched for words from the lexical field of war. The following string

of words shows in brackets the frequency of these words in the collected data: army (8), apartheid (5), bomb/bombarded/bombarding (6), camps (21), defend/defending (25), enemy (10), explosive/ explosion (5), fascism (9), fight (155), frontline (14), genocide (8), Hitler (9), Holocaust (5), invade/invading (6) military (17), Nazi/Nazism (30), Nuremberg code¹ (7), prison/prisoner/imprisonment (24), rocket (11), soldier(s) (9), veteran(s) (5), war (46) or zone (11).

The following metaphors can be observed:

- Mandatory vaccination is medical **apartheid**;
- Quarantine camps are **concentration camps**;
- The opening of schools will cause an **explosion** of cases and deaths;
- Anti-covid measures are medical **fascism**;
- Healthcare workers are the **frontline soldiers** against covid-19;
- Covid-19 lockdowns are **prisons**;
- Rent a **rocket** or stay at home! (According to Merriam-Webster dictionary entry, rocket science means something that is very difficult to learn or understand) [19];
- Addressing covid is addressing to **war**.

2. CRIME METAPHORS

To arrive at this result, I sought words from the lexical field of crime. The following string of words shows in brackets the frequency of these words in the collected data: assassinate/assassination (2), attack(s)/attacked/attacking (69), blackmail/blackmailed/blackmailing (6), crime(s) (29), death(s) (560), fight (155), gun (4), kill/killed/killing/killer (101), victim(s) (15) or weapon(s) (19).

The following metaphors can be observed:

- Forcing children non approved experimental vaccines is a **crime**;
- Addressing covid is addressing to **death**;
- Fighting covid is **fighting** an invisible killer;
- Covid-19 is a silent **killer**;
- Unvaccinated people are **killers**.

3. SPORTS METAPHORS

To get this result, I looked for words from the lexical field of sports. The following string of words shows in brackets the frequency of these words in the collected data: fans (4), football (31), game (31), lose (22), match (13), play/played/playing/player (73), serve (14), sports/sporting (16), stadium (8), tennis (35), tournament(s) (20) or win (21).

The following metaphors can be observed:

- Corona is a **game** to make people afraid of the unknown;
- Hospitals are **playing** into the conspiracy;
- Djokovic **loses** fight against Australia deportation;
- The truth will **win** out in the end.

4. ENTERTAINMENT METAPHORS

To come to this result, I sought words from the lexical field of entertainment. The following

¹ The Nuremberg Military Tribunal's decision in the case of the United States vs Karl Brandt (a German physician who became Adolf Hitler's escort doctor) et al. includes what is now called the Nuremberg Code, a ten-point statement delimiting permissible medical experimentation on human subjects.

string of words shows in brackets the frequency of these words in the collected data: actor bars (13), beach(es) (23), cinema(s) (9), circus (8), clown(s) (20), entertainment/entertaining (7), funny (71), joke (23), malls (2), masquerade (1), museum(s) (7), park(s) (14), pool(s) (27), pubs (33), restaurant(s) (53), theatre(s) (9) or zoo (4).

The following metaphors can be observed:

- Covid-19 is the Great **Circus**;
- A **pool party** is a virus party;
- CNN you **clowns**.
- The media is the biggest **joke** along with PM;
- Covid is a **masquerade**.

5. POLITICAL METAPHORS

To reach this result, I searched for words from the lexical field of politics to which we added some prominent figures of the contemporary political world, such as the current and former American president, the president of China or the former prime minister of Great Britain. The following string of words shows in brackets the frequency of these words in the collected data: Biden (158), Boris (Johnson) (70), chancellor (7), CCP (Chinese Communist Party) (21), conservative(s) (11), democrats (35), election(s) (46), independents (1), liberals (9), parliament (17), political(ly)/politicized/politicizing/politicization/politician(s)/politics (206), president (84), Prime Minister (13), republicans (40), Trump (210), vote/voters/voted (85) or Xi (Jinping) (6).

The following metaphors can be observed:

- The real virus is the media and **governments**;
- Trump **made** COVID **great again** (referring to "Make America Great Again" or MAGA - an American political slogan that was popularized by Donald Trump during his successful 2016 presidential campaign);
- Covid-19 is a political issue;
- **Trump** is a virus.

6. BUSINESS METAPHORS

To get this result, I looked for words from the lexical field of business. The following string of words shows in brackets the frequency of these words in the collected data: business (148), cash (9), company (41), economy (81), employed/employer(s)/employees/unemployed (119), financial(ly) (26), money (175), pay/payment/payer(s) (272), price(s) (67), profit(s)/profitable (45) or sales (10).

The following metaphors can be observed:

- WHO (World Health Organization) is a **business**;
- A booster shot every year is extremely good **business**;
- Boosters are an enormous **cash** cow for Big Pharma;
- Getting into lockdown is waving goodbye to **economy**;
- The vaccine is a **sales** product.

7. MEDIA METAPHORS

To reach this result, first of all, I examined the corpus looking for the names of news trusts, and then I looked for words from the media lexical field. The following string of words shows in brackets the frequency of these words in the collected data: BBC (19), CNN (25), Daily Mail (29), Facebook (81), Fox News (15), Guardian (20), journalism (9), media (216), New York

Times (6), press (36), Sky News (10) or You Tube (22).

The following metaphors can be observed:

- **CNN** is a fear mongering, hate-spreading domestic terrorist organization;
- The **Daily Mail** spreads more viruses;
- The **media** is the virus;
- **Media** is the enemy.

8. CONSPIRACY THEORY METAPHORS

To achieve this result, I searched for words from the lexical field of conspiracy theory. The following string of words shows in brackets the frequency of these words in the collected data: con (6), conspiracy (56), covert (1), false (25), fake (57), hoax (23), Illuminati (2), plan (29), or Rothschild (1).

The following metaphors can be observed:

- The flu jab is a **con**;
- Corona is a **conspiracy**;
- Mask wearing is a **false** sense of security;
- Chinese Flu is a **fake** illness;
- Covid is a **fake** problem;
- Covid is a **hoax**;
- Covid-19 is a **plan**;
- Covid is a **scam**.

9. LABORATORY EXPERIMENTS METAPHORS

To achieve this result, I looked for words from the lexical field of experiments. The following string of words shows in brackets the frequency of these words in the collected data: Darwin/Darwinism (9), experiment (124), guinea pigs (14), laboratory (21), survey/surveyed (9), rats (7), result(s)/ resulting (131), research (203), scientists(92), sheep (51), Stockholm syndrome (1), test(s)/tested/testing (245), vaccine(s)/vaccination (954) or virus(es) (1414).

The following metaphors can be observed:

- Covid is an **experiment**;
- Children are **lab rats**;
- Covid-19 is a **bio**-weapon.

These are just some metaphors we heard or read consciously or unconsciously when browsing Facebook. Metaphor's power relies on its capacity to structure our thinking: to comprehend COVID-19 correctly or incorrectly, to trust or not believe in the solutions, and to be optimistic or pessimistic about the future. It is one of the tools we must use cautiously during a catastrophe when the course of action is still being determined.

Table 2 gives us an overview of the domains and the number of metaphors the present study reveals. A number of 45 metaphors found in the corpus are categorized into 9 domains.

Table. 2. Study results: Covid-19 metaphors.

No.	The domain of Covid -19metaphors	The number of metaphors
1	War metaphors	7
2	Crime metaphors	6
3	Sports metaphors	4

4	Entertainment metaphors	5
5	Political metaphors	4
6	Business metaphors	5
7	Media metaphors	4
8	Conspiracy theory metaphors	8
9	Laboratory experiments metaphors	3

It can be seen that internet users also express their hate speech towards celebrities or institutions regarding the Covid-19 pandemic.

Another method of expressing hate speech is playing upon words displayed in the next section.

4.2 Covid-19 puns

This subchapter presents another way of manifesting hate speech, namely puns. This time the emphasis is on the antithetical character between the actual word and the play on words. Furthermore, the context in which these puns are made is essential to understand the manifestation of hate speech better. Some examples of puns are explained below.

1. Coronavirus vs. CORONACIRCUS

COVID-19 is a disease caused by the virus called severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2). SARS-CoV-2 is a new strain of coronavirus, which was not detected in humans before December 2019. There are many different types of coronavirus. Although they mostly infect animals, some can also infect humans. The COVID-19 epidemic broke out in late 2019 and was declared a pandemic by the World Health Organization (WHO) on 11 March 2020. It is the first pandemic caused by the coronavirus.

Context: In November 2021, around 3,000 people gathered in New Zealand's capital to protest against Covid-19 vaccination mandates and restrictions, forcing a lockdown of Parliament. A handful of protesters held up banners in support of Donald Trump.

Thus, one of the Internet users used the word "coronaCIRCUS" in the comments. It can be seen how the word "virus" is replaced by "circus", resulting pun.

2. Pandemic vs PLANDEMIC

With the pandemic declaration, people's opinions about covid-19 were divided. Government measures seemed auspicious to some, while others considered everything as a part of a plan.

Context: On July 4, 2020, the Catalonian regional government ordered an 'indefinite' lockdown of Spain's Segria region due to Covid-19.

By adding the letter "L", some conspiracy theorists have managed to get the word "PLANdemic", meaning that everything is a secret plan on a hidden agenda.

3. Covid vs. CONvid

As I previously mentioned, COVID-19 is a contagious disease caused by a virus, the severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2). The first known case was identified in Wuhan, China, in December 2019. The disease quickly spread worldwide, resulting in the COVID-19 pandemic. There were opinions for and against since the emergence of the pandemic until vaccination phase.

Context: In September 2021, an article informed that recent studies have shown that the effectiveness of Covid-19 vaccines is decreasing, though experts say the shots still work well.

Regarding vaccination, some commentators said that covid is a con. Thus, by adding the letter "N" the first syllable, covid becomes CONvid.

4. NoVAX DjoKOVID

A relevant example of hate speech against a person is the double pun, which refers to the great Serbian tennis player Novak Djokovic.

Context: In January 2022, Novak Djokovic was detained by authorities at Melbourne airport. Access to Australia at that time was only possible if you were vaccinated, and the Serbian tennis player was refused entry to Australian territory as he was unvaccinated. The Serb was denied access to Australian territory because the visa application was incorrectly filled out. After a trial that lasted several days, Djokovic's visa was revoked, and the tennis player was deported and banned from entering Australia for three years. Figure 3 shows a meme of Djokovic at the Australian Open, perfectly illustrating this play upon words [20].



Figure. 3. Novax Djokovid (Source: Facebook.com).

Returning to the nickname that the great sportsman received, Novak becomes NoVAX which means no vaccine (unvaccinated), and Djokovic becomes DjoKOVID, suggesting that the tennis player is one of the people spreading the virus. However, in 2023, things changed again, and the Serbian's access to the Grand Slam tournament was accepted; Djokovic even managed to win the Australian Open.

5. People vs. SHEEPLE

Undoubtedly, the whole of humanity has suffered because of the coronavirus. As I previously stated, the two sides continued their disputes on the subject of Covid-19 in the online environment. Thus, some people complied with the new ordinances, regulations or laws, but there was another side of people who tried not to obey. The latter looked at those who wanted to comply with the new rules like a herd of sheep.

Context: in September 2021, former British Prime Minister Boris Johnson gave the green light to Covid passports and booster vaccines to stop the winter lockdown.

In their comments on Facebook, I noticed that Internet users commented on people using words like lab rats, guinea pigs, cows, pigs or sheep. Figure 4 shows us very expressively that, besides vocabulary, Facebook users also use emoticons that illustrate different animals: this time, a flock of sheep.



Figure. 4. A Facebook comment using emoticons suggests that people are like sheep. SHEEPLE (people likened to sheep) means docile, compliant, or easily influenced people.

Conclusions

The study's results provided an overview of communication on Facebook to express hate speech from the spectrum of the coronavirus. The two main directions could be observed, the metaphors and the Covid puns. The study should be expanded because it is limited in a time frame directly influenced by the recent outbreak of Covid-19. Further research should consider other examples of metaphors and puns. It is also possible to study the emotional impact of memes and emoticons, so frequently used in online language, regarding Covid-19. Likewise, discourse analysis (DA) or critical discourse analysis (CDA) could be considered in recognizing and studying hate speech used on Facebook and other social networks.

Metaphors and puns do not automatically increase or decrease confidence in government measures to stop the spread of the coronavirus. Instead, they are communicative and reasoning skills with different individual and collective results. As in the other areas of scientific communication, metaphors can be an opportunity for a good argument, building social laws, and engaging you in both the risks and responsibilities of transmission. Depending on the argumentative structure and the expected possible alternatives, metaphors and puns can also present the imagined scenario (with its possible features and consequences) to which we might not adhere, influencing our way of assimilating the general argument.

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DEVELOPING LEARNER AUTONOMY IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE ACQUISITION FOR SCHOLARLY COMMUNICATION. A CASE STUDY

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Abstract

The present study aims to determine how learner autonomy might be enhanced in the acquisition of the English language for scholarly communication purposes, by exploring the relationship between independent language acquisition and academic research. The purpose of the research paper is to examine how learners can become more autonomous in their language learning process by taking charge of their own learning experience, as well as how independent learners are better able to handle the challenging language requirements of scholarly communication, such as understanding the specialized language of their own field of study, reading academic journals, writing research papers, and presenting findings. The study will highlight the importance of learner autonomy in developing proficiency in English for academic purposes, by showing how acquainted learners are to the use of academic English and what are their strategies in order to improve their scholarly communication skills.

Keywords

learner autonomy; independent learning; learning strategies; academic language, teaching-learning process; scholarly communication

1. Introduction

Since English is the most frequently used language for academic publishing and global intellectual exchange, scholarly communication and autonomous English language acquisition are closely intertwined. Autonomous language learning could be fostered throughout scholarly communication by engaging learners in activities such as reading and writing academic articles or attending conferences in the English language, which could contribute to the improvement of their language skills. Since students are exposed to a more academic, complex and specialized vocabulary concerning their own field of study, they could subsequently acquire a more advanced level of English. The development of their English language skills through independent learning could help students become more active in the academic life, by taking part in scholarly activities such as publishing in academic journals or facilitating international collaboration with other scholars from all around the world. Therefore, the degree of independence acquired in the learning process determines students to enhance both their linguistic competence as well as their academic communication abilities.

2. The Importance of the English Language in the Academic World

Considering the 21st century job-focused mindset of a career-oriented society, one may say that the essential purpose of higher education is to provide a learning experience which prepares students for the labor market by facilitating the development of a set of skills and theoretical as well as practical assets recruiters look for in future employees. At the same time, since one of the major requirements of some jobs is to have a university degree, in many cases university serves as a mandatory link between the students and the career they want to pursue later on. According to a 2021 article, 21% of students across 21 countries said that the main reason why they chose to go to university was because they needed a degree and another 19% said that their main motivation was to broaden their career prospects [1]. Therefore, for the majority of undergraduate students it seems that the strongest catalyst of motivation is an extrinsic factor, which relies on the principle of necessity rather than intrinsic interest or willingness.

This mercantile approach on higher education leads to universities being perceived more as a “public service” where students have their societal needs met rather than an educational institution which generates and cultivates valuable knowledge [2]. However, even though these practical purposes are a priority for the vast majority of students who relate to the educational experience as a “facilitator” to enlarge their learning potential, some other purposes should not be neglected either. Higher education does not only contribute to the social development of the individual, but it also plays a central role in the progress of society itself. Scientific research is crucial for the advancement and preservation of knowledge, which does not serve only to the academic life but also to the fostering of technological innovation as well as the expansion of various fields of study, by introducing new theories, sharing different factual perspectives, exploring issues and evaluating the validity of some hypothesis. Research in higher education keeps the nurturing of scientific progress alive and paves the path to new theoretical dimensions which stand at the basis of substantive findings. In the academic community of higher education, this process is fostered throughout scholarly communication by which researchers and scholars share their latest findings in academic journals or conference papers [3].

Communication among scholars in the research and publishing process is facilitated by the use of a common, cross-cultural language – the English language. It is common knowledge that English has turned into a “lingua franca” serving as the main means of communication worldwide, so it comes as no surprise that a great majority of researchers decide to publish their findings in the English language for more international visibility. In order to publish a research paper in a scientific journal, it is mandatory for the author of the article to possess an advanced level of the English language in order to convey and express his theories and findings in a reasonable, academic manner for the highlighting of his validity as a researcher. The use of academic English in scientific journals or academic papers is very different from the use of colloquial, mundane English spoken in everyday situations, mostly studied in the courses of “English as a foreign language” which is easily grasped and assimilated even in non-formal contexts. Academic English could be referred to as a “genre” of English which is only used in formal education and covers the area of research and study for scholar purposes, serving as the universal language of scholarly communication. Unlike the assimilation of “English as a foreign language”, the acquisition of academic English could not happen intuitively, but it has to follow a set of very specific criteria in order to be found eligible for the standards of higher education. When publishing an article in a scientific journal, apart from the content itself which refers to the very research one has made in a particular field of study, the linguistic manner in which the content of the article is conveyed is of the same importance. Not only could the quality of the article be seriously diminished if using a poor level of academic English, but it could also lead to misunderstandings or ambiguity. Among the most common features of English as a scholar

means of communication, the following could be mentioned: the formal expressions, the impartial, objective tone, the avoidance of colloquial language and the use of academic speech instead, as well as the usage of certain linking words which create cohesion and fluency [4]. Since the process of research represents an individual, self-paced activity which requires methodical inquiry, rigorous documentation and original interpretation and analysis of the collected data, the researcher has to be independent in his scholarly activity [5]. This independence does not only manifest in the research itself but also in the manner or the “written code” in which the researcher conveys the findings of the academic process – which is the language itself. The researcher does not only need to be autonomous in defending his claims, but a certain degree of linguistic autonomy is also needed for the eloquent and reliable expression of his findings. But how autonomous are students in higher education and how could autonomous learning be fostered?

3. Towards the Concept of Autonomy

Among the many goals of education autonomous learning is one of them, having been frequently discussed by English teachers from all over the world since the 1970s and has continued up to the current days [6]. The role of a well-qualified and competent teacher encompasses a wide range of didactic skills which refer to much more than just transmitting and evaluating information. A common educational goal which should be pursued by all teachers who want to provide an alternative to the traditional and obsolete didactic methods would be to actively promote independent learning by determining students to take responsibility of their own learning experience and process of acquiring knowledge. However, this idea is often perceived more as an abstract exhortation than as a concrete, achievable teaching goal which could be effectively put into practice.

According to Holec, who is said to be the founder of the theory concerning autonomous learning, the concept of autonomy is defined as “the ability to take charge of one’s own learning”, which is not innately embedded in the human nature but could be acquired throughout the process of formal learning, in a methodical and voluntary manner [7] (p. 3). As he acknowledges, the steps which should be taken in order to adopt responsibility in learning are the following: to set clear objectives, to define the contents, to decide upon the learning strategies and the techniques, to monitor the process of acquisition and to assess what has been assimilated [7]. David Little also acknowledges that, fundamentally, autonomy is a capacity which involves the development of detachment, critical thinking and analyzing, decision making and acting independently. When students are able to function independently, they may disengage from outside influences and approach the learning process and content with a critical eye. This empowers people to take charge of their own learning outcomes and make independent decisions about what to study and how to learn it. A specific psychological relationship with learning is also necessary for the development of autonomy, in which students are motivated by their own goals and interests rather than by external demands or rewards. Little also argues that the shift in learning responsibility by inverting the roles of the teacher and student has wide-ranging effects not only in how education is conducted, but also on the power dynamics that are fundamental to the social structure. The student establishes his own learning purposes by deliberately choosing both the learning content and the learning method. He is the only one responsible for the efficiency of learning as an active process and as a goal achievement. According to Little, the development of learner autonomy in adult education should result in the following benefits: learning becomes more effective both immediately as well as in the long run since the learner is more aware of this process; learning turns into a process which is owned by the learner so the obstacles between

learning and living that are frequently encountered in traditional teacher-led educational institutions should not exist; since learning and living become interconnected within each other, learners should be able to transfer their independent behavior to all areas of their lives, fact which should lead to their active contribution in society as efficient citizens in the democratic system [8].

The different perspectives on autonomy highlight its complexity as an educational goal. Even though the process of learning is directed towards the student, the role of the teacher is of the same importance, contributing to an authentic and valuable guidance to achieve autonomy as a learning competence. The traditional teaching approach where students rely on their teachers who serve as the main “information providers” has some major limitations in the development of autonomous language acquisition, as students are not actively engaged in the learning process, receiving knowledge more as passive learners. In the learner-centred classroom, on the other hand, the teacher is more of a facilitator who assists students in exploring and learning new information by offering advice and help. This method promotes the growth of students’ critical thinking, problem-solving, and decision-making abilities, all of which are necessary for independent learning [6].

4. The Survey – A Qualitative Analysis

The purpose of the questionnaire was to determine students’ level of autonomy in acquiring academic English, by identifying how acquainted are they with reading peer-reviewed articles and how easily do they comprehend specialized and academic English vocabulary. Additionally, the questionnaire aimed to determine which is students’ most effective strategy to develop and improve their academic English vocabulary. The survey was addressed to the West University of Timișoara students of the Faculty of Physics who are in the first and second year and attend the practical course of “English as a foreign language”. The data was collected through close-ended questions, the respondent just selecting the option corresponding to their views. The survey was completed by 38 students and the findings are presented and interpreted below.

4.1. Findings

The first question, concerning the students’ year of study, has a demographic dimension. As graphically presented below, more of the students are in the first year of study, even though the percentage is very close to one another and the proportion is balanced.

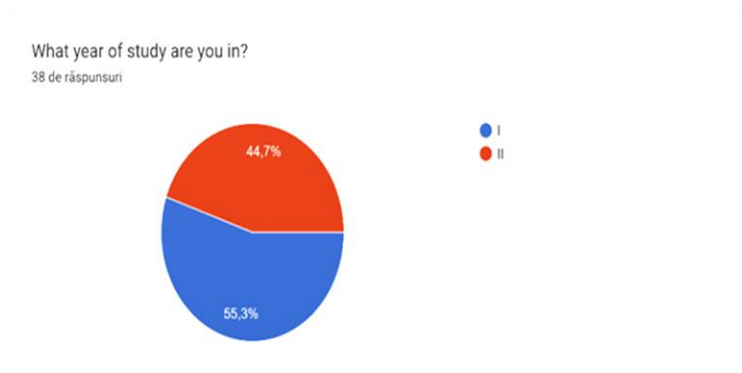


Figure 1. First question of the survey.

The results of the following core-questions are discussed next:

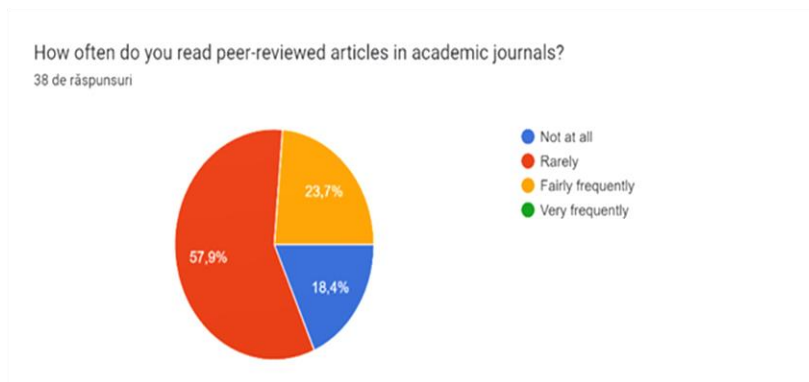


Figure 2. Second question of the survey.

As can be seen, more than a half of the respondents said that they rarely read peer-reviewed articles and more than 18% of them do not read this kind of articles at all. However, almost a quarter of them read articles in academic journals fairly frequently, which means that their interest in the scientific field is higher.

The next question was asked in order to determine their degree of familiarity and understanding of the academic English vocabulary:

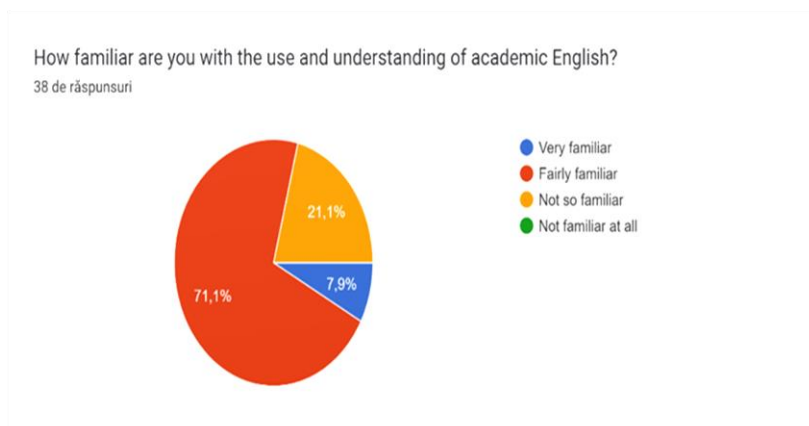


Figure 3. Third question of the survey.

The largest number of the respondents found themselves fairly familiar with the use and understanding of academic English and almost 8% of them said they were very familiar with this type of language. However, the fact that 21% of them are not so familiar with the use and understanding of academic English is not to be desired, especially for the second-year students who should soon gather information and prepare for their BA thesis.

The next question follows up the previous one:

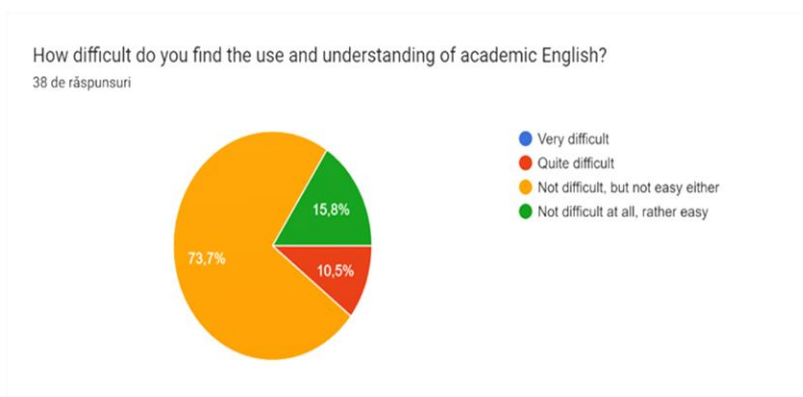


Figure 4. Question number four.

Almost three quarters of the respondents opted for the neutral variant in what the difficulty of the academic English language is concerned. More than 15% of them said that they find it quite easy and do not encounter difficulties in comprehending its meaning, while more than 10% of the participants of the survey admitted they find academic English quite difficult.

The following question was aimed to determine students' familiarity with specialized English:

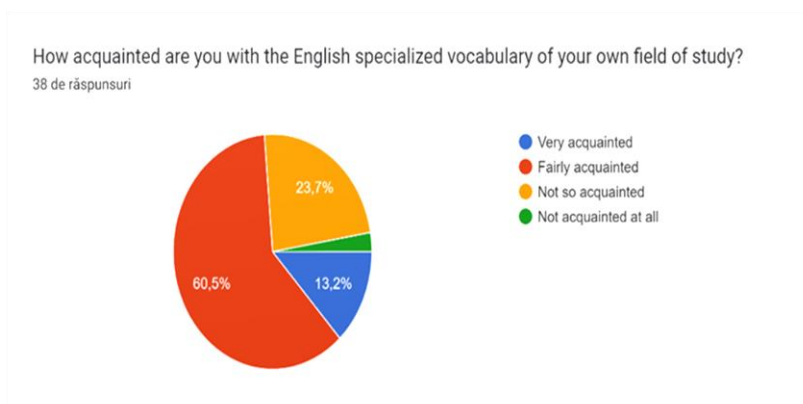


Figure 5. Question number five.

More than 60% of the students said that they were fairly acquainted with the English specialized vocabulary of their own field of study, which is, in this case, Physics, and more than 13% of them declared themselves very familiar with this type of vocabulary. However, almost a quarter of them said they were not so acquainted with specialized English and 2.6% said they were not familiar at all, which is, again, not to be desired and serious thought should be given to the curriculum in this regard.

The following question referred to how the use of poor or proficient English might influence scholarly communication and it was aimed to see students' opinion in this regard:

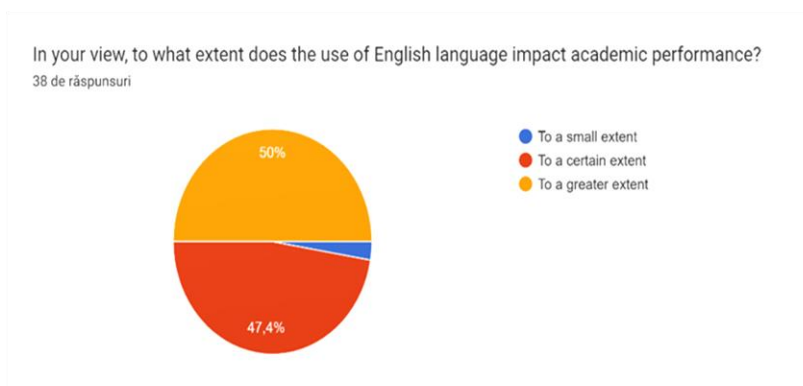


Figure 6. Question number six.

As seen above, the percentage of the answers is very balanced, almost fifty-fifty. Half of the respondents are of the opinion that the use of English impacts academic performance to a greater extent, while more than 47% of them think that it only has an impact to a certain extent. However, 1% of them believed that the use of English language influences one's academic performance only to a small extent.

The purpose of the next question was to identify the most common learning technique applied in developing their academic English vocabulary by also revealing the degree of autonomy involved in using each of these strategies:

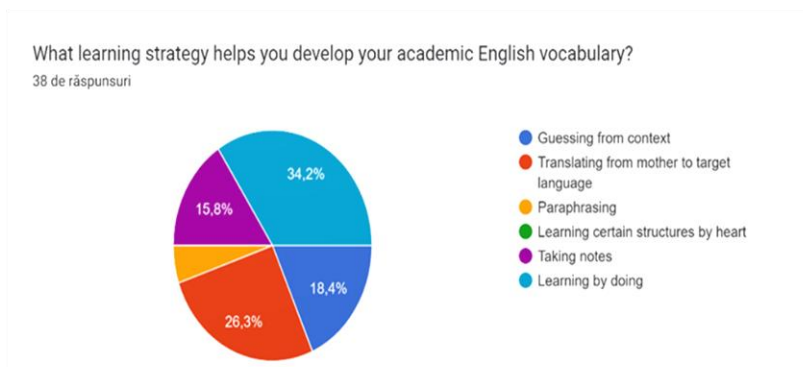


Figure 7. Question number seven.

Most of the respondents said that the best method of acquiring academic English vocabulary is "learning by doing". This strategy usually implies a high level of autonomy, as the students find themselves actively engaged in the process of learning by taking charge of their own learning experience, setting objectives, structuring information and organizing their own learning pace. This level of autonomy allows for a more personalized learning experience because the student has more independence to tailor his approach in order to fit his own standards. In the given context, "learning by doing" refers to the very writing of academic articles, research papers or attending conferences, which would contribute to the enhancement

of academic English vocabulary by effectively using it.

The next percent of 26,3% said their most used learning technique for acquiring new vocabulary is translating from mother language to target language and vice-versa. The degree of autonomy involved in translating from one language to the other may vary according to the situation given. If one relies heavily on translation in order to comprehend and assimilate new linguistic terminology, then the learner's level of autonomy may be quite low in this case since he does not fully understand the context in which the words are used. On the other hand, the level of autonomy may be higher if the student is aware of the linguistic context and is actively involved in the translating process by employing different ways of improving his academic language skills.

More than 18% of the respondents opted for the "guessing from context" strategy which means that these students are already very independent when it comes to expanding their academic vocabulary. When using this learning strategy, the student must rely on his previous knowledge in order to understand the meaning of unfamiliar words and phrases, which requires a certain degree of autonomy as he is guessing the meaning of the language according to his own comprehension. Guessing from context is a learning strategy in which the learner becomes effectively engaged in the process of acquiring information and will subsequently facilitate memorizing new academic vocabulary more easily and gain a broader understanding of the linguistic context in which the new words and phrases are used.

The other 15.8% said that the technique which helps them develop their academic English vocabulary is note-taking, which is a very traditional learning method and could involve a low to high degree of autonomy, depending on how it is used. If used passively, meaning that the learner simply writes down some words and phrases without being actively engaged in the process, the autonomy level is quite reduced, as the learner is basically doing this activity as a mechanism. On the other hand, note-taking could be a very effective, autonomous strategy of developing one's vocabulary if the learner takes ownership of the process of acquiring new vocabulary by establishing connections between words, highlighting certain phrases or organizing their notes in a way which fosters efficient learning.

The last 5.3% of the survey participants found paraphrasing an effective strategy to help them acquiring English academic vocabulary. This learning method involves a high level of independence as the learner should firstly grasp the meaning of the original text and then re-express it using his own words. Finally, as the pie chart shows, no one chose the "learning certain structures by heart" strategy, which shows that students prefer to be actively engaged with the language and not to rely on memorizing without comprehending the meaning of the terms.

Conclusions

The google-form survey results and their analysis showed that, in what scholarly communication and English academic language is regarded, the majority of student-respondents found themselves fairly familiar with the use and understanding of the academic English vocabulary, even though, in terms of difficulty of the language, their position is neutral – they do not perceive it as difficult to be understood, but do not find it easy either. However, the fact that they rarely read peer-reviewed articles in academic journals shows a lack of interest in the scientific field and scholarly activity.

In terms of autonomy and independent learning, students prefer strategies which involve a higher degree of autonomy, which shows that they do not rely so much on the obsolete, outdated teaching-learning techniques used in the traditional classroom but are more willing to apply the learner-centred approach which they consider more efficient, by taking ownership of their own

learning experience. Since the most common used strategy of developing academic English vocabulary was “learning by doing”, it means that the learners need a practical context to actively apply and use the vocabulary which needs to be acquired. Therefore, in order to maximize students’ chances of developing academic English language for scholarly communication, a reconsideration of the curriculum might be helpful. This should aim to the introduction of compulsory academic writing and research method courses conducted using teaching-learning techniques which foster independent language learning. By doing this, students will get the chance to become more familiar with the language used when writing a research paper and effectively put what they have acquired into practice.

The teachers’ support in this process is of high importance, as they should be the ones who direct learners towards autonomous learning, shifting from the traditional classroom to the learner-centred one where they need to be responsive to students’ needs by promoting and adopting strategies which enhance learners’ capacity to learn and academically function independently. This study can serve as a starting point for further discussions on learner autonomy and academic English language development for scholarly communication purposes. I am also aware that it is impossible to claim representativeness and generalizability of my survey’s findings and that more extended quantitative research is needed, doubled by qualitative approaches.

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THE EVOLUTION OF TRANSLATION TECHNOLOGY

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Abstract

Machine translation (MT) technology has simplified our daily work, enabling off-the-shelf solutions for collecting, analysing and delivering information. According to Lynne Bowker, the field of translation refers to several kinds of technology that are used for human translation, machine translation as well as computer-assisted translation. With the rapid development of artificial intelligence, we see that machine translation technology is becoming more and more prevalent and its use in future work is expected to increase. The aim of this study is to present machine translation and its impact on digital technologies.

Keywords

machine translation; technology; software; neural translation; tools

1. Introduction

In general, translation can be the process of transforming a message from one language into another, while respecting all the qualities of the original message. The work of translation has been and will be used in almost all fields such as politics, economics, science and literature, medicine and others.

Computer-assisted translation is a complex process involving specific tools and technology, adaptable to the needs of the translator, who is involved in the entire translation process. In general, the computer is the translator's most varied medium, comprising mono- and bilingual tools and software, different texts translated into a variety of languages and terminology databases. Translation technology has brought important and essential changes both in the past and in the present, noting that we have entered an era of digitisation in which technology plays a paramount role for translation.

According to Lynne Bowker [1] (pp. 5-9), translation technology encompasses various types of technology that are used in human translation, computer-assisted translation and machine translation, including various tools that are used in computer science such as: electronic platforms, word processors, as well as other means used in translation such as corpus analysis tools and terminology management systems.

Computer-assisted translation is the process in which a human translator translates certain texts with the help of computer tools designed to help him or her translate well, be more efficient, and take less time. These translator assistance tools are quite different. They include single or multilingual electronic dictionaries, single or multilingual terminology databases, automatic document indexing and retrieval tools, various translation memories and machine translation systems.

“The recent growth of the Internet has highlighted the use of computer-based language solutions to enable seamless multilingual support in cyberspace. For example, most major search engines have now incorporated free realtime translation services based on Machine Translation (MT). Furthermore, the human translation process is facilitated by more and more sophisticated tools that are designed to enhance productivity as well as quality” [2] (p.37).

2. Concepts and classification of machine translation

Machine translation is a translation generated automatically by a software, system or machine. It is part of the field of Artificial Intelligence (AI). With the help of this automated technology, we can translate text, the contents of a web page written in a language we do not know, more quickly without the need for a specialised translator.

Machine translation systems use various machine learning technologies to be able to translate a very large volume of text from one “source” language into another “target” language. “In these systems, texts of the source language are analyzed into abstract representations of 'meaning', involving successive programs for identifying word structure (morphology) and sentence structure (syntax) and for resolving problems of ambiguity (semantics)” [3] (p. 2).

The translation process can contain three successive stages:

- understanding of the text by the translator;
- de-verbalization: forgetting the words that are more difficult and preserving the meaning of the text;
- rephrasing the text into the target language.

In machine translation the translation process is done by the computer system, where the source text is automatically translated into the target language. The source language text is pre-edited to ensure lexical and terminological consistency and to avoid grammatical errors.

“Terminology-management system (TMS) can help with various aspects of the translator's terminology-related tasks, including the storage, retrieval, and updating of term records. A TMS can help to ensure greater consistency in the use of terminology, which not only makes documentation easier to read and understand, but also prevents mis communications.” [1] (p. 77).

Rule-based machine translation (RBMT) parses text by creating an intermediate, symbolic presentation from which the target language text is generated, they require extensive lexicons with morphological, syntactic and semantic information and have a set of rules. “RBMT systems are basically constituted by two components: the rules, that account for the syntactic knowledge, and the lexicon, which deals with the morphological, syntactic, and semantic information. Both rules and lexicons are grounded on linguistic knowledge and generated by expert linguists.” [4] (p. 217).

Machine translation programs work quite well but require a qualified linguist to carefully design the grammar they use. Rule-based machine translations contain more information about the linguistics of the source and target languages, using morphological and syntactic rules as well as semantic analysis of both languages. The basic study of sentence structure involves connecting

the input sentence with the structure of the output sentence, using an analyser for the source language, a generator for the target language and a transfer lexicon for the current translation.

Hybrid machine translation uses the important points of statistical methodologies based on translation rules. “The SYSTRAN system is traditionally classified as a *rule-based* system and its design – which has been in constant evolution - has, over the years, always been driven by pragmatic considerations – progressively integrating most of the available productive techniques” [5] (p. 220).

The organisations Systran, Asia Online, LinguaSys and the Polytechnic University of Valencia agree on a hybrid approach using both rules and statistics. All these approaches are twofold:

- rules post-processed by statistics, where translations are performed on a rule-based basis, with statistics playing a very important role in correcting mistakes made by the rule-based engine;
- rule-driven statistics, here the rules try to guide the statistics engine better, having more power, flexibility, and control over the translations.

Transfer-based machine translation comprises four stages of the automatic transfer translation process:

- *Direct transfer*, i.e., all translations on a transfer basis;
- *Syntactic transfer*, where the analysis produces a syntactic representation of the source language, with rules allowing certain transformations;
- *Semantic transfer*, where representation patterns are presented by pragmatics;
- *Homonyms*, in this approach only the parsing and generation processes remain.

Interlingual machine translation

In interlingual machine translation the source language, i.e., the text to be translated, is transformed into an interlingual language, i.e., it has a neutral language that is independent of any language.

Statistical machine translation (SMT)

The first statistical machine translation software was IBM’s Candide in the early 1990s. Statistical machine translations generate different translations using methods based on bilingual text. In 2005 Google improved its internal translation systems by using about 200 billion words of United Nations material and thus improved the accuracy of the translations. Other statistical translation software such as Google Translate works by detecting patterns in the very many documents that have been translated by humans. A drawback of statistical machine translation is its reliance on huge amounts of parallel text and inability to correct singleton errors.

Neural Machine Translation (NMT) - 2015 was the first appearance of an NMT system in a public machine translation contest (Open WMT’15). WMT’15 also had an NMT contestant for the first time; the following year already had 90% of NMT systems among the winners [6]. NMT technology has radically changed translation, offering major advances in translation quality and is currently available in 59 languages, including Romanian. Neural translation contains 50% fewer mistakes in word order, 19% fewer grammatical mistakes and 17% fewer lexical mistakes. These networks have learned to use gender and case in different languages. Convolutional neural networks (CNNs) are a perfect fit for images because they work with independent blocks of

pixels. In recent years, neural network technology has been used in many artificial intelligence scenarios such as speech and image processing. In the machine translation industry, neural networks offer major advances in translation quality in the standard statistical translation technology (SMT) industry.

3. C.A.T tools and neuronal machine translation

To train a neural network, each word is encoded along a 500-dimensional vector forming its features into a pair of languages. Given the language pairs formed, the neural network will self-define or encode such simple concepts as word type (verb, noun), politeness level (slang, casual, written, formal), or gender (masculine, feminine).

On January 7, 1954, the IBM Georgetown-IBM experiment began in New York. The IBM 701 computer automatically translated 60 Russian sentences into English for the first time in history [7]. That system was no better than a pocket manual, but to improve the machine translation system Canada, Germany, France and especially Japan joined in. All these struggles to improve machine translation lasted 40 years.

Deep learning is a type of machine learning that teaches a computer to perform various human-like tasks, such as speech recognition, describing text content, classifying images and identifying objects. The best example of this today are virtual assistants such as Siri and Cortana that specialise in deep learning. The advancement of machine translation being in line with the functioning of the human brain is based on neural machine translation, called NMT.

With the development of computer-assisted translation (CAT) tools, technology has played an important role in the translators' work process. CAT tools are designed to improve performance, they are intended to help administer and manage translation programs, while providing an improvement in translation quality. These CAT tools fall into two main classes: software installed directly on the computer and web browser-based software - Firefox, Chrome. Currently, the most widely used CAT tools are: SDLTrados which is also the market leader, Wordfast, Déjà Vu, Alchemy Catalyst, Omega-T, memoQ, Across and others. In 2020, Google has succeeded in making machine translation of convolution accessible from mobile phones.

Nowadays translation engines are based on statistics or rules. The so-called hybrid path appears. Applications that use hybrid approaches are Microsoft Translation, Reverso, Google Translate and Systran. There are several tools that make a translator's job easier. "The terms commonly used to describe translation tools in the field of translation technology are:

machine translation (MT);

- machine-aided/assisted human translation (MAHT);
- human-aided/assisted machine translation (HAMT);
- computer-aided/assisted translation (CAT);
- machine-aided/assisted translation (MAT);
- fully automatic high-quality (machine) translation (FAHQT/FAHQMT)" [8].

In the field of translation, the quality of translated texts is related to its purpose and evaluated by users. The quality standard of a software requires the application of modern research methods that have proven their usefulness and efficiency in practice.

"The most sophisticated decompositions of software quality date back to McCall in 1977 and Boehm in 1978. However, none of the existing quality models provides any clue with regard to the question, how the different criteria can be measured or even tested. Moreover, existing decompositions of software quality are based on the assumption that a software product is an

entity on its own and thus a particular software quality factor applies to the whole software product equally.” [9] (p.168).

The quality of each type of translation depends on the individual translator and his or her experience in the field. For material or texts with technical content and other translations requiring in-depth knowledge of the field in question, specialised dictionaries, registers of terms used to ensure the correct use of terminology, are used. Information technology has therefore played a very important role in the language service system. Translators make full use of the latest software tools in order to produce the fastest and highest quality translations.

“In the last several decades, translation technology has moved ahead, along with the advances made in various related fields, such as computer science, linguistics, and mobile phonology. As there is no way to predict how technology itself will advance in the future, it is difficult to forecast what the future holds for translation technology.” [10] (p. 266).

Conclusions

In conclusion, it is very important to state that any new technology even if they use sophisticated AI programs which seem that can be independent at one point in the future, they still simply cannot replace human translators because human languages are way complex to use and understand, and the current technology or the upcoming cannot decipher the deepest details of human language expressions; a certain truth is that they will become a more reliable product that can help translators in their work.

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THE ROMANIAN HOLOCAUST IN EMIL DORIAN'S PRIVATE DIARY

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Abstract

An accurate understanding of the non-fiction text in which a dominant recurring theme is the Jews is possible only by reconstructing and analyzing the socio-political, cultural and historical context. In this article, I am particularly interested in the identity narratives of the Jew that place him in the position of an outsider, as it appears in the diaries of the 30s-40s, more precisely in the work of Emil Dorian. Next, I am interested in the author's motivations for the intimate diary and its analysis, as it is perceived as a mirror of the era and the intimate life, with all the diarist's obstacles. At the same time, the present article is also revealing for the repositioning of the Romanian holocaust concept in public memory and literature.

Keywords

Jewish life in Buchares; fascim; diaries; anti-semitism; Romanian holocaust; confession

1. Reasons for writing an intimate diary

Insufficiently privileged by literary analysis for his prose and poetry, among which we mention *Cântece pentru Lelioara* (1922), *Profeți și paițe* (1931), *Bărbați fără femei* (1933), *Vagabonzii* (1934), Emil Dorian, medical officer in Mărășești and collaborating writer at *Sburătorul*'s cenacle of Eugen Lovinescu, becomes recognized with his diary about the trying decades of the 30s and 40s, with all that they meant: international politics, fascism, the Second World War, the Romanian holocaust, anti-Semitism, the condition of the Jew, deportation, detention in camps and ghettos, prohibitions, forms of fear and revolt, survival or symptoms of the death.

While historical, anthropological, political and sociological studies about the ideologies of the first half of the 20th century are frequent in the post-communist era, there have been few synthesis attempts regarding the totalitarian phenomenon of the 30s-40s in Romania.

If during the communist period the studies were predominantly descriptive and minimized the horrors of fascism, even denying the existence of a Romanian holocaust (Simon Geissbühler), after the revolution the historiographical analyzes multiply (Florin Constantiniu, Neagu Djuvara, Dinu C. Giurescu, Ioan Aurel Pop), but contain weak links, the analyzes being further defined by a "mnemonic myopia" (Ana Bărbulescu). Only the more recent works (Radu Ioanid, Jean

Ancel, Vladimir Solonari etc.) correct the public memory's perception of the traumatic past and these synoptic studies can become significant for the memory of the holocaust in our country [1] (pp.17-35-55).

Regarding the literature of those decades, the publicity of jewish authors was a difficult process, says Ovidiu Morar [2] (p.8). In the foreground of literary criticism, writings about oneself initially occupied a lower position, compared to prose (especially the novel), for example. The recognition of non-fictional works, as valuable from an ethical point of view, in particular, but also aesthetically, will occur later in Romanian literature, only when the drawers with hidden works are opened or, through a game of fate, books considered lost are recovered.

Leaving aside the status of this very controversial literary genre, Emil Dorian's work - *Jurnal din vremuri de prigoană* - amazes with the sobriety of the picture he creates and the technique of detail that transforms it into a fundamental period document, placed next to Mihail Sebastian's diary.

The diary is started in December 1937, with the foundation of the Octavian Goga's Government, and ends on September 13, 1944, with a fateful testimony: "The Romanian people do not clearly know that they have lost the war and that they must regain their peace. [...] They do not even suspect the storm" [3] (p. 367). This brief statement may be the key to finding the motivation behind this intimate notebook.

According to the *intimist* theorists, whose reference names are Maurice Chapelain, Georges Gusdorf, Alain Girard, Philippe Lejeune, Béatrice Didier and Jean Rousset, the justifications of those who choose the path of diarism are exhibiting variety, but the answer can be found, especially, in the personal life of the author, where individual or collective dramas force the memory not to forget.

Thus, in specialized studies, it could be observed that some of the diarists write to escape the constraining silence around them, some do exercises to interrogate their inner hell, and others have an educational and aesthetic purpose. At the same time, there are authors who practice their style in this texts, the diary becoming the creative workshop for a major book. Then, there are cases where the decision of some diarists to write this type of text comes after reading other diaries, which belong to famous personalities. Finally, we especially remember what Eugen Simion calls the "tragic motif" [4] (p.152), arising from the need for confession of the human being in crisis.

In Eastern literature, trauma is determined especially by the hateful experience of the first half of the century, in which "the victim becomes the subject of public memory" [5] (p.161). Scars were not only left on the skin, but the attacks on the sensory levels also emotionally weakened the exposed subjects. All this favored, clandestinely or after the return to normality, the desire to confess, thus multiplying the non-fictional species, such as the diary, but also others - the prison memorial, the testimony, the interview, the life-story etc. In our post-revolution literature, as censorship no longer represented an impediment, the volume of non-fiction writings increased, becoming today very best-selling books.

2. Jewish identity narratives in the diary of crisis

The private notebook of Emil Dorian is, first of all, a diary of the "crisis" [6] (p. 146), determined by the unfavorable conjuncture of being born a Jew in a place and time where anti-Semitism is the new established order: "In half a century [...]the thread of my existence unfolds between «Jos jidani» from 1800 and «Jos jidani» from 1940" [3] (p. 116). Thus, the reason behind his effort made for seven years seems to be to leave a testimony about the tragedy of the events, not only in Bucharest, but in the whole country.

On December 12, 1938, the diarist notes his creed, using the second person, drawing attention to the fact that, in his case, only unfortunate events can be recorded in a diary: "Happiness and success do not need any analysis. If you try to research them, you will not find any explanation. [...] Suffering and defeat, on the contrary, require long and repeated analyses" [3] (p.59). Therefore, it modifies the person characteristic of intimate literature - the first person - with the next person, using what specialists call "drama pronouns" [7] (p. 44). It is not the only time that the author select the second person, this substitution emphasizing the crisis of the journalist's self, but also the pedagogical and training role that he wants to assume. Thus, upon careful analysis, the purpose of the scriptural act is not only the testimony, but the thorough analysis of the hateful years that deprived him of rights, acceptance and peace.

On the same page, he makes a profile of the diarist, in melancholic and aggressive notes, the end of the entries acquiring the character of a verdict: "A diary is more a necessity of unhappy people, better said of those who do not succeed in life. The active conquests of material success nullify any disposition to monologue without a spectator [...] To argue with life is not only absurd, but also ridiculous. Life must be kneeled down, slapped or spat on" [3] (p.59).

The anti-Semitic dictatorships in the national history of modern Romania - of Carol II (1938-1940), Goga-Cuza (December 1937-February 1938), Ion Antonescu in alliance with the Iron Guard (September 1940-January 1941) and of Antonescu's dictatorship without the Iron Guard (1941-1944) force Emil Dorian to learn all the "colors of fear" (I.D. Sîrbu), due to each totalitarian period.

The intimidating measures targeted the Jewish minority in particular, which was gradually sent away beyond the borders of humanity.

The beginnings of anti-Semitism are closely related to the period of Antiquity, but the negative stereotyping of Jews is not only specific to this time but extends to the modern age. According to sociological studies, Jews represent one of the peoples labeled as barbarians, along with Carthaginians, Gauls, Bretons, Egyptians and Persians. We do not fully know the source of these prejudices towards this people, but a useful investigation in the field of ancient imagology is carried out by the researcher Ana Bărbulescu, who finds the answer in the paradigm of social constructivism, according to which "social reality is a constructed reality" [8] (p. 12). Thus, in the "symbolic universe of the other" [8] (p. 7) man cannot be anything other than what others think he is.

The leitmotif that runs through the *Jurnal în vremuri de prigoană* like a red thread is, without doubt, the condition of the Jews. He is not the only one of this kind, the Romanian literature of the two decades is bringing to light several valuable books about the Jewish perception.

In Emil Dorian's work, his portrait is executed with a chimerical palette, the inferiority of the Jews being defined on several dimensions: behavioral, religious, linguistic and cultural. The diarist captures the humiliations endured by this minority of Romania, with the imposition of Nazi racial laws in 1937, until the end of the Second World War, when the Jewish population is halved. If 1939 is considered by the diarist to be a "year of crucifixions and defeats" [3] (p. 94), the peak of the anti-Semitic policy is caught during the dictatorship of Ion Antonescu (1940-1944), who aimed to "deworm the Romanian nation" of Jews.

Fascist laws belong to a totalitarian state where contempt for the Jew becomes contagious. It is an evil that spreads from the fascist dictator to the Romanian child who points the finger at the Jew. He feels out of place, without a clear identity: "But what are we? No Romanians, no minority. We are...«the head that receives the stones»" [3] (p. 21). The new established order is the "teaching of contempt" towards this minority [9] (p. 34).

Thus, after the model of the German allies, the Jews lose their jobs, the most important

newspapers are suppressed, the Jewish printing press disappears, the food is not found, the shops of the Jews are confiscated and mixed marriages are forbidden.

Starting with 1940, the previous revenges pale in front of the real nightmare that was to follow, notes Dorian on May 13: "All national egoisms now meet in a hotbed of bestial hatred" [3] (p.105). The aversion and hostile attitude is reflected in the new laws and rules that required Jews to consume only 200 grams of bread a day, to pay triple the rent and some products, to clear snow at minus 31°, to wear the yellow star of David on the chest and, last but not least, to be prepared for forced labor or deportation to Transnistria.

Avoided by his Romanian friends, he feels alone, in a perpetual exile from everything he once called his language and country. On New Year's he seems stupid and exhausted, almost dehumanized: "A dead man holds a pen in his hand" [3] (p.139).

The anti-Jewish hostility, cruelty and bestiality of the Bucharest pogrom are captured in a note that looks like an absurd film. The mass destruction and the bloodbath of the three days are detailed: "shutters pulled down, windows shattered, walls blackened by fire [...] pharmacies without traces of bottles, barbers without a shard of mirror [...], a cinema set on fire [...]. Dozens of Jewish corpses were found on the Jilava road and countless identity cards scattered on the road. One merchant had his nose crushed, his arms broken, and then he was shot; [...] another had his tongue cut out and his eyes gouged out. At the slaughterhouse, Jews were hanged on the hooks from which the butchered cattle hung, a few were thrown into the sewer; [...] Jews who were given to drink gasoline with bitter salt, crosses dug on their backs and sprinkled with salt" [3] (pp.146-147). The last statement shows the direct contact between the hunters and the hunted and, at the same time, the "animalization of the other's body" [10] (p.365), the dissolving of him as a human.

In his analysis of anti-Semitism, Emil Dorian insists on the relationship between the subject (the Jew) and his own body. This worldly conflagration, through the manifested terror, caused various experiences to the body, after which the individual remained fragile. Stalking, bombing, loss of homes and personal belongings, starvation, deportation, ghettoization, bodily filth, lack of rest and sleep, insults, torture, forced labor, etc. these are just some of the sufferings that make the Jewish body a vulnerable category. All the senses are alerted in those moments of maximum tension: tactile (wounds, beatings, diseases), olfactory (explosives, dirt, rotting corpses), sight (ruins, aggression), hearing (language, sirens, explosions), etc. A relevant example can be identified in the record of April 14, 1944, where a nine-year-old Jewish girl, an orphan and a survivor of deportation to Transnistria, occupies the entire speech of the author, through the dramatic destiny that forced her to forget her childhood: "Her little one body, stopped as if from development, bears the mark of the malnutrition drama: swollen belly, thin legs.[...] Claruța is an old girl, in whom sufferings have gnawed away all the springs of childhood, dried up all the springs of affection[...]. He talks about death with a detachment that freezes you" [3] (pp.325-326).

The Jewish diarist is brave in his writing, taking the risk that it might be discovered. We don't know if he omits details for security reasons, but we can suspect that this notebook becomes the confidant of publicly unconfessed thoughts: "You have the dull impression that any personal thought could, at some point, be regarded as a danger which, in this way, would cause unnecessary catastrophes [...] It is an accumulation of silences that, at a given moment, could dynamite the Himalayas" [3] (p. 205).

Conclusions

Concerned above all with a faithful chronicle of public history, the diarist walks his

“memories circle” through the three dictatorships, creating a panorama of everything he experiences, sees and hears. He suffers from the sickness of confession. The link that connects the social reality to the individual one is represented by the Jewish problem and the identity markers attributed to this minority. So, considering the labeling captured in the above article, it seems legitimate to conclude that the Jew is perceived as a negative character in the author's diary.

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OBSESSION AND MENTAL ILLNESS: THE PAST TOWARDS MURDER IN EDGAR ALLAN POE'S "BERENICE" AND "THE BLACK CAT"

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Abstract

Edgar Allan Poe's literature commonly portrays circumstances when one's rationality exhibits slips and transformations, sometimes abandoned and replaced by what the human body and mind cannot grasp: mental illness. Two of his most renowned short stories, "Berenice" (1835) and "The Black Cat" (1843), provide an insight into the artistic literary preoccupations of the nineteenth century, as penned by the American writer, Edgar Allan Poe. This article examines how the two main characters and narrators of "Berenice", namely Egæus, and respectively, the unnamed narrator from "The Black Cat", undergo a process of psychological decay and dehumanisation, as they abandon reason and are led by obsession and mental disease. The findings show that there are victims who fall at the hands of the two perpetrators, two men who commit gruesome acts of torture and murder, with no ulterior feelings of empathy or remorse, despite repeated instances of trying to avoid assuming guilt and agency.

Keywords

Berenice; death; mental illness; obsession; The Black Cat.

1. Introduction

Edgar Allan Poe's fiction delves into the darkest aspects of human existence, as the American deals with mental illness, horror, sadness, and death. Such is the case with "Berenice" (1835) and "The Black Cat" (1843), two short stories recounted by two men: Egæus and a nameless narrator, respectively. The common peculiarity of these tales consists of their literary typology, inverted mystery (or reversed whodunit), in which the readers know the perpetrators' identities since the debut of the narratives. The culprits themselves subjectively reveal how they got caught for the committed crimes and attempt to convince the readers of what reasons justified their actions.

The analysis gives attention to the two tales as the two narrators exhibit similarities in action and result. Both men exhibit characteristics of mental decay during their interactions with the two female spouses, such as increased aggressiveness and obsession. Poe's female characters

endure the consequences of these psychological conditions, which result in the victims being condemned to recurrent torture and, eventually, murder, as the two men forsake reason and succumb to violent human impulses.

2. “Berenice” and the visionary’s gaze

Poe builds the narrative “Berenice” by introducing a biographical story of two cousins who intend to marry, a plan that does not materialise due to the woman’s unfortunate death. It is revealed that the tale exploits one anxiety of the 19th century, taphophobia (or the fear of being buried alive), and shapes it into an artistic reinterpretation. “The Premature Burial” also addresses this fear, as the story represents a full-fledged eerie experience [2] (p.37), and in “The Black Cat”, where a non-human is buried alive. The barrier between the text and the portrayed realities is thus breached, just as the theme of premature burial places the victim in-between the realms of life and death concomitantly. “Berenice” depicts such juxtapositions contributing to the text’s ambivalence.

The story debuts with a sentence in Latin, whose translation is the following: “My companions said to me, if I would visit the grave of my friend, I might somewhat alleviate my worries”, credited to a certain Ebn Zaiat. Although Ebn Zaiat does exist in Western culture, the cited poem is linked with philologist William Jones [1]. Moreover, a part of the poem is missing in Poe’s citation: “I answered: could she be buried elsewhere than in my heart?” (see *The Works of Sir William Jones, Vol. 2 1799*). The sentence’s literal meaning predicts that someone will perish, and the narrator will visit the respective person’s grave to relieve his concerns. Nonetheless, the epigraph warns audiences to read the narrator’s confessions cautiously: unreliability stems from mingling the truth with half-truths, which appears to operate as a trap rather than a tool to decipher the narrative from the very first line of the story. In another sense, the Latin epigraph might be regarded as a critique of Enlightenment ideas: the Classical Antiquity concepts presented are depicted as possessing irrefutable truth and authenticity, notwithstanding their shortcomings.

Life and death coexist in a location where Egaeus slips into profound thought regularly: the library of his affluent family and long-time visionaries. In this exact location, one life was granted, and one was taken: his mother gave birth to him and then died. In this setting, the auto-diegetic narrator poses a question to the audience, which he answers with his story: “How is it that from beauty I derived a type of unloveliness?” [6] (p. 581). The beauty he alludes to is his cousin, Berenice, whom he characterises as his mirrored image. She enjoys life and is a personification of vitality and beauty. In contrast, the narrator is engaged in a “painful meditation” [6] (p. 583), a sedentary occupation that appears to imprison his body and mind. The narrator’s intellectual well-being is being harmed by a mental condition known as monomania.

According to Egaeus, seizures and instances when Bernice slips into a type of trance impair the integrity of her body and intellect. In medical terms, the woman is not in a trance. However, she suffers from catalepsy episodes in which her bodily functions limit their regular activities: the respiratory power weakens, and the muscles do not respond to internal and external stimuli [7]. As a result, Berenice’s beauty and comfort in life gradually fade as she succumbs to sickness progressively.

In contrast to Berenice, his physical integrity is unaffected, but his proclivity for meditation grows with each object studied. His compulsive monomaniac manifestations include book design analysis, speaking one phrase constantly, and staring at fire [6] (p. 582). In this way, one may construe his family of visionaries as visionaries in the psychiatric sense of the word: persons who overperceive or underperceive, i.e., over-consciousness (delirium) or absence of

consciousness (*underseeing*, blanks in logic and memory).

The man's obsession or delirious visionary gaze extends to Berenice, but not to her nature as a human being, but to one material, physical component: her teeth. The image of the teeth is paramount, a "frenzied desire" [6] (p. 585): nothing is mentioned about her personality traits, denoting that his preoccupation is limited to a single physical object. The narrator studies Berenice's white teeth, a feature that did not degenerate with her physical appearance, while symbolically alone in his library, with the attitude of an analytical thinker. Whereas the teeth are a part of her, his emphasis on Berenice's teeth is excessive. This excessive preoccupation can be explained through linguistics and the figure of speech known as metonymy, particularly a part-of-whole metonymic relationship, i.e., a synecdoche. The man reduces her existence to that of a bearer of teeth, as a part stands for the entirety of her being.

One meaning he gives to his objects of interest is that of teeth as "Des ideas" [6] (p. 585). This appropriation could represent an intellectual critique of engaging with idea(l)s, and as a transfer of value: an object of research and the core of one's intellectual concern, the teeth, become the ideas and ideals themselves.

Another gap in the narrative occurs on the day of Berenice's funeral, who died after a seizure. This one, among all the other blanks, manifests as *underseeing*. Throughout the story, the text flow is disrupted three times: in these sections, marked with "****", the reader is asked to imagine what is not said and what role this absence plays. In one interpretation, they can represent text-level disruptions of Egæus's logic and Poe's intention to lead readers to construct their horrific interpretations of the acts to be committed without constraining the horror with an already-given version.

The story's conclusion completes the textual gap: Egæus is woken up by a loud female scream and by his servant, who points at his stained clothes and a box on the table. The mystery of the cries is unveiled: a woman's tomb has been unearthed; she was alive and throbbing with pain. Egæus drops the box on the floor, and "ivory-looking substances" [6] (p. 586) fall on the floor: the cries of pain belong to Berenice. After discovering his act, the narrator maintains his monomaniac analytical mentality during the last moments of the narrative, as he thoroughly depicts the teeth as ivory objects. As such, the punctuation marks' absences foreshadow the narrator's unawareness of the torment he inflicted on a still-alive Berenice. The plot is medically accurate since she is buried on the same day, she presumably died: studies show that a human in a state of catalepsy can survive at least five hours in such a condition [3]. Her premature burial can also be understood as medical experts' incapacity to discern between a patient suffering from a coma and a deceased patient.

The denouement portrays Berenice alive and tortured, with a slight chance of survival. Her voice, which has been marginalised and not heard throughout the story, shrieks at the end of it, rousing Egæus from his slumber and *underseeing* phase. Furthermore, she has been stripped of her bodily integrity: while he is unaware of pulling out each of Berenice's 32 teeth, she felt the process and suffered the anguish resulting from it. Berenice is condemned to death three times by the same victimiser: firstly, she is objectified and deprived of her complete human self; secondly, she has her life taken away from her by being buried alive; and thirdly, she is tormented by Egæus and closer to death than ever before. The line between life and death has been blurred again, with irreparable consequences.

Their given names might have been selected as a means to confuse the readers. In Greek mythology, Aegeus, king of Athens, commits suicide, which is less likely to happen in the case of Poe's Egæus. In a deal with Aphrodite, Berenice uses her hair in exchange for her husband's survival. Poe's Berenice does not offer a part of her willingly, but she has it taken away from her

by her promised spouse. The return of her loved one brings painful agony and undeniable alienation. In this manner, the names, like the epigraph at the story's debut, mislead the readers in their interpretation and educate them to proceed cautiously when interpreting a story and interpret it merely in terms of traditional values.

3. "The Black Cat"

3.1. *The First Black Cat: Pluto's Resistance*

The narrative opens with the confession of a first-person narrator who is dying and declares that he is writing about his experience in order to "unburden [his] soul" [6] (p. 203) and not to persuade whoever might read his narrative of its truthfulness. The nameless narrator's discourse, which is that of a dying man, pushes the readers to trust his narrative due to its confessional tone and prompts them to consider that deception provides no benefit to a man in his predicament. Although the narrator might have nothing to gain, his discourse appears ambiguous from the first paragraph. He claims his wild, but ordinary encounters occurred in a homely environment, leading to his death. The ambiguous co-joining of these adjectives has him encouraging the recipients of his message to strip his story of anything that opposes rationality and "phantasm" [6] (p. 204) because he could not do so himself. These juxtaposition series blur the distinctions between truth and deception and the boundaries between the real and the supernatural.

Similarly, the boundaries between the narrative and the real realm intertwine: the narrator's request can be interpreted as the author's intention for his character to reach out to the reader directly. The reader has to solve a developing detective story in which they follow and assume detective Auguste Dupin's abilities.

The narrative's ambivalence persists when the narrator attempts to clarify the situation. After hearing a dying man's confession, the readers shape an image of the narrator by delving into his background. The narrator recalls his childhood and affection for animals, his wife's mutual love for them, and a black cat named Pluto (in Greek mythology, Pluto is the God of the Underworld). According to him, the turning point in his behaviour is the intensifying presence of the "Fiend Intemperance" [6] (p. 204), which is why he changes his comportment: he verbally and physically abuses his wife and pets, including Pluto.

Pluto and the wife share a burden: they are constantly assaulted by the man of the house. As agents of nature and the domestic sphere, the cat and the woman are subjected to harm inflicted by the outsider who enters their domain. His abuses represent man's mistreatment of nature. First, Pluto is a cat, and second, women are often associated with nature (the wife embodies a gentle relationship with all the house pets without maltreating them). Thus, the two represent a joint entity, a communion from which the narrator excludes himself.

Even so, Pluto is the only one who resists his abusive behaviour by biting him, while his wife remains silent in fear of the abuser. The narrator justifies his actions by saying that his intoxication with alcohol causes an obsessive irritation in the presence (or absence) of others (he gauges Pluto's eye out just because the cat avoided his company on a drunken night) and that because it is man's nature to break the *Law* (divine law and human law). As such, since the narrator does not abide by any of the two laws and deliberately goes against them, his actions prove his malevolence: in response to the cat's love throughout the years, he reacts with a criminal gesture by hanging Pluto in a tree.

His actions betray his declaration of remorse for his criminal deed: he falls asleep after committing the murder. His sleep is interrupted by a fire, which spreads throughout the house, destroying it. No human lives are lost, but the narrator sees a vision of a black cat with a rope on its neck projected on a wall that did not catch fire. He believes someone must have taken the

hung cat and thrown it into his bedroom to wake him up. In this respect, the image of the cat may spring from the narrator's sense of guilt and denial, while the fire may announce purification by destruction.

3.2. The Second Black Cat – Speaking for the Silenced

While at a tavern, indulging in his excessive alcohol consumerism, the narrator spots a black cat which he takes home. His wife is fond of it, just like she was with Pluto. The only difference between the two cats is that the second one has a bundle of white fur on its chest. As in the previous case, the cat triggers his obsessive irritation and the urge to kill it because it reminds him of his previous deed: the black cat, unnamed, is also missing an eye. Today, his inclinations to torture and murder are labelled as IATC (intentional animal torture and cruelty). These manifestations are included in the category of psychological disorders, and the unnamed narrator has an evident psychopathic personality. According to COPS [4] (p. 13), the torture and murder of animals are an early diagnosis of future cases of homicide.

Just as Pluto and the wife belong to the same category of victims, Pluto's death anticipates the woman's death at the hands of the same perpetrator. As such, the outcome is foreshadowed: following a murderous pattern, the narrator does not limit his victim range to non-humans anymore. His signs of psychopathic behaviour peak when he attacks the black cat in the cellar (a representative place for his addiction). The "*brute beast*" [6] (p. 207) is attacked because its presence and white fur allude to some gallows. As such, the readers ought to search for the manifestations of the darker corners of the mind by looking beyond the appearances of the narrator's discourse: the narrator skillfully uses speech to divert the readers' gaze and justify himself by blaming the presumed provocateurs.

His traits are revealed by analysing his actions and specific *slips* in the text, which provide the essence of the narrative. As such, following his altercation with the black cat, he cuts the wife's hand with an axe, plunging it into her head afterwards. The woman falls silent in death, just as she was abused while alive: opposing no resistance. After his murder, the narrator is proud of hiding the body in the walls of the cellar and cannot find the cat, whom he considers the author of the deed. Again, his actions are deliberate when he falls asleep with ease after the crime, showing no remorse: "I soundly and tranquilly slept" [6] (p. 208). According to Weinauer, his crimes are "murderous efforts to elude the perilous intimacies of marriage and domesticity" [8] (p. 181).

Resistance towards his behaviour and crimes manifest again at the tale's end. While being investigated by the police, the narrator hits the wall where he has concealed his wife, being very proud of his flawless craft. An uprising scream, a voice "only out of hell" [6] (209) from within the wall, urged the authorities to take it down. As such, the criminal deed was revealed by the screams of the disappeared cat, buried alive with the killed wife in the cellar's wall. Even in these moments, the narrator denies his authorship in the murder and blames the cat for sending him to the gallows. Although he blames the cat for his deeds, the narrator himself is the one who committed the crimes and paved his way to the tomb. If the story's last sentence is interpreted as a representation of emotional transfer: "I had walled up the monster within the tomb" [6] (p. 209), the term *monster* can be attributed to the narrator himself and not to the cat.

All in all, the unnamed narrator uses a persuasive argument to justify his deeds. In his pursuit to delude the readers, the language is well-constructed. However, it contains slips of meaning which betray him, just as how the second cat *betrayed* his crimes: double negations and various conflicting situations are presented (his desired gentle appearance vs his violence and crimes towards his wife and pets), all contributing to the unveiling of his leaning towards murderous acts. Moreover, he identifies others as the authors of his deeds. The victimiser blames the victims,

which is another trait of psychopathic behaviour taken to the extreme: he uses his alcohol addiction to employ verbal and physical violence, he maltreats and kills Pluto to take out his anger, he kills his wife because of the second cat's presence, and he hates the second cat for revealing his crime.

4. Merging the Textual Boundaries of the Stories: A Comparison

As investigated above, both narrators follow a path of obsession and decay, triggering a series of consequences and leading to murder and self-dehumanisation. The titles anticipate the beings that supposedly trigger these processes and the victims who suffer from the manifestations of these mental disorders: the black cats are the beings which the unnamed narrator obsesses over, while Berenice's teeth become Egæus's mania.

Moreover, the victims respond differently to their perpetrators: Berenice employs resistance by screaming and scratching Egæus with her nails only at the end of the narrative when he tortures her. Berenice's behaviour might allude to the fact that she was unaware of his monomaniac manifestation before being buried, just as he was unaware of it himself. In the second story, both black cats employ resistance: Pluto attacks and bites the unnamed narrator before being hanged, while the black cat with whitened gallows on her chest screams from within the wall and divulges his crime. The only victim that stays silent while being abused by the unnamed narrator is his wife, whose agency is transferred to both black cats.

Gendered constructs are relayed in both stories - the depicted gender relations are always one of domination by the male figures and submission from the female part. The unnamed narrator tyrannically rules over the domestic sphere by asserting total dominance over every house inhabitant, whether human or non-human entities. He seems to be a recluse, just like Egæus. While Egæus spends time in the library, the unnamed narrator does not state his preoccupation: either it is not essential according to his purposes of the confessional story, either he does not have one, and his presupposed role overlaps with the one of his wife's, a fact that leads to a predictable outcome: one would be replaced by the other.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the short narratives illustrate paths of human decay through addictions and mental diseases, raising the question of what it means to overlook these issues in and outside America (the places of action are not mentioned). Moreover, another question can be asked: how did or how should America deal with such misconduct and gruesome acts? The answer to this question is given in "The Black Cat": the murderer is to be hanged since he is aware of the employed actions which paved the way towards committing torture and crimes. Although he employs the implication of a sinister force, connecting it to witches and superstition, his actions are punished by the rules of the tangible realm: the second black cat brings justice with its presence. Here, the Biblical wording "an eye for an eye" [5] (as present in Mathew 5:38) can be adapted to this story: the man, consumed by alcohol and psychopathic tendencies, has his life taken away from him in the same manner he took the life of the innocent Pluto, by hanging. In "Berenice", Egæus is unaware of his deeds throughout the narrative: his actions are not deliberate. In other words, his destiny might take two different turns: he might be diagnosed as insane and sent to an asylum, or he might be convicted of murder and sentenced to have a shared destiny with the unnamed narrator in "The Black Cat".

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A CORPUS-DRIVEN ANALYSIS OF CORRELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH

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Abstract

The correlative constructions of the Romanian language are essentially symmetrical structures in which the head of the relative clause is semantically and syntactically congruent with the correlative term. The appearance of the correlative term as an extension of the relative construction often has an emphatic effect, the speaker having the explicit intention of highlighting certain aspects of his message.

Besides other grammatical structures presidential speeches also contain correlative structures with different semantic and discursive-pragmatic roles. Depending on the topic of the speech and the intention of the speaker, we distinguish several correlatives, presenting their features with the help of the selected corpus and observing how they contribute to the coherence and persuasiveness of the speech.

The analyzed corpus contains 41 speeches of president Klaus Iohannis between March 2022 and March 2023 published on the website presidency.ro. The analysis of the corpus is both quantitative and qualitative. From a quantitative point of view, the occurrence of certain correlatives is highlighted, and from a qualitative point of view, the role and effect of correlatives is analyzed.

Keywords

correlatives; position; effect; emphasis; variety; presidential speech; coherence; persuasiveness

1. Introduction

The idea that correlative constructions have a special type of structure has deep roots in the studies of the 18th century, and it directly influenced the subsequent research (Mignon [16]). Lipták [15], Fery, Meinunger, Schwabe [9], Chung [6], Johannessen [14], Hendriks [12], Hofmeister [13] are just a few of the researchers interested in describing the complexity of correlative constructions in different languages of the world. Their analyses have resulted into a considerable number of publications. Regarding the Romanian language, many linguists have analyzed the correlative constructions from structural, semantic, syntactic and pragmatic

perspectives: Braşoveanu [4], Chircu [5], Constantinescu-Dobridor [7], Stan [19], Rizescu [18], Gheorghe [11] and Bîlbîie [3].

The definition most linguists agree with and also the one we embrace in this paper is that correlative constructions are symmetrical constructions, “biclausal topic-comment structures [...] [in which] the dependent clause introduces one or more topical referents to be commented on by the matrix clause, where each topical referent must be picked up by – correlated with – an anaphoric proform” (Bittner [2]). Starting from this basic information, the research questions I am trying to answer in this paper are:

What motivates the author to select a certain correlative configuration to deliver his message to his listeners?

Are there any preferences for a certain structure?

What is the semantic and syntactic role of the selected structures?

The theme of the paper is a complex one, especially if we consider the short number of studies including Romanian data, thus being very difficult to get to valid descriptive generalizations.

The purpose of this paper derives from the above-mentioned research questions. Firstly, the investigation aims at identifying the occurrence of certain correlative constructions. Secondly, the focus will be on semantic and syntactic aspects of the correlative constructions and also on the sense of using them in a certain context.

The corpus was built by the author and contains 41 speeches of president Klaus Iohannis between March 2022 and March 2023 published on the website presidency.ro. The data collected were then organized in a database, according to the target structures (based on the sentence connectors specific to this kind of constructions). For the quantitative and qualitative analysis, I selected 74 correlative constructions. My premise was that presidential speeches provide an excellent locus for investigating the correlative constructions, as they express an embodiment of the speaker’s experience, as a way of communication, and, ultimately, as a form of persuasion. Starting from this premise, I describe both coordinated and subordinate correlative patterns. Using the concepts and the instruments of different domains (mostly syntax and semantics) the methodology might seem miscellaneous, but I am aware of the fact that this topic cannot be captured completely using only one methodological framework. Instead, an integrative approach used for the corpus-driven analysis would be more appropriate, and capable of motivating the use and effect of these constructions.

2. Quantitative analysis

The results of the quantitative analysis are summarized by the two diagrams below:

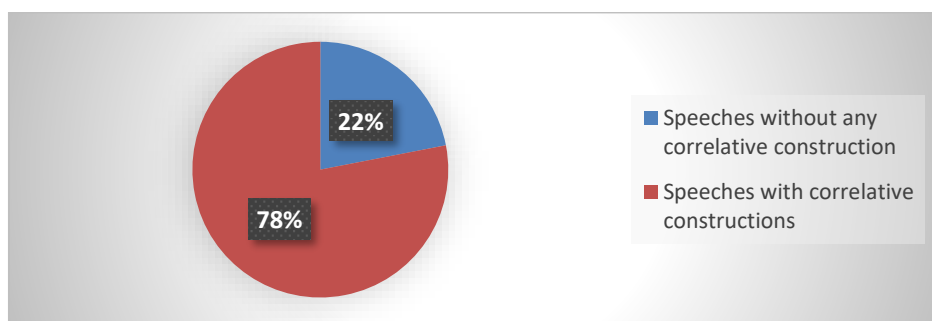


Diagram. 1. The occurrence of correlative constructions in the selected corpus.

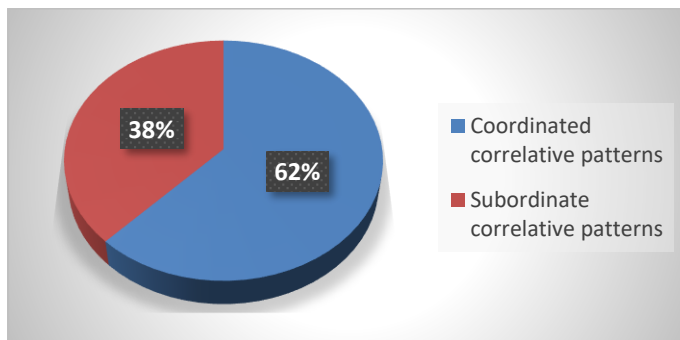


Diagram. 2. Distribution of correlative patterns in the selected corpus.

As shown by diagram. 1., most speeches contain at least one correlative construction. Speeches that do not include any correlative structure are much shorter than the speeches containing correlative elements and they are rather informative. Their topics are related to different events like Army Day, Day of German Unity and Heroes Day.

However, diagram. 2. shows that there is a significant difference in the occurrence of coordinated and subordinate correlative patterns¹. In terms of coordination, the correlation is realized through the conjunction and adverbial system, both systems being characterized in most cases by the homogeneity of the terms (when the two elements of the correlation are identical – e.g *nici ... nici, poate ... poate, fie ... fie*) but also recording heterogeneous elements (when the two elements are different – e.g *atât ... cât și, ori ... sau, nu numai ... ci și*):

nu doar/ numai ... ci și (not only ... but also);
atât ... cât și (both);
ori ... sau (either ... or);
și ... și (both);
nu ... ci (not ... but);
nici ... nici (neither ... nor);
poate ... poate (maybe ... maybe);
fie ... fie (either ... or);
fie ... sau (either ... or).

Diagram. 3. illustrates the occurrence of these structures:

¹ I made this classification based on the relation between the two units of the correlative construction, which can be coordination or subordination.

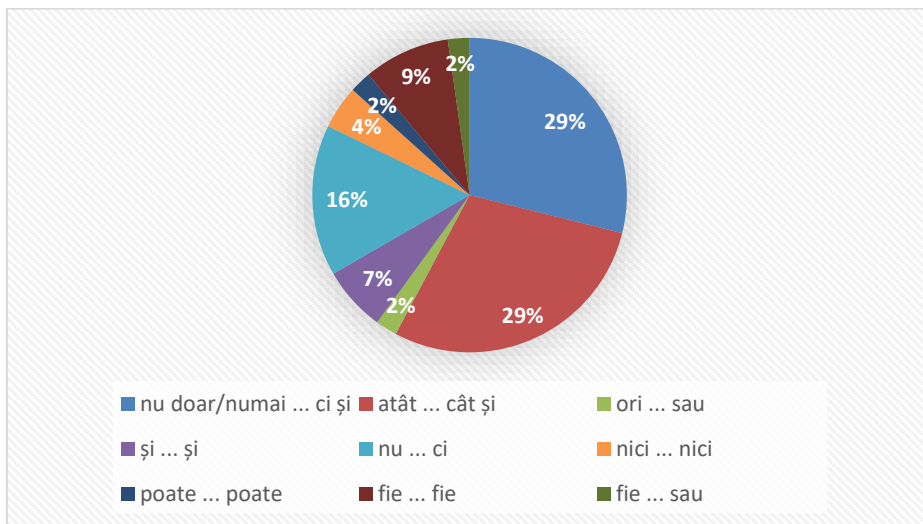


Diagram. 3. The occurrence of coordinated correlative patterns.

Diagram. 3. shows that the most used structures are *nu doar/ numai ... ci și* and *atât ... cât și*, while the least used structures are *poate ... poate*, *ori ... sau* and *fie ... sau*.

On the other hand, subordinate correlative patterns include a wide range of temporal, concessive, modal, local, conditional and consecutive constructions:

atunci ... când/ chiar și atunci când (then when/ even when);

astfel încât/ în așa fel încât (so as to);

cu toate ... totuși (despite ... still);

așa cum (as);

acolo unde (there where);

dacă ... atunci (if ... then).

Diagram. 4. summarizes the preferences for the use of this type of correlatives:

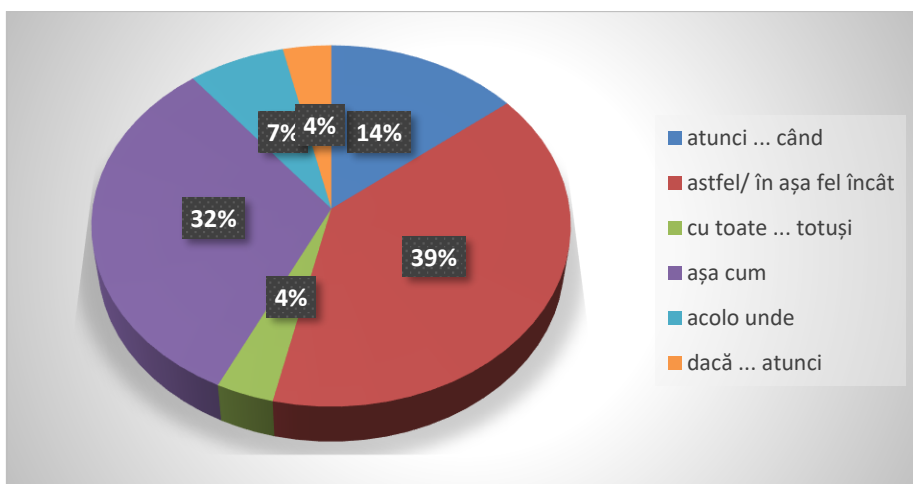


Diagram. 4. The occurrence of subordinate correlative patterns.

As shown in diagram 4., the most used structure is the welded structure *astfel încât*, while the least used structures are *dacă ... atunci* and *cu toate ... totuși*.

Therefore, the results of the corpus analysis reveal important linguistic features of the Romanian language. The most important feature is the variety regarding the system of correlatives, as we observed in the quantitative analysis and as we will demonstrate further through the qualitative analysis.

3. Qualitative analysis

The starting point of the qualitative analysis is the definition of Chircu [5] who states that correlative constructions "contribute to the establishment of semantic and/or syntactic relations, with the aim of ensuring textual coherence and revealing the connections that are established in the sentence" (my translation).

Regarding the coordinating correlatives, from Bîlbîie's point of view [3], a clear differentiation must be made between symmetric and asymmetric structures. Symmetric structures are structures with two identical conjunctions/ adverbs in correlation (like *nici ... nici*), and asymmetrical ones are made up of different conjunctions (*atât ... cât și*).

*Știm cât de prețioase sunt toate acestea, dar mai știm, și prezentul ne demonstrează, că nu sunt **nici** universale, **nici** eterne.*

'We know how precious all these are, but we also know, and the present proves to us, that they are **neither** universal **nor** eternal'

*Totodată, Constituția României din 1923 a reprezentat **atât** o expresie, **cât și** o bază normativă pentru unificarea legislativă.*

'At the same time, the Romanian Constitution of 1923 represented both an expression and a normative basis for legislative unification'

Bîlbîie [3] also classifies coordinating correlatives, at the level of the Romanian language, into the disjunctive type (*fie, sau, ori*) and the copulative type (*și ... și*), mentioning the fact that for the Romanian language, symmetrical structures are relevant thanks to the homogeneity of the mentioned structures.

In the example (3) chosen by us, the use of *și ... și* as a symmetrical, homogeneous and coordinating structure that marks the coordination relationship at the intra-propositional level is noted:

*Vă mulțumesc și vă doresc mult succes, **și** doamnelor, **și** domnilor, o primăvară foarte frumoasă!*

'Thank you and I wish you much success, both ladies and gentlemen, a very nice spring!'

Within the examples from (4), the correlative use of the conjunctions *fie ... fie* is highlighted, which "prototypically marks the exhaustiveness, therefore the exclusive interpretation of disjunctions with two terms" (Zafiu [21]).

*O contribuție importantă aveți și la granița cu Republica Moldova și Ucraina, unde vă implicați activ în gestionarea fluxului de refugiați care intră pe teritoriul României, **fie** prin participarea la operaționalizarea unor centre de tranzit în localități din zona de frontieră, **fie** prin derularea misiunilor de transport de persoane și ajutoare materiale.*

‘You also have an important contribution at the border with the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine, where you are actively involved in managing the flow of refugees entering the territory of Romania, **either** by participating in the operationalization of some transit centers in localities in the border area, **or** by running missions of transporting people and material aids.’

In the case of disjunctive correlatives we have also recorded situations in which hybrid constructions appear, such as *fie ... ori ... sau*:

Fie că activați în sectorul public, în cel asociativ, financiar ori în cel de business, în educație sau cercetare, mare parte din eforturile pentru asigurarea sustenabilității în România vi se datorează.

‘**Whether** you are active in the public sector, in the associative, financial or business sector, in education **or** research, most of the efforts to ensure sustainability in Romania are due to you.’

Zafiu [21] states that in such hybrid constructions "the double value of the disjunctive connector splits: the first element marks the modal value (of hypothesis, in the domain of the unreal), (...) and the second indicates the actual alternative".

A problematic aspect is the framing of the structure *nu numai ... ci și* in a certain type of coordination. The structure is most often classified in the copulative type due to the cumulative meaning it encompasses, although it can also have an adversative meaning.

O demonstrează nu numai vizibilitatea fără precedent a întregii regiuni în care ne aflăm, ci și prezența celor peste 5.000 de militari aliați în România.

‘It is demonstrated **not only** by the unprecedented visibility of the entire region in which we are located, **but also** by the presence of over 5,000 allied soldiers in Romania.’

Legile și normele de aplicare pentru implementarea acestui Proiect trebuie să reflecte nu doar litera, ci și spiritul său incluziv, în care valorile fundamentale în construcția și practicile sistemului de educație sunt respectate.

‘Laws and implementing rules for the implementation of this Project must reflect **not only** the letter, **but also** its inclusive spirit, in which the fundamental values in the construction and practices of the education system are respected.’

Așadar, toată această perioadă de dezbateri publice este esențială pentru ca, la finalul ei, să nu avem doar un pachet legislativ încheiat, ci și un proiect care se bucură de o susținere publică largă.

‘Therefore, this entire period of public debate is essential so that, at the end of it, we **not only** have a cohesive legislative package, **but also** a project that enjoys broad public support.’

Therefore, the correlative patterns present in the realization of the coordination are homogeneous (except for the heterogeneous structures *nu ... ci, nu numai ... ci și, atât ... cât și*), have an emphatic character and prototypically highlight copulative, adversative or disjunctive coordination. In the correlative construction, the first term is the correlative, with the role of anticipation, and the second is the relational one.

On the other hand, the subordinate elements *when/ where/ how* can receive a series of correlatives, among which stand out adverbs from the same semantic category (*then, there, so*), but there are also situations where the structure of the construction includes adverbs that are incongruous from the point of view semantic. In most of the cases, the correlative element is only a focusing constituent, meant to mark a certain insistence, and helps to establish the type of subordinate.

Depending on the position of the correlative, Chircu [5] describes anticipatory and reluctant correlatives. The anticipatory correlatives stand before the regent, being "signalizers" (Neamțu [17]), and the repeating correlatives stand after the regent, resuming the semantic information and representing a mark of insistence, an idea also expressed by Diaconescu [8]: "At the syntagmatic level, a basic unit is resumed by a correlative, when it is preceded by the regent, and the speaker wants to insist on its syntactic position". In our corpus, the correlatives are usually "signalizers" as they mostly stand before the regent.

Bejan [1] states that this type of correlation is made between the same adverbs or between different adverbs, and correlatives can be optional or obligatory. In the present case, the correlatives have an optional status, their use being relevant only at the level of maintaining the relationship between the subordinate and the regent. Chircu [5] for his part supports the optionality of these constructions: "In general, they are optional, but often their use is imposed by what we call the atmosphere of the statement".

This non-isolation phenomenon is viewed by Vasilescu [20] as a tendency to merge into a single grammatical unit. Also, some linguists consider these welded structures, because the correlative and the connector become close, they take the form of adverbial locutions (GA [10]):

*În același timp, România dispune de fonduri europene semnificative pentru dezvoltare în următorii ani, **astfel încât** nu mai există justificări pentru care marile proiecte de infrastructură să sufere întârzieri.*

‘At the same time, Romania has significant European funds for development in the coming years, **so** there are no longer any justifications for major infrastructure projects to suffer delays.’

*Totodată, credem că ușa NATO trebuie să rămână deschisă în viitor și altor parteneri, inclusiv Ucraina și Georgia, **așa cum** a fost decis la Summitul de la București, în 2008, chiar în această clădire.*

‘At the same time, we believe that NATO's door must remain open in the future to other partners, including Ukraine and Georgia, as was decided at the Bucharest Summit in 2008, right in this building.’

Sometimes, "the correlative is also associated with a restrictive operator, without constraints regarding the order of the constituents" (Gheorghe [11]). The order of the constituents is not influenced by the occurrence of this operator. The following example illustrates the double correlation phenomenon resulting from the addition of the restrictive operator *chiar și* (*even*):

*Profesia de dascăl este una creatoare de viitor, iar dumneavoastră ați demonstrat, în ultimii ani, că sunteți capabili și hotărâți să reinventați mijloacele tradiționale de predare pentru a face ca educația să continue, **chiar și atunci când** pandemia ne-a impus restricții severe.*

‘The teaching profession is one that creates the future, and you have demonstrated, in recent years, that you are capable and determined to reinvent the traditional means of teaching to make education continue, **even when** the pandemic has imposed restrictions on us severe.’

Conclusions

In conclusion, I consider that the analyzed presidential speeches present a semantic, syntactic and discursive variety of correlative structures. More precisely, I claim that the use of certain correlative structures is not random, but it is always ‘motivated’ by syntactic, semantic, and also pragmatic factors.

The higher frequency of disjunctive, adversative and copulative correlatives contribute to the

coherence of the speech and shows the implicit intention of the speaker to put his message in the best conjunctive context in order to persuade his audience.

The most important conclusion we reach, after interpreting the examples from the corpus, is that most of the time, the correlative patterns can be divided into dichotomies like symmetric-asymmetric, isolated-non-isolated, homogeneous-heterogeneous, "unique"-double, autonomous constituent-mark. These ways of framing correlative structures gave us a clear and broad view of them and allowed us to identify their basic features.

The observations made in the present paper therefore represent a solid starting point in terms of research at the level of correlatives, but, certainly, the research must be extended to all types of subordination. That is why, in the following research, we will consider the category of complements and pronominal clauses.

Acknowledgment

My doctoral research supervisor, Professor Mihaela Gheorghe, PhD, Transilvania University of Braşov, is my example of devotion, ambition, perseverance and gentleness. I thank her for all the patience and dedication that have helped me to explore the vague domain of correlative constructions. For that I am eternally grateful.

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FUNCTIONAL APPROACHES TO TRANSLATION

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Abstract

Functional approaches to translation have emerged as a widely used framework for understanding the process and practice of translation. Unlike traditional approaches that prioritise fidelity to the source text, functional approaches focus on the purpose and function of translations in their target contexts. As a result, they view translations as dynamic, context-dependent, and shaped by the needs and expectations of their audiences. In the forthcoming discussion, we shall investigate the fundamental characteristics of functional approaches to translation, including their theoretical underpinnings, main concepts, and practical ramifications. We will rely on the expertise of influential scholars in this area to present a comprehensive outline of this perspective.

Keywords

functional approaches to translation; skopos; functionality; text typology

1. Main concepts

Functional approaches to translation are grounded in the theoretical foundations of functional linguistics, which highlights the communicative purpose of language and the influence of context on meaning. This perspective views language as a social semiotic system that serves specific functions in various communicative contexts. In accordance with this viewpoint, Halliday notes, 'language is not a system of signs or symbols, but a resource for making meaning' [1] (p. 6).

This perspective has been extended to the field of translation by scholars such as Katharina Reiss and Hans Vermeer, who developed the concept of skopos theory. Functional approaches to translation are characterised by a number of key concepts that help to explain the process and practice of translation. These concepts include skopos, functionality and text type. According to skopos theory, translations aim to achieve a particular communicative goal in the target culture rather than simply replicating the form or content of the source text. As Vermeer explains, 'the purpose of translation is to produce a functionally adequate target text' [2] (p. 9).

Skopos theory proposes that the translator should assess the situational context of the translation, taking into account factors such as the intended audience, the communicative situation, and the cultural values and norms of the target culture. By doing so, the translator can determine the appropriate form, content, and style of the translation in order to achieve the intended communicative function. This approach emphasises the importance of meeting the

needs and expectations of the target audience, even if it means deviating from the form or content of the source text.

In functional approaches to translation, functionality refers to the extent to which a translation serves its intended purpose or function. A translation is deemed functionally successful if it fulfils the communicative requirements of the target culture. As Gideon Toury argues, 'The central task of a translation is to perform in the target context the functions performed by the source text in the source context' [3] (p.53). By placing functionality at the forefront of their approach, translators are equipped to make deliberate choices regarding the structure, substance, and manner of a translation with the aim of accurately conveying the intended message from the source culture to the target culture.

Text type refers to the genre or type of text being translated. Different text types may require different translation strategies in order to achieve the desired communicative function. For example, a literary text may require a more creative and interpretive approach, while a technical manual may require a more literal and precise approach.

Functional approaches to translation have important practical implications for translators, clients, and scholars. Some of the key implications include translation quality, translator autonomy, target audience, translation brief and evaluation.

In functional approaches to translation, the quality of a translation is not only assessed based on its faithfulness to the source text, but also on its ability to serve the intended communicative purpose in the target culture. As a result, translators are expected to meticulously consider the skopos, target audience, and cultural milieu of the translation to ensure that it meets the necessary functional requirements.

Skopos theory emphasises the autonomy of the translator in making strategic decisions about the translation. Translators are viewed as active agents who must negotiate the demands of the source text and the target culture in order to achieve the desired communicative function.

Translators must consider the needs, expectations, and cultural background of the target audience in order to produce a translation that is functionally adequate. This may involve adapting the style, tone, and register of the translation to suit the target culture.

A translation brief comprises instructions or guidelines given to the translator by the client or commissioner of the translation, indicating the skopos, target audience, communicative context, and other pertinent information that the translator should take into account while producing the translation.

The translation brief plays a crucial role in enabling the translator to comprehend the skopos, target audience, and communicative context of the translation. Therefore, it is essential that clients or commissioners of translations provide comprehensive and unambiguous instructions to help ensure the production of a functionally appropriate translation.

The evaluation of a translation should take into account its functionality in the target culture, as well as its fidelity to the source text. Evaluation criteria should be developed so as to reflect the communicative needs of the target audience and the purpose of the translation.

2. Text typology

Text typology is an important concept in reference to functional approaches to translation because it helps translators to identify the communicative purpose of the source text and to determine what appropriate translation strategies to use in order to convey that purpose in the target text.

Nord's 'text types' framework is a notable model for categorising texts in translation according to their communicative purpose and the connection between the source and target

texts. Nord identifies three main types of texts: informative, expressive, and operative (Nord, 1997; Nord, 2005). Informative texts aim to convey information, such as news articles, scientific texts, and technical manuals, and their translation demands a high level of accuracy and precision. Translators need to pay close attention to the meaning and terminology used in these texts to ensure that they are conveyed accurately. In contrast, expressive texts are intended to elicit emotions and aesthetic responses, such as literature, poetry, and advertising. Translating these texts demands a more imaginative and interpretive approach to convey the original text's nuances and emotional impact. Operative texts are texts intended to prompt a response or action from the reader, such as contracts, legal documents, and instruction manuals. In translating these texts, a high degree of precision and clarity is essential, as the legal and procedural requirements must be conveyed accurately.

Additional models of text typology have been suggested by scholars, including House's text categories and Reiss's text types and translation strategies. These models highlight the significance of examining the communicative purpose of the text as well as the correlation between the source and target texts to determine the suitable translation strategies.

House's text categories is a model of text typology that is widely used in translation studies. House identifies four main text categories: informative, expressive, operative, and interpersonal [4] (pp. 202-213). Interpersonal texts are designed to establish and maintain social relationships, such as personal letters, emails, and conversations. These texts require a high degree of cultural and linguistic sensitivity in translation, as the social conventions and language use may vary between cultures and languages. House's (1997) text categories emphasise the importance of analysing the communicative purpose of the source text and the relationship between the source and target texts in order to determine the appropriate translation strategies. This involves considering factors such as the intended audience, the cultural and social context, and the rhetorical and linguistic features of the text.

Reiss is a prominent translation theorist who has proposed a model of text types and translation strategies that has had a significant impact on the field of translation studies. Reiss identifies three main text types: informative, expressive, and operative [5] (p. 74). Informative texts are designed to convey information, facts, and knowledge, while expressive texts are designed to evoke emotions and aesthetic responses in the reader. Operative texts, on the other hand, are designed to elicit a response or action from the reader.

Reiss suggests a set of translation strategies that correspond to the different types of texts. For informative texts, the primary strategy is to attain equivalence in meaning and content while maintaining the original tone and style. For expressive texts, the main strategy is to prioritise the overall impact of the text on the reader, while also considering the linguistic and stylistic elements that contribute to that impact. For operative texts, the key strategy is to ensure that the translation adheres to the legal or procedural requirements of the target audience, while also conveying the intended meaning and effect of the original.

Reiss's model underscores the significance of evaluating the communicative purpose of the text and selecting an appropriate translation strategy that accomplishes this objective in the target language and culture. She also highlights the necessity of taking into account the intended readership and the social and cultural context of the source text, as these aspects can impact the appropriate translation strategy.

3. Skopos

Functional translation theories consider the notion of Skopos as a central concept. Introduced in the late 1970s by German translation theorist Vermeer, the term 'skopos' derives from the

Greek word for 'aim' or 'purpose', and it denotes the intended function or purpose of a translation [6].

Varmeer and Reiss (in Snell-Hornby) [7] (pp. 52-53), identify five broad translation types:

- interlinear version - the kind of translation that reproduces the sequence of source language words and structures disregarding target language rules;
- grammar translation - complies with the rules of usage in the target language for illustrative purposes, e.g., in foreign language teaching;
- documentary translation - aimed at informing the reader of the source text content;
- communicative translation - showing preference for the target culture and target language rules;
- adapting - the source text is assimilated to the highest degree in the target culture so as to serve a particular function.

Holz-Manttari's [8] (pp. 75-85) model draws heavily on action theory and communication theory. The actors involved in the process of translation are assigned different roles:

- the initiator, [person in need of the translation];
- the commissioner, [person that contacts the translator];
- the source text producer [author of the original text];
- the target text producer, [the freelance translator or the translation agency];
- the target text user, [end user];
- the target text recipient.

Nord's functionalist approach to translation is considered one of the most prominent and influential paradigms in the field of translation studies. Nord posits that translation involves more than a mere transfer of words across languages; instead, it entails transferring communicative functions from the source text to the target text. Accordingly, the translator's primary objective is to identify the communicative functions of the source text and determine suitable linguistic means to express them in the target language. (Nord, 1997/2005).

One of the key principles of Nord's functional approach is the notion of *skopos*, which refers to the intended purpose of a translation. According to Nord, the *skopos* is determined by the needs of the target audience and the communicative situation. Therefore, the translator's primary responsibility is to ensure that the target text fulfils the intended function for which it was commissioned.

Nord also emphasises the importance of considering the cultural context of the source and target texts. The translator must be aware of the cultural norms, values, and expectations of the target audience, and must adapt the translation accordingly. This requires a deep understanding of both the source and target cultures, and the ability to make strategic decisions about how to convey cultural nuances and references in the target text.

Nord's functional approach has been widely adopted in the field of translation studies and has influenced the development of other functional approaches, such as Katharina Reiss's text type and translation approach. However, the approach has also been subject to some criticism, particularly in regards to the potential for the translator to prioritise the *skopos* over the fidelity to the source text.

In 'Descriptive Translation Studies and beyond' (1995), Toury critiques Reiss's approach to translation, arguing that it can sometimes lead to translations that are overly influenced by the target culture and fail to capture the cultural context of the source text. In 'Skopos theory' (1998), Schaffner discusses some of the criticisms in reference to Reiss's approach to translation, including the potential for the *skopos* to override the fidelity to the source text. In 'Translation and the formation of cultural identities' (1999), Hermans argues that Reiss's approach to

translation can sometimes result in translations that prioritise the target culture over the source culture, leading to a loss of fidelity to the original text. In 'Translation as adaptation' (2014), Baker critiques Reiss's approach to translation as being too focused on the skopos, arguing that this can sometimes result in translations that are too far removed from the source text. Nonetheless, Nord's functional approach remains an important perspective in translation studies and continues to shape the way in which translators approach their work.

Conclusions

Functional approaches to translation underscore the significance of examining the communicative function and genre of the source text to ascertain the suitable translation techniques. This entails identifying the intended purpose of the text, the intended readership, and the cultural and social environment in which the text is created and consumed.

Functional approaches to translation provide a useful framework for understanding the process and practice of translation. By prioritising the communicative function of translations, these approaches recognise the dynamic and context-dependent nature of translation, and emphasise the importance of the translator's role in mediating between different languages and cultures.

Translators must thus be aware of the skopos, target audience, and cultural context of the translation, and must make strategic decisions about the form, content, and style of the translation in order to achieve the desired communicative function.

Acknowledgment

I hold deep appreciation for the indispensable contributions made by my esteemed doctoral research supervisor, Professor Titela Vilceanu, PhD, University of Craiova, to my academic growth, which I acknowledge and recognise with immense gratitude. I am profoundly appreciative of the priceless assistance and support she has graciously extended to me, which has undoubtedly contributed to the progression of my scientific research and to the shaping and advancing of my scholarly endeavors.

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THE INSTANTIATION OF SPEECH ACTS IN INSTITUTIONAL DISCOURSE

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Abstract

This paper aims to examine the main models used in pragmalinguistics to describe language acts as complex communicative units. In its introductory part it contains a brief introduction to the theory of language acts and the concept of language act.

Special attention is paid first to the principle of cooperation and conversational maxims in language acts and second to the principle of politeness in linguistics.

Keywords

speech act; politeness; principle of cooperation; conversational maxims

1. Introduction

The pragmatic analysis of language is concerned mainly with the modes of expression of those who communicate in given situations and less with the totality of the rules that make up natural language or with the interpretation of language in terms of the codes from which it is formed. In the public space in particular we use language to determine certain effects in terms of public attitudes, opinions and behaviour, not just to be able to convey informational content.

For example, in the case of social campaigns, the specialist or advertiser uses certain language rules to achieve certain goals, such as reducing discrimination. Thus, in order to be able to act on the speakers, he uses language which, leaving aside its actual content, can have either a warning effect, or a threatening or revolting effect, and so on.

Following the seminal work of the language philosophers Austin (1962) [1] and Searle (1969) [2], which conceived the so-called speech act theory, the 1970s and 1980s saw a great interest in the study of speech acts in different languages and cultures, especially among language learners and in cross-cultural interactions.

Many works on speech acts converge on the theme of politeness as an explanation or motivation for the type of linguistic forms that prevail in the performance of a given act. The study of linguistic politeness within pragmatics can also be said to have its point of departure in the work of another language philosopher, H. Paul Grice (1975) [3], although the foundations of the most remarkable models proposed are to be found in conceptions of social interaction from anthropology, sociology and social psychology.

The study of language acts has been advanced by a number of disciplines concerned with examining language in the social context of its emergence, a context that does not fit into the theory of language acts as conceived by Searle in particular, as will be discussed in the next section [2]. More recently, although to a lesser extent, the study of speech acts has also been influenced by critical discourse analysis, associated with the work of Norman Fairclough (1989; 1995) [4] in particular (see also van Dijk 1993) [5], in terms of the need to consider power and ideology in the study of language, leading to the study of speech acts as mechanisms for the creation and reproduction of power relations in specific social contexts.

2. The principle of cooperation and conversational maxims in speech acts

Most professionals in various fields are unaware of the impact that misuse of words has on the outcome of communication, just as public or private institutions may use language without prior pragmalinguistic analysis. The quality of decision making is largely determined by the quality of the information we use to make decisions, and in this respect words are essential for effectiveness. The correct use of words is therefore paramount, as words carry much of the information that is used in decision-making processes. The study of speech acts was initiated highlighted by the proposals of communication ethnography to examine language in its social context, within a particular speech community, and to highlight the rules of speech corresponding to different speech events. This proposal contrasted sharply with the practice of Chomskyan linguistics at the time, which promoted the study of language as an ideal system, isolated from its users. For Chomsky (1957, 1965) [6], the object of study of linguistics should be what he called the competence of speakers, i.e., their knowledge of the rules of a language that enables them to create and recognize new sentences and identify grammatical errors, not their use (performance) in real situations. Hymes contrasts Chomsky's notion of competence, which he calls linguistic competence, with communicative competence, or the knowledge that members of a community of speakers have that enables them to function adequately in different events in a language. As far as speech acts are concerned, the initial task set by some researchers is to identify the acts that stand out in their speech community and try to describe the rules of use.

Grice, in particular, sets out a number of conditions for our interlocutor to understand what we say. This author lists a kind of requirement that all participants in any conversation must meet in order for it to be coherent. These conditions are grouped under the so-called principle of cooperation, which takes the form of a series of categories called conversation maxims. These maxims describe what should be said in a conversation in order for it to be more accurate and less ambiguous. In other words, what requirements a communication must meet in order to be most effective: "Adapt your conversational contribution, at whatever stage it occurs, to the requirements of the purpose or direction of the exchange in which you are engaged" [3] (p. 516). In other words, this principle is the foundation of any successful communicative exchange.

We, speakers, assume that our interlocutors are cooperative, i.e., they follow the rules that make up each of the maxims. Thus, when we have a conversation, when we read a text someone has addressed to us, or when we hear a person speak, we assume that our interlocutor will give us the correct information we need (quantity maxim), that it will be true (quality maxim), relevant (relevance maxim), and that it will be presented in a clear and orderly way (manner maxim). In other words, the four maxims are divided into several subcategories:

1. *Quantity maxim*. This refers to the amount of information that is brought into the conversation. It has two aspects:

- Your contribution should be as informative as it needs to be, i.e., you should not contribute less information.

- Your contribution is no more informative than it needs to be, i.e., you do not contribute more information than you need to.
2. *Maximum quality*. This relates to the rigour and veracity of the information submitted. It includes two aspects:
- Avoid saying something you know is false, i.e., avoid deliberately lying.
 - Avoid saying something for which you do not have sufficient evidence, i.e., avoid thinking strictly on assumptions.
3. *Maximum form*. This refers to the way you express yourself. It has four aspects:
- Avoid using words whose meaning may be unknown to the other person, i.e., communicate as simply as possible.
 - Avoid ambiguity, i.e., make sure what you say is as concrete and interpretable as possible.
 - Be concise, i.e., avoid "making a long statement".
 - Maintain order, i.e., your communication should have a coherent structure that is easy for the other person to follow.
4. *Maximum relevance*, i.e., the information you provide should be useful and relevant to the conversation.

For example, if asked questions such as *How was your day at work?* or *What are you doing tonight?* is answered *badly* or *going out*, this would be a violation of maxim 1, because the questions involve an expectation of an answer that includes some level of detail, and the other person responds in a way that is clearly uncooperative from the standpoint of effective communication. The same would be true if you ask for a letter of recommendation from your former boss, and he sends you something like this: *X's professionalism during the years we worked together was fair and his performance was within the average of the organization.*

3. The principle of politeness in linguistics

As far as politeness is concerned, its examination would be part of the study of the socio-cultural norms of a community of speakers, as envisaged in the ethnography of communication. Thus, what is appropriate to say for the performance of various acts in a given culture, including, for example, the use of polite phrases and politeness formulas, would come to be polite behaviour in that culture. However, interest in the subject of linguistic politeness in pragmatic studies can be traced initially, as suggested above, to Grice's [3] work on the existence of a tacit principle of cooperation and maxims in conversation with which he attempts to explain how people get along with each other when they often say one thing and mean another. His proposal served as a starting point for Lakoff's [7], Brown and Levinson's [8] and Leech's [9] (among the most notable) models of politeness, which are considered in the next section.

Interest in the 1970s in explaining, following speech act theory and Grice's [3] proposal of a cooperative principle and maxims in conversation, why people often say one thing and mean another (the difference between Searle's [2] propositional content and illocutionary force and Grice's saying and undersaying [3]), led some scholars to consider politeness as a motivation for the use of indirect speech. In linguistics, the principle of politeness is understood as the set of conversational strategies designed to avoid or mitigate tensions that arise when the speaker is faced with a conflict created between his or her goals and those of the addressee. Conflicts often arise between politeness and Grice's principle of cooperation because the two pursue different goals [3].

Several theories of politeness have emerged, and R. Lakoff [7] is the first to establish rules of politeness in interaction. In parallel with Chomsky's [6] idea of native speaker competence,

Lakoff's proposal is that pragmatic rules are needed to disambiguate sentences and assess whether they are pragmatically appropriately formed, i.e., whether their form is appropriate to the context. These rules include rules of clarity, which would correspond to Grice's rules, and rules of politeness and apply in a given situation, depending on the degree of relatedness between the interlocutors [3]. Lakoff subdivides the rules of politeness into: *don't abuse*, *offer options*, *be polite* [7]. The first two rules would explain the use of indirect language. According to Lakoff, each of these rules, which give importance to the interpersonal relationship as opposed to the message-oriented rules of politeness, would predominate in different contexts, and from one culture to another, the order of prominence of the rules would vary. In his approach, politeness is presented, on the one hand, as behaviour designed to avoid offending people and, on the other, as behaviour designed to establish or strengthen bonds of friendship. The limitations of his proposal, however, include the absence of a clear delimitation of the so-called rules of politeness and the fact that he considers them in an abstract way, without situating them within a general theory of behaviour or social interaction.

Another important proposal is that of Leech [9] who believes that Grice's principle of cooperation cannot explain why people often prefer to use indirect forms to perform various actions; it mainly concerns the performance of impolite actions, those that constitute a cost to the listener and therefore conflict with politeness. Examples of such actions would be commands and requests. The use of indirect forms for such acts would be advantageous, according to Leech, in the sense that indirect forms give the listener options and in the sense that the more indirect an utterance is, the less forceful and hesitant it will be [9] (p.108). In the case of a request, for example, which would present a cost to the listener and a benefit to the speaker, the speaker's selection of an indirect form would aim to provide options for the listener and/or minimize the cost to the listener. According to G. Leech, linguistic politeness is a regulative principle of verbal behaviour, which is midway between social distance and sender's intention; it aims at social balance between interlocutors, even if the sender's communicative intention is disturbing for the receiver [9].

Leech evaluates politeness in terms of cost and benefit, so that a verbal action is more "rude" the higher the cost to the recipient and the lower the benefit, and more polite in the opposite case [9]. In line with this relationship, he classifies intentions into four general categories:

- Verbal actions that support politeness, such as a compliment, thank you or congratulations.
- Actions that are basically indifferent to politeness, e.g., a statement.
- Actions that conflict with politeness, such as a request or complaint.
- Actions directly directed against the maintenance of the relationship between the interlocutors, e.g., an insult, reproach or mockery.

It also outlines a series of maxims: *maxims of tact*, *generosity*, *approval*, *modesty*, *understanding* and *sympathy*. G. Leech's principle of politeness has been criticised for its approach as a complete principle with a large number of maxims, separate from the principle of cooperation.

However, one of the criticisms of Leech's approach is the suggestion that one can equate the use of indirect forms with politeness, although Leech does not generalize this to all types of actions [9]. Wierzbicka [10] and Blum-Kulka [11], for example, argue that being direct in the cultures they examine does not necessarily mean being rude. Indeed, according to Blum-Kulka, for example, in interpersonal relationships in Israeli culture, being frank matters more than avoiding trespassing on the other's ground. Other criticisms that have been made are also that the number of maxims that could be proposed is infinite (see Brown and Levinson 1987, Thomas

1995) and so on.

Another proposal for the study of politeness is that of the conversational contract, formulated by Fraser and Nolen [12] and Fraser [13]. Essentially, according to this proposal, which also takes Grice's [3] principle of cooperation as its starting point, participants approach an interaction with a notion of their rights and obligations, which determines what they can expect from the other participant(s). This is the conversational contract which, however, can be renegotiated during the interaction if there is a change in context. The terms of the contract would be determined either by convention, or by imposition by social institutions, or by previous interactions or aspects of the situation, depending on the participants' perception of their status, degree of power and the role they play in the interaction, for example. Being polite would then mean conforming to the terms of the social contract, and impoliteness would be perceived when this does not happen. There are no linguistic forms associated with politeness because, according to them [13] (p. 233), speakers are polite, not utterances.

However, the proposal that is considered by many to be the most coherent in explaining linguistic politeness is that of Brown and Levinson [8]. It is the proposal that has had and continues to have the greatest influence in linguistic studies of politeness. Their theory is inspired by the work of E. Goffman [14] who introduced the concept of public image. Based on this concept, Brown and Levinson believe that each person has a positive image (the need to be liked) and a negative image (the need not to be disturbed) [8]. During verbal interaction, speakers strive for stability in their relationships with others and therefore avoid damaging the other's image. In image-preservation, according to Goffman [14], there is a rule of self-respect and a rule of consideration, the former oriented towards preserving the self-image and the latter towards preserving the image of others. In interaction, individuals must maintain a balance between these two rules. Sometimes there are image-threatening acts, such as refusing an invitation: [A: Will you come with us to the cinema; B: No], and it is necessary to develop strategies to mitigate this attack, for example, justifying the refusal: [B: I have a lot of work]; or maximising the positive image of the interlocutor: [B: You are very kind, thank you, but I can't go]. Politeness is part of the learning content of a language and its culture and is therefore essential in foreign language lessons. Linguistic examples of politeness can be found in: attenuating uses of verbs such as the conditional or imperfect polite, polite personal forms, introductory utterances such as [please], [if you don't mind], [I beg you], etc. Brown and Levinson [8] start from the idea that the process of communication is a rational activity in which participants have goals to achieve and use a mode of reasoning that allows them to seek the means to achieve their goals.

Conclusions

In the approach we have referred to the importance of language, stressing that it is the activity of performing, as distinct from its meaning as a form of communication. In the conception of an institutional discourse the acts of language are relevant, but we must always consider the intentions of action. Thus, we have mentioned Searle's [2] study that refers to the issue of collective intentionality in the social domain. Of the three directions of interpretation of the phenomenon more precisely from mind to world, from world to mind and without direction, we have considered the first category.

Therefore, in the paper presented, another relevant conclusion that the main condition for the fulfilment of speech acts is the condition of sincerity. With regard to language in institutional speeches, it follows that we cannot accurately identify whether those delivering the message were sincere in the statements made.

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FROM POLITICS TO POLITENESS. UNDESTANDING THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN POWER, COMMUNICATION AND SOCIETY

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Abstract

Politics, power, communication and politeness are interlinked concepts in the modern world, as they all play an important role in how people interact and make decisions in society. The aim of the article is to explore how these concepts intersect and how they influence the way politicians, government officials and ordinary citizens communicate and make decisions. The study examines how politics and power are used to influence decisions, how communication plays a crucial role in this dynamic, and how politeness can be an effective tool to build positive and productive relationships between different stakeholders. The highlights of the article focus on the importance of politics and power in terms of decision making and implementation in society, but also how proper communication and politeness can contribute to building a healthy and productive political and social environment. Overall, the basic principles of politeness and how they can be applied to political communication come to compose a larger picture of today society, in terms of communication, transparency and civic engagement.

Keywords

politics; government power; politeness principles; civic engagement; decision-making; human relations

1. Introduction – general perspective on politics

One of the defining elements of human beings is the unique ability to think, feel and express in complex ways. Human beings have a great capacity to reflect on the world and understand new concepts and ideas. Humans are also capable of experiencing a wide range of emotions, from joy and happiness to sadness and grief. What's more, they are able to express these emotions through language and other forms of communication. Another important element of being human is our need to be part of a community and to interact with other people. As social beings, humans are programmed to always seek connection with others. This is reflected in daily behaviour, in time spent interacting with other people and in finding new ways to share experiences and build relationships. In addition, human beings are also characterised by a strong desire to seek meaning and significance in life. They seek purpose and direction and are often

motivated by aspirations that go beyond their own selves. This search for meaning is reflected in religion, philosophy and other value systems that help people construct their identities.

The human being is social, by nature and needs to interact with other people in order to survive and thrive. Politics is therefore a way of organising this interaction, of creating rules and institutions that allow people to live together more harmoniously and achieve their common goals. On the other hand, politics is strongly influenced by society and its cultural values and beliefs. Human beings are part of society and adapt to its norms and values. Thus, politics can be seen as an expression of the collective will and desires of a society at a given time. At the same time, politics can influence and change society. Through political processes, changes can be introduced in the social structure, in the distribution of power and resources and in cultural values and norms. For example, political struggles for civil rights and gender equality have led to significant changes in society. In terms of politics and communication, they are interdependent. Communication is the tool through which messages are conveyed and agreements are negotiated and established in the political process. Communication also plays an important role in mobilising citizens and influencing public opinion. In this context, politeness is an important aspect of political communication.

“Politeness is not only a question of what is said, but also of how it is said, and cultural norms influence the way in which politeness is expressed in political interviews” [1] (p. 646). Politicians need to communicate with citizens in a way that is respectful, transparent and demonstrates that they care about them and listen to their concerns and needs. On the other hand, politicians must be able to express their positions and negotiate effectively and firmly when necessary. Therefore, the relationship between human beings, politics and society is complex and interdependent. Politics is a way in which human beings organise their interactions in a society, and society and its values influence politics. Communication and politeness are important aspects of politics that allow people to communicate and work together to achieve common goals and change society for the better.

2. Historical overview

The history of politics is long and complex and has evolved significantly over time in response to political, economic, social and cultural changes. In ancient times, politics was governed by the systems of government of the world's great civilisations, such as the Athenian democracy, the Roman Republic or the Chinese Empire. In general, in ancient times, policies and decisions were made by a small number of leaders or aristocrats. In the Middle Ages, political power was held by the king or emperor, who ruled with the help of powerful nobles and churches. The feudal system was dominant and decisions were made by the king or by agreement with the nobles. As time went on, a movement towards democracy and liberalism emerged. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Enlightenment thinkers promoted ideas about human rights and individual freedom. The French Revolution of 1789 led to the emergence of a political system based on the principles of democracy and political representation. This period also saw the development of capitalism, which had a significant impact on politics. In the 20th century, politics has become increasingly complex and influenced by events such as the two world wars, the Cold War and globalisation. New ideologies such as socialism, communism, fascism and liberalism developed. Today, politics is influenced by a variety of factors such as globalisation, climate change and technological advances. In general, the evolution of politics has been characterised by a shift from a political system based on the power and authority of a single leader or small group of leaders to a more democratic and representative one, where decisions are made through more complex political processes and where citizens have more power and

influence.

3. Power and politics

Politics have always been interconnected with power, as politicians were considered powerful men that could decide important matters in a society. But it is unfair to equal politics and power. In a sense, politics and power are linked, as politics often involves the exercise of power in a particular field or context. Politics is the process by which collective decisions are made within a group or society and resources and power are managed in a society, and power is the ability to influence these decisions and implement them, with the help of human beings as the fundamental element of society. However, politics can also be seen as a means of protecting and promoting the interests of a group or society in a democratic and participatory way. In this sense, politics is more than power and involves civic engagement, public debate and decision-making for the common good. Therefore, politics is not always the same as power, as it depends on how power is exercised and how the political process is conducted. Some political systems may be characterised by abuse of power, corruption and nepotism, while others may be characterised by transparency, accountability and civic participation.

4. Political communication

Political communication involves the transmission of information, messages and ideas between politicians and citizens, but also between politicians and other stakeholders. This is done through specific means of communication, such as political speeches, interviews, TV debates, press releases, social media posts and others. Political communication focuses mainly on debating public issues and informing citizens about government decisions and policies but can also include the promotion of political candidates or political parties. The main purpose of political communication is to build and maintain a relationship of trust and respect between politicians and citizens, as well as between different political and interest groups. Political communication usually involves a variety of strategies and techniques, including political marketing strategies, public relations strategies and persuasion strategies. These strategies are designed to help politicians and political parties win the support of citizens and promote their political agenda. In addition, political communication can also involve analysing public opinion and political trends to help politicians tailor their messages and address important issues. In this sense, political communication can be considered an art and a science, involving a multitude of factors and variables. Therefore, political communication is an important aspect of democracy and governance, helping citizens to express their opinions and make informed decisions on public issues. Of course, face, as Brown and Levinson [2] presented is an extremely important aspect in this manner. In fact, their theory has been widely used in the study of political discourse and communication. The theory explains how individuals use language to manage face and how politeness strategies can be employed to mitigate face-threatening acts. In the political context, politicians and government officials often use politeness strategies to manage their own and others' face, particularly when communicating with the public, other politicians, or international counterparts.

5. Public vs interpersonal communication

Communication in politics is an essential process for establishing and maintaining relationships between politicians and for gaining the support and backing of the electorate. In general, political communication can be divided into two main categories: interpersonal communication and public communication.

Interpersonal communication refers to interactions between politicians, whether between party leaders or between representatives of different political parties. This type of communication can be used to negotiate and reach consensus on important political issues or to try to resolve conflict. It can also be used to coordinate their actions and share important information. Public communication, on the other hand, refers to communication between politicians and ordinary citizens. This communication is usually done through the media and public events such as rallies and speeches. This type of communication can be used to convey important political messages and to present their political platform in a coherent and accessible way. In addition, it can be used to respond to citizens' questions and concerns and to build trust and respect with the electorate.

In both cases, political communication requires a tactical and polite approach. Politicians need to be aware of each other's sensitivities and opinions, be willing to listen to and consider the views of others and try to find solutions that satisfy the interests of all parties involved. Politicians also need to be prepared to manage conflict situations and to deal with problems in a reasonable and responsible way.

According to Haugh [3] (p.501), "politeness plays a vital role in governance and diplomacy, not simply as a superficial or cosmetic concern, but as a substantive practice that can help build trust, foster cooperation, and promote social stability and order". An effective political communication is essential for building and maintaining a healthy democracy and for ensuring that choices and political decisions are made collectively and responsibly. Communication between politicians and ordinary people usually involves a power imbalance, as politicians hold the power to make decisions that affect the lives of citizens and to implement government policies and programmes. In this situation, the principles governing communication can be different, depending on the perspective from which it is viewed.

From the perspective of politicians, communicating with citizens can be seen as a way to promote their political agenda, to win the support of citizens and to gain the votes needed to be elected to public office. In this situation, the principles governing communication can be geared towards persuasion and manipulation, using political marketing and public relations techniques. From the citizens' perspective, communicating with politicians can be seen as a way of conveying their concerns and opinions, holding politicians accountable and making them respond to their needs and wishes. In this situation, the principles governing communication can be geared towards transparency, accountability and accessibility, through the use of means of communication that allow citizens to express their views and make their voices heard.

In general, the principles governing communication between politicians and citizens should be based on mutual respect, transparency and accountability. Politicians should be open to dialogue with citizens and respond to their questions and concerns, while citizens should exercise their right to free expression and make their voices heard in a constructive way.

6. Different (politeness) strategies used by politicians

According to Watts [4], politeness is a form of social power, and language is one of its key modalities. Political life leaves plenty of room for politeness strategies. As a matter of fact, politicians usually hire staff member to deliberately create all types of strategies. Most of them concern the public subconscious and the way people can be manipulated. But in order to control masses and manipulate, one politician needs to convey that type of message that can reach and satisfy people's minds. At most of the time, politeness is mandatory in all of these messages. In fact, politeness is extremely important in political communication because it helps to maintain a good relationship between politicians and citizens, as well as between politicians. There are a lot

of 'musts' politician need to tick in order to be successful and appreciated.

- Politicians must respect the different views of citizens and other politicians, even if they disagree with them. This involves avoiding offensive language or misinformation and addressing issues constructively.
- Politicians must listen carefully and try to understand the perspective of those with whom they communicate. This can be done by asking relevant questions, communicating clearly and unambiguously, and taking on board suggestions and feedback received [5].
- Politicians should avoid offensive or disparaging language, avoid personal attacks, and focus on the important issues.
- Politicians should avoid racial, religious or other slurs or insults.
- Politicians should respect the limits of communication, including limits on privacy and respect for citizens` rights.
- Politicians should also avoid exaggerating or manipulating facts and focus on the important issues rather than attacking political opponents.

And these are just a few examples of politeness strategies in political life. It is important to maintain respectful and professional communication between politicians and citizens in order to maintain an atmosphere of trust and cooperation in the political process.

A politician can apply different politeness strategies when talking to the electorate. In general, politeness can be defined as a set of verbal and non-verbal behaviours that indicate respect, attention and consideration towards the interlocutor. Just like Sara Mills [6] explained, the complex relation between culture and politeness is a task which far exceeds the limits of class. In political communication, politeness strategies can be used to win over citizens, to maintain relations with them and to strengthen their public image. When communicating with the electorate, politicians should respect cultural and social norms, should be transparent and accountable in their communication with the electorate and provide clear and accessible information about their policies and be open to dialogue and questions. Another aspect involves the citizen participation in political life, as the democratic process encourages voting and provides opportunities to get involved and make changes in the community. The communication must be tailored to the needs and values of their electorate and show respect and consideration for them.

7. Risks and challenges that lead to political impoliteness

Political life is no place for rookies or beginners. It is an abrupt world, where misinterpretation, attacks, criticism and deceiving are elements that compose the political frame. Communication is vulnerable to misinterpretation because there is always a risk that voters misinterpret political messages or take them in the opposite direction, which can lead to confusion and misunderstanding among voters. Also, politicians are often subject to criticism and attacks from the political opposition, which can lead to a defensive reaction from politicians and negatively affect political discourse. For example, during political campaigns, there is a risk that information is falsified or manipulated to influence public opinion, which can lead to a lack of trust in politicians and the political process. In public debates and interviews, politicians need to be prepared to answer difficult questions and deal with tense situations, which can be difficult for some politicians and can lead to gaffes or errors and sometimes politicians can be accused of a lack of transparency in their decisions, which can lead to mistrust among the electorate and affect confidence in the political process. Above all, in the actual digital age, politicians need to be aware of the challenges of technology and social media, such as fake news and cyber attacks,

which can negatively affect the political process and trust in politicians.

So, the step towards impoliteness is just as small. According to Jonathan Culpeper [7], impoliteness may also be used as a way of displaying strength or dominance, or as a way of mobilizing a constituency. Some politicians use personal attacks to discredit their opponents and gain the trust of voters. These attacks can range from insults to threats and can damage trust in the democratic process. Politicians can manipulate voters through the use of persuasive techniques such as misinformation and manipulation. These techniques can include spreading rumours or lies, creating false issues or exaggerating real issues. Politicians who use an aggressive and threatening tone in their speeches can negatively affect trust in the democratic process and their ability to represent their constituents. When politicians refuse to listen to voters' opinions and give them the opportunity to express their views, they send a message that they do not care about the needs and concerns of their constituents. When politicians fail to deliver on campaign promises or fail to take concrete steps to address important issues, they can lose the trust of voters and diminish confidence in the democratic process. These are just a few examples of the impoliteness used in politics, but they can vary from country to country, culture to culture and period to period. In general, such behaviour can lead to a decline in trust in politicians and the democratic process, which can have negative consequences for society as a whole. But it can also be a strategic weapon. Impoliteness is often used strategically to assert power or dominance over others, to express anger or frustration, or to challenge social norms and values [8].

Conflict situations also seem to be another common element for political struggle. But conflict situations arise in a variety of contexts and are not exclusive to the political class. Conflicts can arise between individuals, groups or organisations defending their own interests, values or objectives, and can be linked to economic, social or political issues. Although the political class may often be associated with conflict, this does not mean that it is the only source of conflict. Conflict is a natural part of human life and can be a driver for change and progress, both individually and collectively. It is important to recognise and manage conflict in a responsible and constructive way, so that solutions can be found that satisfy the interests of all parties involved.

Political life can be characterised by a range of behaviours and actions that can be considered impolite or inappropriate. As politics involves power and control over other people or groups, it can be a source of tension and conflict. In political life, politicians may resort to impolite strategies to promote their own interests and positions, and these may include attacks on the person, manipulation, lying and intimidation. Politicians may also resort to offensive speeches or speeches that discredit their political opponents. However, despite the risks of rudeness in political life, there are also examples of politicians using polite and effective communication strategies to achieve their goals. They can use a warm and friendly tone, provide constructive feedback, listen actively and show empathy and respect for their interlocutors. For a healthy and transparent political life, it is important that politicians pay more attention to politeness and effective communication strategies. By doing so, politicians can create a favourable environment for dialogue and collaboration, build trust among voters and contribute to a more harmonious development of society.

Conclusions

Politics and politeness are two concepts that, at first glance, seem mutually exclusive, given that politics can often be harsh, brutal and sometimes involve a power play, while politeness implies respectful and considerate behaviour towards others. However, these two concepts can be reconciled to create effective and respectful communication between different stakeholders,

which can lead to a more transparent and developed society. Politeness can be an important tool in modern politics as it can help build and maintain trusting relationships between politicians and citizens. Politeness can be used to avoid unnecessary confrontation and to foster constructive and positive dialogue between different parties. Politeness can be used to improve the quality of political communication. Politicians should be careful about the tone and style of their communication so as not to offend or disappoint citizens [9]. By using polite and respectful language, politicians can convey a clear and coherent message without leaving room for misinterpretation. Finally, politeness can play an important role in increasing transparency in politics. By cultivating polite and respectful behaviour, politicians can demonstrate openness and honesty, which can help build trust among citizens and civil society. Transparent and open politics can help fight corruption and abuse of power, which can lead to a more developed and equal society.

In conclusion, politics and politeness can be reconciled to create effective and respectful communication between different stakeholders. By using politeness in politics, politicians can contribute to building a more transparent and developed society based on values such as honesty, openness and mutual respect.

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LANGUAGE AND VIRALITY: REPRESENTING IDIOMS THROUGH INTERNET MEMES

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Abstract

Idioms exhibit some semantic particularities and for this reason they exist in our minds as prefabricated elements, being memorized as such. Thus, an important role of idioms is to evoke images, to awaken the imagination, while transmitting information in a succinct and ingenious way. In the digital era, computer-mediated communication gains ground over interpersonal communication. Internet users have developed new communication systems on social networks, forums or blogs. These communication systems are largely based on communication through visual elements, such as memes. Internet memes are a type of content that consists of associating an image and a text in order to represent ideas, feelings or situations, generally in a funny way. Although, traditionally, images are not part of the object of study of linguistics, Internet memes are becoming linguistically relevant, as they are a new form of communication. People tend to have a mental representation for each idiom they know. Therefore, this article aims to show how idioms are visually represented in Internet memes in a bid to convey thoughts, opinions and feelings in an effective and creative way, while adding a note of fun to virtual conversations.

Keywords

idioms; internet memes; communication; virality; visual representation

1. Introduction

The ability to communicate at many levels is at the heart of who we are as human beings. Communication is the act of transferring information from one person to another, being also a decisive factor in strengthening interpersonal relationships. In other words, it is a dynamic process that is carried out with the input of the persons involved.

Successful communication means that we share a common language and writing system but also a common experience and knowledge. Thus, the information that is transmitted must be adapted to the levels of knowledge of those involved in order for the message to be clear and accessible.

Although natural, the communication process is very complex, there are a multitude of forms of manifestation. The latter involve different content, specific codes and different channels of message transmission.

Moreover, communication is a sociological, psychological, linguistic and anthropological phenomenon. In this article we will refer to communication only from a linguistic and anthropological perspective. From a linguistic point of view, communication is a process of configuration and reconfiguration of the meanings of signs, and from an anthropological point of view, it is a tool for the realization and spread of culture [1].

Since idiomatic expressions are a reflection of a people's culture, they are indispensable in the act of communication. Idiomatic expressions are relatively fixed polylexical phraseological units, the meaning of which cannot be deduced from the meaning of the component elements. By their fixity, they exist in our minds in the form of prefabricated elements, being memorized as such.

Thus, an important feature of idiomatic expressions is to evoke images, to awaken the imagination, while transmitting information in a succinct and even ingenious way. But how do we transpose them into virtual communication?

The development of communication skills is a continuous process to which we expose ourselves daily, whether we realize it or not. Internet users have developed new communication systems on social networks, forums or blogs. These communication systems are largely based on communication through visual elements, such as Internet memes.

Internet memes are a manifestation of culture in the digital world. They represent a type of content that consists in associating an image and a text in order to represent ideas, feelings or situations, generally in a funny way.

Traditionally, images are not part of the object of study of linguistics. However, since ancient times, from cave paintings and hieroglyphs to emoticons and memes, images have played an important role in communication. Internet memes are becoming linguistically relevant as they constitute a new form of communication.

2. Objectives

As linguists, when we want to study language through culture, we are interested in stable, long-lasting phenomena. Given the speed with which the inexhaustible source of content circulates on the Internet, memes, due to their ephemerality, did not represent a topic of interest academia. In this article we shall study the phenomenon of Internet memes and we shall present the features that idiomatic expressions and memes have in common. People tend to have a mental representation for each idiomatic expression they know. Therefore, this article aims to show how phraseological units are transposed into internet memes, in an attempt to convey thoughts, opinions and feelings in an effective and creative way, while adding a note of fun to virtual conversations.

3. Memes as units of cultural information

The term *meme* was coined by evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins. The word was first used in his book *The Selfish Gene*, published in 1976. The *Selfish Gene*, published in 1976. (The book published in Romanian as well, in 2001, as *Gena egoistă*.) A meme is a unit of information, a fragment of existence that is transmitted from person to person through social interaction. According to Dawkins [2] a meme is similar to the biological gene, except that in the case of memes, no genetic information is transmitted, but cultural information. In addition to that, unlike genes, which are transmitted from one generation to another, memes can be transmitted within the same generation.

A meme can take many forms whether we are talking about a simple phrase, a book, a fashion trend or a song [2]. Being a unit of information, the meme spreads through communication and

influences people's behavior [3] (p. 22). The word comes from the Greek “mimema” which means “something that is imitated”. Dawkins abbreviated it because he needed “a monosyllabic word that rhymes with gene” [2], and in order not to upset the classicists too much, he stated that we can think of the word meme as a juxtaposition of the words` memory and gene. Dawkins explained that a meme spreads successfully when it has three characteristics, namely: productivity, fidelity and longevity. Productivity refers to the ease with which a meme can adapt to various communication situations, fidelity is the accuracy with which a meme is transmitted from one person to another, and longevity refers to the average life of a meme.

3.1. Internet memes

Over the last 20 years, computer technology has increasingly contributed to the automation and facilitation of several processes. We use computers to write texts, read, translate documents, and social networks facilitate the communication and sharing of information. Computer-mediated communication has evolved with the Internet and inherited its flexibility and versatility. Thus, social networks' users have developed their own communication systems.

In order to communicate more efficiently, content circulates on the Internet as simplified as possible. Information is being transmitted in as few words as possible. Therefore, internet users often use abbreviations, fixed expressions or visual representations to share information, feelings and experiences. In the communication systems of the web 2.0 era, visual elements are mainly used: emoticons, GIFs, videos, all of them fall into the category of memes on the internet. Thus, in addition to the original meaning of "cultural information unit" that spreads, from person to person, through imitation, the word meme has developed a new meaning and refers to ideas and concepts that circulate rapidly on the Internet.

According to the definition provided by the *Cambridge Dictionary* [4], “memes on the Internet can be represented by a simple text, an image accompanied or not by a text or a video”. In this article we will talk about memes circulating on the internet only in the form of an image accompanied by text, as these are also the most common. As already mentioned, in computer-mediated communication, internet users use visual elements to transmit information and share their feelings and experiences. Therefore, the Internet is the largest source of empirical data. That is why Internet memes are often modified, they are customizable and adaptable to the needs of users while encouraging their creativity.

Although the term *meme* was coined by Dawkins in 1976, the phenomenon of memes on the Internet is relatively new. The latter were first defined in 2009 by Patrick Davison in his book *The Language of the Internet*. Davison states an internet meme is "an internet meme is a piece of culture, typically a joke, which gains influence through online transmission" [5] (pp.120-134) Starting from this definition, we already notice two important features that distinguish memes, as they were defined by Dawkins, from internet, namely humor and virality.

Memes describe our daily lives, with pleasant and less pleasant situations, in a playful way. Topics covered in memes usually include social events, politics, embarrassing situations, workplace stress or student life. So memes have become the indispensable way to laugh it off in the online environment, which helps us to get through difficult moments more easily, to relax and to socialize. An important feature of memes is their humorous nature. Shifman states that with the development of the Internet, humor has become an important element in digital communication [6] (pp. 362-377). He also states that humor on the Internet is based on visual elements [7] (pp.187-209). Thus, humor is more than a feature of memes, it is the mechanism behind the creation of these digital artifacts [8] (pp.199-227). In internet memes, humor is most often achieved through irony, sarcasm, exaggerations, puns, intentional grammatical errors, homonymy, lexical ambiguity, etc.

The virality of a meme is the tendency of ideas, images or videos to spread quickly on the Internet from one user to another. In other words, this virality consists in the speed with which a certain content circulates on the Internet in a short period of time. Since memes are jokes understood by relatively small groups of people, after they become popular it doesn't take long for them to slip into obscurity.

To understand a meme, internet users must share a common knowledge base. They need to share certain experiences and values and know the cultural context in which the meme in question appears. Memes are understood by small groups of people, by certain communities because they contain references from popular culture. Therefore, another important feature of memes on the Internet is intertextuality [9]. Intertextuality is the interdependence between two or more texts and is indispensable in the case of memes, as they cannot exist independently of cultural references.

In addition, being an image accompanied by text, memes can also be seen as multimodal texts and thus a feature to be mentioned here is multimodality. The latter represents "the synchronization of two or more semiotic systems." [10] Memes are multimodal texts because they involve putting together several textual forms: written text, image or video, in order to create new meanings.

Knobel and Lankshear stated in 2005 that for a meme to spread successfully, it must be funny (whether it is sarcasm, irony or parody) and contain references to popular culture. They also add that the relationship between image and text is less obvious at the first sight. Memes attract users' attention and arouse their curiosity, thus enjoying greater success among Internet users [11].

4. Terminological issues in Romanian

The English term was taken over in Romanian raises adaptation concerns. Together with the acquisition of his second sense of "idea, usually funny, materialized in an image, a clip or a text, which spreads through the Internet", as specified in DexOnline [12], it went beyond the realms of evolutionary biology, where it initially entered with the sense of unit of cultural information and it has become a term with a fairly large circulation on the internet.

As English is still considered the *lingua franca* of the Internet, and, in the beginning, memes were created only in English, the term was taken over by many internet users with English pronunciation. However, considering the Greek origin (abbreviation for the Greek *mimema*), but also the analogy with the biological gene that Dawkins made, the takeovers of the term meme are varied in Romanian.

The most common form seems to be the adapted one, which brings the term closer to the word gene, namely meme, feminine noun, with the plural meme and a "Romanianized" pronunciation. At the same time, there is a much less adapted form, written meme, probably pronounced as in English and with the plural typical of neutrals. The term has been registered quite recently in the dictionary as a feminine noun, but, nevertheless, there are still problems of standardization.

5. Common aspects of idioms and Internet memes

From an anthropological point of view, communication is a tool for spreading and carrying out culture. Because there is "a whole cloud a culture is condensed in a drop of phraseology" [13] (pp.49-78), we can say that idioms are a people's mirror and, therefore, they are indispensable in the act of communication. Nowadays, given the current pandemic context, computer-mediated communication has gained ground over interpersonal communication. Thus, memes, as cultural information units, have become a way of transmitting culture from one person

to another, in the virtual environment.

The cultural dimension of memes and idioms is achieved through intertextuality (through various references to other texts, personalities, social events, etc.). Due to the cultural references, both idioms and Internet memes are understood by small groups of people and most of the time, we use them in our conversations out of the desire to feel accepted in society, out of the need to belonging to a group.

As already mentioned in this paper, idiomatic expressions are relatively fixed polylexical phraseological units, the meaning of which cannot be deduced from the meaning of the constituent elements, the latter acquiring a global meaning. We memorize them as such and no longer think of them as phrases, but simply as "longer words" [14] (pp.119-148). Just like idioms, Internet memes are non-compositional. The components of Internet memes, namely text and image, are in a relationship of interdependence. We need both image and text to convey the desired message and to achieve the expected stylistic effect.

Given this non-compositionality and the fact that the components of idiomatic expressions, and memes, respectively, acquire a global meaning, they are used to convey information more efficiently, in a concise and ingenious way, adding a note of spontaneity, naturalness and even fun to the speech.

Another common point between idioms and internet memes is that both are to some extent figurative expressions. The figurative dimension is outlined by the use of metaphors, metonymies (comparisons, figurative associations) and symbols (numbers, colors). Idioms have complex meanings, motivated by conceptual metaphors, the latter representing the connection between idiomatic expressions and their figurative interpretations [15] (pp. 326-355). We should mention here intertextuality that occurs in the cultural dimension - through associations with other texts or references to various cultural references- but also in the figurative dimension.

In addition, an important feature of Internet memes is their humorous nature. As in the case of memes, in idioms, humor is achieved through homonymy, allusions, irony, sarcasm, etc. In addition to these linguistic phenomena, the humorous character of memes and idiomatic expressions is also shaped by certain cognitive processes, and here we mention, for example, the ability to make mental connections and visualization. The latter is an important cognitive process in both cases, memes and idioms having great illustrative potential [16].

6. Visual representation of idioms in internet memes

Over time, idiomatic expressions have been visually represented for various purposes. Whether we are talking about various promotional campaigns, advertisements, texts in the press, etc. Idiomatic expressions appear mainly in media texts that encourage creativity, so they began to appear in the new communication systems developed by Internet users. By their fixity, idiomatic expressions exist in our minds in the form of prefabricated elements, being memorized as such, and stored in memory [17] (pp.523-534).

Thus, an important feature of idioms is to evoke images, to awaken the imagination. Gibbs and O'Brien say that people have conventional images in mind for most of the idioms they know. They add that images associated with idioms come directly from conceptual metaphors that are automatically activated whenever we hear or read an idiomatic expression [18] (pp. 35-68).

According to the principle of Fernando and Flavell [19], idiomatic expressions are constructions that are based on two essential conditions: (a) an idiom is a phraseological unit to which either has an entirely a homonymous counterpart that can be interpreted literally or (b) the meaning of the idiom does not result from the individual meaning of its constituents.

Starting from the previous principle, we state that there are two ways to visually represent an idiomatic expression in the form of a meme. Thus, starting from the condition stated in (a), we can talk about literal visual representation. The literal visual representation occurs when in the image we can see the constituent elements of the idiomatic expression, without being able to deduce its meaning.

On the other hand, based on the condition in point (b), we can also refer to a figurative visual representation of idiomatic expressions. The latter consists in the visual representation of the global meaning of the idiom. Transposing this meaning into an internet meme depends very much on the knowledge, life experiences and worldview that both the creator of the meme and the other internet users have.

6.1. Literal visual representation of idiomatic expressions in internet memes

In the following we are going to analyze some Internet memes. A meme cannot be created by a single author, instead it emerges by collective semiosis. For this reason, we mention that the memes to be analyzed were taken from Facebook, but their exact source is unknown as they were distributed by dozens of Internet users on various pages and in various groups.



Figure.1. idiom “to drive somebody up the wall”

The example in Figure 1 contains the idiom “to drive somebody up the wall”. This idiom means to annoy someone; to make someone irritated, angry or crazy, but in the Internet meme above we observe the literal representation of the idiom, the image that this expression evokes in us, namely somebody literally driving their car up the wall which triggers the humorous dimension of the meme.



Figure. 2. idiom “to ring a bell”

The second image is related to the idiom “to ring a bell” which means to sound familiar. To understand this meme some cultural background is required. Thus, intertextuality is highlighted here with the help of cultural references. The idiom is represented literally because in the meme we see the caption “Pavlov? That name rings a bell” together with the image of a dog. In order to understand the joke, internet users have to know about the Russian physiologist Ivan Pavlov and his experiment in which he rang a bell shortly before feeding a hungry dog. After repeatedly doing this pairing, Pavlov removed the food and when ringing this bell, the dog would salivate. Thus, in the image presented above we see all the three dimensions that idioms and Internet memes have in common (humorous, figurative and cultural).



Figure. 3. idiom “to cost an arm and a leg”

In the third figure, we see the literal visual representation of the idiom “to cost an arm and a leg” which means to be extremely expensive. If we had seen just the caption of the Internet meme “The restaurant was expensive, it cost an arm and a leg”, we would have thought it was a figurative visual representation of that idiom. Given the fact that in the picture we see Hannibal

Lecter, we understand it is a literal representation. Similar to the previous example, this meme contains cultural references. In order to understand the meme, we need to know that Doctor Hannibal Lecter, the character created by Thomas Harris, is a serial killer who eats his victims. As we can see, Internet memes rarely exist independently of cultural references.

6.2. Figurative visual representation of idiomatic expressions in internet memes

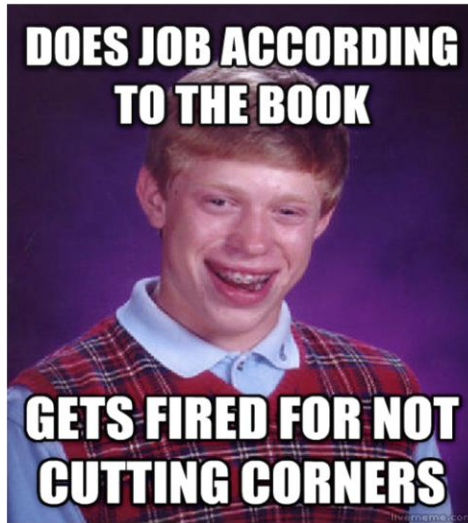


Figure. 4. idiom “to cut corners”

In the fourth image is the idiom “to cut corners” that is represented figuratively. The idiom means to do something in the easiest, cheapest, or fastest way in order to save time or money. In the background we see an image that is used as a pattern in the creation of memes. The image of the blonde nerdy boy with braces and sweater is known as Bad Luck Brian and it is usually associated with embarrassing situations. Bad Luck Brian pattern works as a symbol for unlucky, embarrassing or tragic events. Thus, we can see the figurative dimension of Internet memes that it illustrated in the Bad Luck Brian meme presented above. The caption says “does job according to the book, gets fired for not cutting corners”, meaning that even though he does his job with a great sense of responsibility, Brian still gets fired for being too rigorous. We can mention here the intentional grammar mistake as the definite article is missing in the first line of text. The message conveyed wouldn’t be the same without both the caption and the background picture.



Figure. 5. idiom “to tighten your belt”

In this last example, the idiom that is figuratively represented in the above presented Internet meme is “to tighten your belt” and means to spend less money than you did before because you actually have less money. The caption “tighten your belts while I plan my next vacation” and the background image of the US president Barack Obama help in conveying the literal meaning of the idiom.

Conclusions

The Internet is dominated by images. In the digital era computer-mediated communication is gaining ground over interpersonal communication. Thus, Internet users have developed new communication systems that mostly rely on visual elements, such as Internet memes. The latter transcended the spheres of evolutionary biology by entering the sphere of the Internet. Thus, to their initial meaning, that of unit of cultural information that is transmitted through imitation, a second meaning was added. Internet memes were defined for the first time in 2009 in Patrick Davison’s essay *The language of Internet as pieces of culture*, typically a jokes materialized in an images, video clips or texts which gain influence through online transmission.

Idioms evoke images in our minds and for this reason they are not limited to spoken language. They tend to appear in new types of media, especially creative ones and given their illustrative potential nowadays they are more often transposed into Internet memes. As Internet memes are also a new type of media, we considered it relevant to study the visual representation of idioms in Internet memes. Following this study, we noticed that there are two possible such representations: literal and figurative. The literal representation takes place when in the image we can see the constituent elements of the idiom, without being able to deduce its actual meaning, and the figurative one consists in the visual representation of the global meaning of the idiom.

At the same time, through this article, we highlighted three dimensions that can be found both in idioms and in Internet memes. Here we can talk about the cultural dimension, outlined by the cultural references, the figurative dimension, shaped by the use of metaphors and symbols and the humorous dimension, which is achieved through homonymy, allusions, irony, sarcasm,

etc.

Thus, we conclude that in computer-mediated communication, Internet memes can be considered almost as an equivalent of idioms because both of them manage to transmit information in the same efficient, concise, funny and ingenious way.

Even though Internet memes are constantly evolving along with changes in the virtual environment and technological progress, people's desire to socialize and feel part of a group, while trying to create a common cultural context, remains unchanged. Thus, although they may seem unimportant, Internet memes are a new communication system and also a tool for the realization and spread of culture in the online environment, at the same time encouraging people's creativity.

We have to be aware that textual reality is changing and so does the text prototype. For this reason, Internet memes, as a communication tool, should be a subject of interest for linguists and for academia.

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HERTA MÜLLER - SELF-REFLECTIVE WRITING

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Abstract

The present article aims to highlight the most significant aspects regarding the self-reflective writing related to Herta Müller’s novels and writings. Overall, Müller's self-reflective writing is a testament to the power of personal experience and memory, and to the ways in which they can shape our understanding of the world, and this is the main reason for writing this article.

Keywords

Self-reflective, trauma, postcolonial, individual, collective

1. Introduction

Herta Müller is a Romanian-German writer and essayist known for her powerful writing that explores themes of identity, oppression, and trauma. Engaging with her work can be a deeply personal and introspective experience, as her writing often delves into the complexity of the human experience.

Self-reflective writing is a literary technique in which the author reflects on his or her own writing process, motivations, and experiences, incorporating elements from the author's own life and experiences into the text. It is an introspective style of writing that often addresses themes of identity, self-expression, and creative inspiration [1]. Self-reflective writing can be found in a variety of genres, from poetry and memoir to fiction and criticism. One author who has made extensive use of self-reflective writing is Herta Müller. She often incorporates elements of her own experiences as a German-Romanian writer living under Ceaușescu's repressive regime in Romania into her work. In her writing, Müller often explores the complex relationships between personal experience and historical trauma, as well as the ways in which individual narratives intersect with broader political and social realities.

In Müller's work, self-reflective writing serves a variety of purposes. It is a means of exploring the author's own identity and experiences, as well as the ways in which language and narrative shape our understanding of the world. At the same time, Müller's self-reflective writing allows her to address broader philosophical and political questions, such as the relationship between memory and trauma and the role of the artist in society.

One of the ways in which Müller uses self-reflective writing is to draw attention to the constructed nature of language and the act of storytelling itself. In her 1989 novel *Herztier* (*The*

Land of Green Plums) [2], for example, she reflects on the process of writing and the challenges of capturing the reality of life under the repressive Ceaușescu's regime. In the novel, it should be noted that words describe the surface of things rather than their essence. The essence is hidden, concealed behind the words, just as the sun is hidden behind the clouds. One is supposed to decipher the words to get at the essence, just as one must wait for the clouds to clear to see the sun.

Here, Müller acknowledges the limitations of language in conveying the full complexity of lived experience, and she also suggests that through the act of deciphering language we can come closer to understanding the underlying truths of our world. By reflecting on the act of writing itself, Müller underscores the power and importance of storytelling, and she questions its limitations.

Another way in which Müller employs self-reflective writing is to explore the relationship between personal and political experience. One of the most notable examples of self-referential writing in Müller's work is her autobiographical novel *Atemschaukel (The Hunger Angel)* [3]. The novel tells the story of Müller's own mother, who was sent to a Soviet labor camp during World War II. In the novel, Müller draws on her own family history to explore the psychological and emotional impact of the trauma of displacement and violence. She writes:

“the hunger angel thinks straight, he’s never absent, he doesn’t go away but comes back, he knows his direction and he knows my boundaries, he knows where I come from and what he does to me, he walks to one side with open eyes, he never denies his own existence, he’s disgustingly personal, his sleep is transparent, he’s an expert in orach, sugar, and salt, lice and homesickness, he has water in his belly and in his legs.” [3] (p.81).

She reflects on the ways in which individual and collective trauma are intertwined and concludes that every person and every event has its own place and time by the law of nature, and therefore, each and everything has its own right in the world [3] (p.177).

Müller suggests that individual experiences of trauma are not isolated events, but are shaped by and interwoven with broader political and historical contexts. By reflecting on her own experiences, she is able to explore the complex intersections between personal and political history and give voice to the often overlooked perspectives of those who have suffered under oppressive regimes.

At the same time, Müller's self-reflective writing allows her to engage with broader philosophical and political questions about the role of the artist in society. In her Nobel Prize lecture, delivered in 2009, she reflects on the relationship between language, power, and political resistance:

“It seems to me that the objects don’t know their material, the gestures don’t know their feelings, and the words don’t know the mouth that speaks them. But to be certain of our own existence, we need the objects, the gestures, and the words. After all, the more words we are allowed to take, the freer we become. If our mouth is banned, then we attempt to assert ourselves through gestures, even objects. They are more difficult to interpret, and take time before they arouse suspicion. They can help us turn humiliation into a type of dignity that takes time to arouse suspicion.” [4]

Through self-reflective writing, Müller is able to explore the ways in which language can be used to challenge and subvert oppressive systems while acknowledging the complexity and limitations of such efforts. It thus demonstrates that language and storytelling are powerful tools of political resistance capable of subverting the dominant narratives of those in power.

Müller's autobiographical writing also frequently addresses broader questions of identity and

belonging. In an essay entitled *Mein Vaterland war ein Apfelkern (My Homeland was an Appleseed)* [5], Müller writes about the complexity of her own identity as a German-Romanian writer living in Germany. She describes how her experiences of displacement and marginalization have shaped her sense of self. Müller's prose is autofictional, meaning that her own experiences are the background for her literary work and the basis of the fiction, but they do not correspond to facts, but to the abstracted basic truths of experienced reality [6].

Müller's self-reflective writing has been the subject of scholarly analysis and discussion. In an article entitled *When Dictatorships Fail to Deprive of Dignity. Herta Müller's Romanian Period* [7], Cristina Petrescu writes that Müller's autobiographical writing allows her to explore the complex relationships between personal experience and historical trauma. Müller's writing is not only about her own experiences, but also about how these experiences intersect with broader historical and political realities. Paola Bozzi, in the article *Facts, Fiction, Autofiction, and Surfiction in Herta Müller's Work* [7], argues that Müller's writings as a whole perform a form of memory, reconstruction, and engagement with the past, yet the vital imagination of her texts, her creative process, is more than a mere reflection of facts and life, for Müller symbolically projects in her writings a hitherto unnoticed, neglected constellation of existence waiting to be discovered by the reader. Reader: "*The bowels beneath the surface are everywhere*" [2] (p.18).

Self-reflective writing about Müller's work can include examining how her representations of trauma and violence relate to one's own experiences or exploring how her narratives of exile and uprootedness resonate with one's own sense of belonging or uprootedness. Through self-reflective writing about Müller's work, one can gain a deeper understanding of the power of language and stories to explore the human condition and engage with the difficult realities of our world.

2. Theoretical framework applied to Herta Müllers works *The Land of Green Plums, The Hunger Angel, The Appointment*

In addition to considering personal experiences, self-reflective writing about Müller's work can also involve engaging with relevant theoretical frameworks such as trauma theory [8] or postcolonial theory [9]. Trauma theory, for example, can offer insights into the ways in which Müller's writing depicts the psychological effects of violence and oppression on individual and collective identities. Postcolonial theory can provide insight into how Müller's narratives of exile and displacement relate to broader issues of power, cultural identity, and resistance. Analyzing Müller's work through theoretical lenses allows for a deeper understanding of the socio-political contexts that underlie her writing, as well as the broader implications of her work for understanding the complexity of human experience. [9]

Trauma theory is a field of research that seeks to understand the psychological impact of traumatic experiences on individuals and communities. It has been applied to literature to analyze how literary texts portray and represent trauma [8]. Herta Müller's novels offer powerful examples of how trauma can be represented in literature and how such representations can be analyzed through the lens of trauma theory. Müller's work is often characterized by its exploration of the traumatic experiences of people living under oppressive regimes. Her novels often focus on characters who have experienced violence, persecution, and other forms of trauma. Through her writing, Müller seeks to convey the complex emotional and psychological effects of trauma and to explore the ways in which people cope with and respond to traumatic experiences.

One of Müller's best-known novels, *The Land of Green Plums* [2] a vivid example of how

trauma can be portrayed in literature. The novel is about a group of young people living under the repressive regime of Nicolae Ceaușescu in Romania. The characters in the novel have all experienced various forms of trauma, including physical violence, sexual abuse, and political persecution. Müller's writing style conveys the deep psychological impact of these experiences as she portrays her characters as plagued by memories of the past and struggling to come to terms with their traumas. In *The Land of Green Plums* [2], trauma is represented through a number of different literary devices. One of the most notable of these is the use of fragmented narrative structures. Müller frequently jumps back and forth between different points in time and perspectives of the characters, creating a sense of disorientation and fragmentation that mirrors the experience of trauma itself. The novel also makes use of vivid sensory impressions, such as descriptions of the characters' physical pain and discomfort, to convey the visceral nature of the trauma.

Müller's work also engages with the broader theoretical debates surrounding trauma theory. One of the key concepts in trauma theory is that of "post-traumatic stress disorder" (PTSD) [10]. It is a psychological condition that can develop in people who have experienced trauma and is characterized by symptoms such as anxiety, flashbacks, and emotional numbness [11]. In *The Land of Green Plums* [2], Müller describes how her characters struggle with it, such as recurring nightmares and flashbacks that haunt them long after the traumatic events. Another concept in trauma theory is the idea of survivor guilt. Survivor guilt is a feeling of guilt or shame that can develop in individuals who have survived traumatic events while others around them have not [12]. Müller's characters often struggle with feelings of survivor guilt, particularly in relation to their experiences with political persecution. The novel depicts the complex psychological dynamics that can arise in trauma survivors as they come to terms with their own survival and the guilt that comes with it.

In addition to *The Land of Green Plums* [2], Müller's other novels offer powerful examples of how trauma can be portrayed in literature. *Heute wär ich lieber mir nicht begegnet* (*The Appointment*) [12], for example, depicts the experience of a woman who was politically persecuted under the Ceaușescu regime and explores the psychological impact of this trauma on her life and relationships. Similarly, *The Hunger Angel* [3] depicts the experience of a young man sent to a Soviet labor camp during World War II and explores the psychological consequences of his experience of violence and dehumanization.

Conclusions

In summary, Herta Müller's novels are powerful examples of how trauma can be represented in literature and how such representations can be analyzed through the lens of trauma theory. Her work conveys the complex emotional and psychological effects of trauma by portraying her characters as struggles to come to terms with their traumas and their experiences with violence and oppression. Through her work, Müller offers a nuanced and insightful portrayal of the ways in which trauma can shape individual and community lives. To complement this, we can add that Herta Müller's work contains elements of self-referential writing to explore the complex relationships between personal experience and historical trauma. Her autobiographical writing allows her to reflect on the ways in which individual narratives intersect with broader political and social realities and to explore issues of identity, belonging, and literary representation. Müller's self-referential writing has been the subject of scholarly analysis and discussion, highlighting the importance of her work for understanding the complex interplay between personal experience and broader historical and cultural contexts.

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